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“FOR MY WORTHY FREIND MR FRANCISCUS JUNIUS”

*An Edition of the Correspondence
of Francis Junius F.F. (1591–1677)*

BY

SOPHIE VAN ROMBURGH



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Illustration on the cover. Portrait of Junius in *De Schilder-konst der oude begrepen in drie boecken* (Middelburg: Z: Roman, 1641), engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar after the painting by Anthony van Dyck, and provided with a couplet by Joost van den Vondel. [UBL, 2361 F 56; reduced].
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*I forbear to write more at large about other things,
seeing freinds at a personall meeting
can runne over more matters in halfe an houre,
then write in halfe a day.*

Junius to Thomas Marshall, 1666

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INTRODUCTION

The correspondence edited here, a collection of seventeenth-century Latin, English and Dutch texts, offers insight into the life and studies of Francis Junius (1591–1677), and of his extended family and friends, nearly all of whom were members of the foremost circles of scholars, aristocrats and dignitaries in the Low Countries and England.¹ It presents contexts for the monumental achievements of a scholar who may be called the father of both modern art theory and comparative Germanic philology, and may help to identify the continuum underlying these studies. Representative as it is of one of the major means of communication at the time, the correspondence makes a treasure trove of detail on the diverse issues which interested Junius and his Dutch and English circles, and reveals the routes by which friends and news items, books, and other materials found each other. Many letters treat an array of topics; they confirm bonds of friendship, intimate such domestic details as illness, births, deaths and inheritances, address a financial matter, mention the progress of studies or a prospective publication, arrange the forwarding of scholarly notes, enclose a letter for another acquaintance, lament the unreliability of mail and the raging plague, and pass on the regards of mutual friends. As most members in Junius' circles were scholars, the use of the letters for intellectual exchange of all sorts is particularly prominent. Two hundred and twenty-six letters are extant, most written in Latin, and some in English and Dutch. Half of them by Junius, the letters were exchanged with sixty-four correspondents, fifteen of whom were relatives. The letters revolve around Holland and London, and span the greater part of the seventeenth century. They also cover most of Junius' life: in the first letter, he is seen as a boy struggling with Latin to inform his father of his progress at school, and, in the last, he appears as a revered scholar being invited to bequeath his papers to Utrecht Municipal Library (which he was not to do).

¹ Junius' international relevance is borne out by his inclusion in the national biographical dictionaries of Great Britain, The Netherlands and Germany, cf. *DNB* 30.227–28, *NNBW* 9.483, *BWN* 10.253–58, *ADB* 14.734–36, and van Romburgh (2004).

It is the aim of the present edition to make this correspondence accessible on all levels for further research. To this end, it offers the full texts of Junius' complete correspondence, provided with translations of letters not in English, a running commentary, a critical apparatus, an appendix of texts bearing directly on the letters, an index, and a general introduction.² The introduction addresses the character and role of the letters in order to facilitate the interpretation of their miscellaneous topics. It strives neither to present a comprehensive appraisal of the corpus, nor a full discussion of all issues of interest, as the principal commentary is provided with the letters themselves. For ease of reference, a concise description of Junius' life is given first. A full biography is omitted, both because several have recently been published, and because an updated biography should incorporate not only material from Junius' correspondence and published work, but also new facts from an analysis of his Oxford legacy, which is beyond the scope of the current project.³ The introduction continues with a discussion of the corpus and its correspondents, their learned epistolary exchange, and the styles of composition of Latin and vernacular letters. The relative modesty of the correspondence is addressed next. An explanation of the editorial principles concludes the introduction.

The edition is one in a series of recent (re-)publications and evaluations of Junius' work.⁴ In 1991, Keith Aldrich, Philipp Fehl, and Raina Fehl published an edition with an introduction and commentary of Junius' *The Painting of the Ancients* (1638), and an English translation of *Catalogus artificum* (1694). One year later, Norbert Voorwinden brought out a facsimile with an introduction of *Observationes in Willeramum* (1655). In 1996, Colette Nativel published an edition, translation, and commentary of Book 1 of *De pictura veterum* (1694). A collection of papers on Junius was edited by Rolf Bremmer two years later, and, in 2000, Peter Lucas produced a facsimile with an introduction of *Cædmonis paraphrasis* (1655). While they emphasize the importance of Junius as an art-theoretician and Germanic philolo-

² Texts in the APPENDIX are distinguished as App1 to App9.

³ The most comprehensive recent biography of Junius can be found in *Literature* 1.xxvi–xlix, Breuker (1990/1998) and Rademaker (1998), with Nativel (1996:25–85) for additional detail. Biographies of Junius have appeared since Graevius (1694).

⁴ For full titles of Junius' publications, see BIBLIOGRAPHY. Titles are abbreviated in accordance with the practice adopted in the edition.

gist, these studies and editions reveal the need of an overall picture of the context in which he turned into an innovative scholar. The present edition furnishes materials for this. It is the first to bring a substantial amount of Junius' as yet unpublished legacy to the fore, and, it is hoped, may stimulate the publication of more of his manuscript material in the future. At the same time, it continues a tradition, as some letters in the corpus were published in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, notably in Colomesius (1690–91) and Hamper (1827). Moreover, it is only the second correspondence of members of the circles in which Junius moved to become available in a modern edition. Hugo Grotius' correspondence was recently published,⁵ but for the letters of Junius' most loyal correspondent Vossius one must still turn to Colomesius (1690–91) or to the manuscript letters themselves, for those of William Dugdale to Hamper (1827), for those of Junius' nephew Isaac Vossius to Petrus Burman ([1724]–27) and to the manuscripts, and for those of Thomas Marshall to the original letters.

Life

The world of the correspondence is that of Junius' life, and the circles of relatives and friends who were part of it. His earliest letter, dating from 1602, gives an impression of his family. It is addressed to the French nobleman and Protestant professor of theology, formerly of Neustadt and Heidelberg, but then at Leiden, Junius' father Franciscus Junius (the Elder), or du Jon. He had co-translated the Bible into Latin for the Protestant world, and urged for irenicism in the Catholic Church. The letter mentions Junius' stepmother Maria Glaser, Junius the Elder's fourth wife, who came from Antwerp. They were both to succumb to the plague several months later in 1602. Junius' mother Johanna l'Hermite, Junius the Elder's third wife, had died in Heidelberg soon after her son's birth. She was the daughter of the Antwerp nobleman Simon l'Hermite, and related to the humanist Daniel l'Ermete. Her sister Maria was married to Junius the Elder's colleague Franciscus Gomarus, the future champion of

⁵ See the many volumes of Grotius' correspondence in *Briefwisseling*, here abbreviated as *BWGrotius*.

the Counter-Remonstrant faction in the Dutch Church, and one of Junius' guardians. The letter sends regards to Junius' brother Johan Casimir and his sisters, Maria, Elizabeth, and Johanna. The first three were children of Junius the Elder and his second wife Elizabeth van den Corput, a member of a powerful family from Dordrecht, while Johanna was Junius' full sister. She was to marry Isaac de Brune, brother of the Dutch author and provincial magistrate Johan de Brune from Middelburg, Zeeland. Johan Casimir, married with Maria Dison, was to pursue a military career in Groningen and Drenthe following their uncle Johan van den Corput, a fortress builder of renown. Maria married the predicant Isaac Diamant, and the Remonstrant predicant Samuel Naeranus after Diamant's death. Elizabeth was to marry Gerardus Joannes Vossius, a former student of Junius the Elder, and an eminent humanist with a growing international reputation. He became Junius' preceptor and most loyal correspondent, guaranteeing him the favour of leading scholars and magistrates both at home and abroad.

Later, the importance of familial bonds for Junius, a confirmed bachelor, extended to his nephews and other relatives. Johan Casimir's son Franciscus Junius F.N. was to become a professor of law in Groningen. Johanna's son Jan de Brune became a Dutch author. Of the Vossius' children, Joannes, the only child of a previous marriage, studied at Cambridge before travelling to the East Indies, where he died. Matthaëus became the historian of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland. Dionysius was a gifted student of Oriental languages, and Gerardus a student of history; they both died untimely deaths. Franciscus was a lawyer in The Hague, and Isaac Vossius became librarian of Queen Christina of Sweden, succeeded Matthaëus as historian, and collected a rich library of books and manuscripts. Junius seems to have been little in touch with his nieces Maria de Brune, Maria Junius, and Cornelia and Johanna Vossius, all of whom died young. But he did entitle Matthaëus' children Gerardus Johannes the Younger and Aafje to part of his inheritance. Then, Junius had contact with more distant relatives, his brother-in-law's brother Johan de Brune in Middelburg, his fellow student Johan Bosman, who was to marry Maria Gomarus, Diamant's relative Abraham van Barthem, a merchant who saw to the shipping of Junius' first publication *De pictura*, Paul de Seriere, a relative on father's side from Metz, and Willem Roels, the brother of Johan de Brune's wife Maria. Through the van den Corputs, Junius was also related to the de Witt family,

whose members were to occupy powerful positions in the Dutch magistracy.

Junius wrote the earliest extant letter from Vossius' home in Dordrecht, where he attended the Latin school under his future brother-in-law's headmastership. He continued his education under his uncle Gomarus' wing at Leiden, from 1608 to 1613. This was a period of great tension among Dutch theologians, and of an increasing factionalization between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants in the Dutch Church. The few records on Junius' years at Leiden indicate that he studied arts and theology, possibly without graduating, as was not unusual. When his uncle moved to Middelburg to found a theological college, Junius followed to prepare for the ministry with one of his uncle's colleagues. His hosts Willem Teellinck, father of the religious movement of the *Nadere Reformatie*, and Martha Greenston, Teellinck's English wife, were deeply influenced by Puritan thought. They probably inspired Junius to visit England, instead of more fashionable destinations in France and Italy. He made the tour in early 1615 to find English religious books and to improve his command of the language; he had learnt the basics from his hostess. He subsequently stayed with his sister Maria and Isaac Diamant, first in Breda and, from 1617, in Delft. But Diamant, who had Remonstrant leanings, was so affected by charges of heterodoxy that he fell ill, and died.

On one of his visits to Diamant, the illustrious scholar Hugo Grotius, a former boarder of the Junius family, a former student of Junius the Elder, and a close friend of Vossius, was so pleased with Junius that he proposed him for the vacant ministry in Hillegersberg near Rotterdam. Grotius was pensionary of Rotterdam, and a champion of both the Remonstrants and the political regime of the great-pensionary Johan van Oldebarnevelt. From 1617 on, Junius performed the only public office he was to have. As a result of the crisis in the Dutch Church, and the fall of the van Oldebarnevelt regime, however, Junius' election to the ministry was deemed illegal by the South Holland Synod in 1619. Referring to the irenicism his father had promoted, Junius refused to choose sides in the religious deadlock, and renounced his position. His becoming a victim of political intrigue was a humiliating experience to him, and seems to have made him unwilling to perform another public duty. The events were also to inspire his political satire "Flagitium Batavum," on Prince Maurice's beheading of van Oldenbarnevelt, and van Oldenbarnevelt's sons' plotting to murder the prince in 1623.

Junius moved abroad in August 1620, for more than twenty years, as it turned out. He first tried his luck in Paris, in the hope that his relative Jean du Jon, chief treasurer of the light cavalry at the royal court, might find him a position. When that failed, he made his way to the coast to cross over to England, no doubt incited by memories of his tour. He temporarily returned to Paris, though, when news reached him that Grotius had escaped from life imprisonment, and had fled there together with his brother Willem de Groot. Junius subsequently crossed the Channel with a letter of introduction from Grotius for Bishop Lancelot Andrewes in May 1621. Thanks to this letter, and to his high esteem for Vossius, Bishop Andrewes took good care of Junius. He invited him to his summer residence together with George Rataller Doublet, one of Vossius' former students, who was travelling in England with the future Amsterdam magistrate and Dutch author Johan van Heemskerck. Andrewes also introduced Junius to a circle of English prelates, the brothers Christopher and Matthew Wren, and William Laud, then bishop of St. David's, and future bishop of London, archbishop of Canterbury, and closest adviser of Charles I. Soon Junius learnt that the English puritans in Middelburg used to present Anglican prelates in an unnecessarily unfavourable light.

Of more immediate importance for Junius' career, Andrewes persuaded Thomas Howard, second earl of Arundel, and, like himself, a privy councillor to King James, to attach Junius to his court. From the summer of 1622, Junius stayed in the service of various members of the Arundel family for more than thirty years. Until 1631, he was tutor to Arundel's youngest son William Howard, future Viscount Stafford, who was fostered out at the court of Samuel Harsnett, bishop of Norwich, during the first two years. From 1624 to 1626, they mostly stayed at the estate of Arundel's mother Anne Dacre in Horsley, Surrey. After a short intermezzo in Paris in the summer of 1631, meant to move Arundel to remunerate him for his previous services, Junius returned to his patrons and, after considerable negotiations, agreed to being tutor to the sons of Arundel's second son Henry Frederick Howard, lord Maltravers, future third earl of Arundel. They were Thomas, future fifth duke of Norfolk, Henry, future lord Howard of Castle Rising and earl of Norwich, later sixth duke of Norfolk, and Philip Thomas, future cardinal of Norfolk. It was only from 1639 onwards that Junius appears to have held the position of librarian, as shown in 131a, as opposed to sug-

gestions in the literature.⁶ Junius remained in the family's service when they crossed over to the Low Countries 1642.

Arundel held the office of dignity of Earl Marshal, and he and his wife Countess Aletheia, daughter of the powerful and rich earl of Shrewsbury, enjoyed positions at court just below the king and queen. They had a vivid interest in Italy and the classical world, and in the course of time, they acquired the most splendid collection of renaissance art and classical monuments in England. At Arundel House on the Strand in London, and at the family's several residences at Highgate, Albury, and Greenwich, Junius was at the centre of learned, artistic and courtly activities. Others in Arundel's service became friends of his: the reverend William Petty, who collected monuments for Arundel in the Mediterranean, the Bohemian etcher and draughtsman Wenceslaus Hollar, and the Dutch painter and engraver Henry van der Borcht the Younger. Junius also forged friendships with such scholars as the lawyer and polymath John Selden, the royal librarian Patrick Young, and the mathematician William Oughtred, who were habitués of the Arundel estates. Furthermore, perhaps helped by his parental connections with Antwerp, Junius was on good terms with the baroque painters Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck, for the latter of whom Junius sat.⁷ The collections at Arundel House enjoyed an international reputation, and acquaintances of the Vossius family were much inclined to ask for letters of introduction to Junius in order to be shown around by him.

The Arundels' commitment to antique objects of art also aroused Junius' interest in them. While Petty acquired objects for Arundel House in the Mediterranean, while Selden studied and published their inscriptions, while van der Borcht and Hollar made drawings of them, Junius approached them from a philological perspective by scouring classical literature for references to and opinions on the visual arts. His *opus magnum* of the years spent at Arundel's court is a monumental encyclopaedia of ancient artificers and their work, published posthumously by his friend Johann Georg Graevius as

⁶ Unit of reference in this edition is the paragraph. "131a" refers to the first paragraph ("a") of the 131st letter. For the method of reference to letters numbers and paragraph characters, see *Editorial Principles* below.

⁷ Cf. cover illustration, and below.

Catalogus . . . architectorum, mechanicorum, sed praecipue pictorum, statuariaorum, caelatorum, tornatorum, aliorumque artificum, et operum quae fecerunt, secundum seriem litterarum digestus (1694). His first publication grew from a treatise originally conceived as an introduction to the *Catalogus artificum*. In it, Junius developed a renaissance poetics culled from classical observations on rhetorics and the visual arts into what may be considered the first modern theory of art, *De pictura veterum libri tres* (1637). He dedicated it to Charles I at the instigation of Matthew Wren, then bishop of Hereford, and had it seen through the press by Vossius at Joan Blaeu's. His own English and Dutch translations of it appeared as *The Painting of the Ancients in three Bookes* (1638), dedicated to his patroness Countess Aletheia, and *De Schilder-konst der oude begrepen in drie boecken* (1641), dedicated to Prince Frederick Henry of Orange with a poem by Junius and a letter of dedication by his nephew Jan de Brune.⁸ An enlarged second edition of *De pictura* was published together with the *Catalogus artificum* in 1694.

During his many years in England, Junius was a valuable contact for Vossius there, and benefited from his brother-in-law's reputation among English scholars in turn. Repeatedly, Vossius strengthened his friendly relations with Englishmen by sending them his new publications through his brother-in-law, who saw to their distribution or delivered them in person. Junius' friendship with the librarian of the Bodleian in Oxford, John Rous, for instance, was developed because of Vossius. Furthermore, Junius brought Bishop Laud and Vossius into contact with each other. When Laud had arranged a fellowship for Joannes Vossius at Jesus College, Cambridge, Junius kept an eye on his nephew, although not sufficiently closely to prevent Joannes from incurring debts and marrying Prudence Greene, so that he had to give up the fellowship. In the former half of the 1630s, Junius therefore busied himself with settling Joannes' affairs at Cambridge. These events prompted his correspondence with John Francius, fellow of Peterhouse, and his unretreived correspondence with Prudence, and with Richard Sterne and George Stearne, master and pensionary of Jesus College, respectively. Seeing to Vossius' English interests also brought Junius in touch with the classical scholar and Canterbury canon Meric Casaubon. During a tour to England in 1629, Vossius, then professor of eloquence, history and Greek at

⁸ For Junius' poem, cf. App5.

Leiden, had likewise become a canon in Canterbury, and from then on, Junius recurrently saw to the payment of the prebend with Casaubon. Such contacts, originally made on behalf of Vossius, could and did develop into scholarly and friendly ones with Junius in turn.

At the beginning of the Civil War in 1642, after twenty years in England, Junius made the Low Countries the base for most of the rest of his life. There, he tightened the bonds with his family and their friends. Vossius had been a professor at the Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam for ten years then, and a member of the Amsterdam elite. Junius also moved in a circle of family friends, who included van Heemskerck, who had earlier brought the manuscript of *De pictura* to Vossius for Junius, Doublet, then a lawyer at the Supreme Court in The Hague, the German classicist Johannes Fredericus Gronovius in Harderwijk, and the Dutch author Joost van den Vondel, who wrote the inscription for Junius' portrait in *Schilder-konst*, and a laudatory poem on Junius and Jan de Brune.⁹ During the first five years, Junius accompanied a protégé of Arundel, Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford, whom he presented with an educational treatise *Paraenesis missa Alberico de Vere* (1654) containing rules of conduct. Junius also assisted Countess Aletheia at her various residences in Antwerp, Alkmaar, Amersfoort, and Amsterdam, until her death in 1654. In the meantime, he made longer and shorter stays in England to see to matters of the Arundel family. During most of 1653, moreover, he travelled to Zwingenberg Castle in Germany to release Viscount Stafford from prison. Despite his continuing performance of such duties, Junius received such scanty compensation from the Arundel family that he and others in the family's service eventually took the affair to court. It was to drag on for years after 1654.

Meanwhile, from the mid 1640s on, Junius embarked on a new field of scholarship. He began to study the older Germanic languages with a mind to recovering the origin of Dutch. His approach was etymological, and in the course of his studies, he acquired an unrivalled working knowledge of the (early) Germanic languages, from Old English and Old High German to runes, Gothic and Frisian. He collected the material for his mostly lexicographical projects preferably from original source texts. De Vere's family in Friesland ensured Junius of connections there, and for some time in the years 1647–1648,

⁹ Cf. cover illustration, App7.

he studied Frisian with the poet Gysbert Japix. Both his errands for the Arundel family and his private stays in England gave him ample opportunity to transcribe Old English manuscripts in the Cottonian Library in London and Bodleian Library in Oxford in the late 1640s and 1650s, while the trip to Germany enabled him to visit Heidelberg and acquire the Old High German version of Tatian's *Diatessaron*. Moreover, his nephew Isaac Vossius' collection was rich in manuscripts and relevant books. Junius also maintained relations with scholars sharing these interests. He stayed with the antiquarians Sir Simonds D'Ewes and Christopher, baron Hatton, for their joint studies, and conversed and corresponded with the Norroy Sir William Dugdale, the primate of Ireland James Ussher, archbishop of Armagh, Casaubon, the Canterbury registrar William Somner, the Orientalist Abraham Wheelock, professor of Anglo-Saxon history and Old English, and librarian at Cambridge, Gerard Langbaine, provost of the Queen's College, Oxford, and keeper of the university archives, the town clerk of Breda, Jan van Vliet, and the Germans, Christoph Arnold, Lutheran deacon and professor of eloquence and Greek in Nuremberg, and Johann Clauberg, cartesian philosopher in Duisburg. While interested in runes and nordic literature, Junius seems not to have been in touch with Scandinavian or Icelandic scholars.

Junius' first publication in this field was his annotations to the Old High German version of the Song of Songs by Abbot Willeram von Ebersberg, *Observationes in Willirami Abbatis francicam paraphrasin cantici canticorum* (1655), dedicated to the trustees of Leiden University. In the same year, he presented the *editio princeps* of the Old English poems of the so-called Junius Manuscript he had received from Archbishop Ussher as *Cædmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica genesios . . .* Meanwhile, after Isaac Vossius had brought the famous *Codex argenteus* containing the as yet undisclosed Gothic Gospels from Sweden in 1654, Junius began to study them in detail, and collaborated with his friend Thomas Marshall, minister of the Merchant Adventurers in Dordrecht, in the preparation of an edition. Their annotated *editio princeps* of the Gospels, next to the Old English version, appeared in 1665 as *Quatuor Domini nostri Iesu Christi Evangeliorum versiones perantiquae duae, Gothica scilicet et Anglo-Saxonica . . .*, and was dedicated to the Swedish royal chancellor Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, who had bought the *Codex argenteus* back from Isaac Vossius. The accompanying dictionary, *Glossarium Gothicum . . .* (1665), included many of Junius' etymological observations from his manuscript notes.

Thus, Junius broadened the basis of his fame by establishing himself as an authority and, indeed, the father of comparative Germanic philology.

An elderly man, who had almost always stayed with members of the Junius and Vossius families, or with the Arundel family, Junius met younger circles through Marshall and through Isaac Vossius, with whom he shared a house. After the date of the last letter in the corpus, he moved to England, and in 1676 settled in Oxford, where Marshall had become rector of Lincoln College. There, he was surrounded by students and scholars who cherished his vast learning and work on Germanic philology, among whom were Bishop John Fell, and the Germanic philologists William Nicolson (1655–1727) and George Hickes (1642–1715). Although he continued to prepare his manuscript materials for publication, Junius did not issue more himself. He had left his *Catalogus artificum* and an enlarged edition of *De pictura* to be seen through the press in Holland by his friend Graevius (1694). In August 1677, he moved in with Isaac Vossius, who had become canon at the royal chapel in Windsor. Junius died there of a fever in November, and was buried in St. George's Chapel.

He bequeathed his Germanic materials and his special Germanic fonts to the Bodleian Library, where they have acquired a reputation of their own.¹⁰ His transcription of the Old English Boethius formed the basis of Richard Rawlinson's *editio princeps* of the text (1698); a good number of his annotations to the Old High German *Diatessaron* found their way into Johann Palthen's edition (1706); his voluminous English etymological dictionary was seen through the press as *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743) by Edward Lye; and Lye and Owen Manning based their *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico-Latinum* (1772) on Junius' elaborate manuscript dictionary of Old English. Yet, while Junius' copiously annotated Germanic glossaries were meant to be brought out by Fell and Hickes in the 1690s, they have as yet remained unpublished, just as the rest of his studies and annotations. The study books of his personal library partly ended up in the Junius bequest in the Bodleian Library, and partly merged with the Isaac Vossius collection, nowadays to be found at Leiden.

¹⁰ It is primarily on the basis of this legacy that Junius has left his name in the English language in the adjective "Junian," cf. *OED*.

In summary, Junius moved quietly yet easily among the elites of Dutch and English society throughout his life. He appears to have always been a respected member of them, even though he held a relatively unimportant public function for only two years, published his first book when he was in his late forties, and seems to have put little active effort into maintaining or expanding his circle of contacts. His own reputation, his family bonds, his relations with influential friends, and his patron Arundel must have assured him of such regard. His position evidently also allowed his relations with kinsmen and friends to transcend denominational or political boundaries. It was, apparently, neither problematic nor remarkable for him, for example, to have a Walloon father, an uncle who was the champion of the Counter-Remonstrants, and the various champions of the Remonstrants among his other relatives and friends. Nor was it too strange as a former Protestant predicant trained by a minister deeply inspired by Puritanism, for him to live at a predominately Roman Catholic court and converse with Anglican prelates, or to count both royalists and parliamentarians among his friends and fellow-scholars. Yet, while his sympathies were for England, his father was French, his mother Flemish, his place of birth the Palatine, his tomb in Windsor, and his papers in Oxford, Junius always considered himself a Dutchman, his fatherland the northern Low Countries and his mother tongue Dutch. These cross-religious and cross-political expanses of Junius and his Dutch and English circles also inform his letters.

The scope of Junius' life, circles and correspondence is aptly brought together in the engraving from *Schilder-konst* on the cover of the present edition. The engraving was made by his friend Hollar, the Bohemian draughtsman who was in the earl of Arundel's service, just like Junius; it was based on the portrait, now in the Bodleian library, by his friend Anthony van Dyck, the baroque painter who came from Antwerp, just like Junius' mother, and who portrayed the splendour of the English royalty and aristocracy, Arundel among them, that formed the context of Junius' art theory developed in *De pictura*; it was provided with a couplet by Junius' friend Joost van den Vondel, the Dutch author and playwright who was an intimate of Vossius in Amsterdam, and who was at the forefront of those striving to strengthen the prestige of the Dutch language, an endeavour to which *Schilder-konst* related directly. *Schilder-konst* itself joins the two major parts of Junius' life and studies, his twenty-year stay at Arundel's court in London that inspired *De pictura*, and the subsequent thirty

years based in the Low Countries, when he focused on studying his mother tongue and other early Germanic languages.

Corpus

Junius' correspondence runs parallel with the course of his life.¹¹ The earliest extant letter dates from 1602, when he was 11, and the last from 1674, when he was 83. Letters 1 to 26 concern his youth, education and tenure of the Hillegersberg ministry, and letters 27 to 31 the several months he spent in Paris. For Junius' twenty years as tutor and scholar in England, there are 123 extant letters, numbered 32 to 154 and [000].¹² The last seventy letters, numbered 155 to 224, bear witness to the final period of Junius' life, from 1642, when he was mostly based in Holland and devoted himself to Germanic studies.

For most years there is at least one letter in the corpus, and for many years four or five. Particularly well represented are the periods 1620–1622, 1629–1641, and 1650–1651. In 1620–1622, Junius moved abroad and found himself a position in Arundel's service. In the 1630s, contact was especially frequent with members of mostly the Vossius family, while it was so with Franciscus F.N. Junius in 1650–1651. By contrast, no letters are extant for the years 1603–1608, 1609–1610, 1619, 1623, 1647–1648, 1664, and 1672–1673, and possibly not for 1658. In 1603–1608, Junius still attended the Dordrecht Latin school, and may have had little occasion to write. In 1609–1610, he studied at Leiden, and one would expect him to have exchanged letters similar to letter 4 with Vossius to keep him informed of his progress. Letters dating from the politically fraught year 1619 were probably destroyed for safety reasons. The lack of correspondence from 1623, when Junius stayed at Harsnett's court, may be coincidental. Conversely, the absence of letters for the period 1647–1648 possibly had a deliberate cause, since Junius may have carried out an errand that was partly undercover. In 1658 Junius was in England, and likely had sufficient opportunity to converse in person with those

¹¹ For an inventory of the correspondence, see *Inventory of the Corpus* below.

¹² Letter [000] appears at the very end of the edition.

to whom he would have written otherwise. Letter 198, provisionally dated “ante 58 02 20” was probably written before 1658. In 1664, Junius occupied himself with the publication of the Gothic Gospels, about which he conceivably could have corresponded with Isaac Vossius, if not with others. Similarly, in 1672–1673, he might have kept in touch with Isaac, who lived in England by then.

As suggested by the lack of letters for some years, the present corpus of Junius’ correspondence is incomplete. In addition to the 226 extant letters, there were once many more such letters. Numerous letters both to and from relatives and non-relatives are missing. References in the correspondence and secondary sources indicate the certain one-time existence of at least eighty-four unretrieved letters and the probable existence of another fifteen. Less definite references indicate an unknown quantity of others, such as, for example, the largely unretrieved exchange of letters between Junius and his sister Johanna.¹³ Letters in Dutch, whether exchanged with his sisters or with others, seem to have been badly preserved in general. But there were no doubt also many more letters in Latin and English of which no trace is found. For instance, Marshall’s correspondence with Junius must have comprised at least twice as many letters, as only those Junius wrote to him, which usually replied to Marshall’s letters, have been retrieved. Similarly, all Dugdale’s letters to Junius are lost, and the preservation of Junius’ letters to Dugdale was a matter of chance.¹⁴ This leaves one to wonder whether Junius conducted a comparably spirited correspondence with anyone else.

The unretrieved letters were both to Junius’ known correspondents and to people who are no longer included among his correspondents, because their exchange of letters with him has not been retrieved at all.¹⁵ Those whose correspondence with Junius has been completely lost are Bishop Andrewes, van Barthem, Prudence Greene, Baron Hatton, Junius’ former professor of Greek Joannes Meursius, who had moved to the University of Sorø in Denmark, Viscount Stafford, Stearne, Sterne, Teellinck, Rudger Timpler, to whose brother

¹³ References to letters not found have been noted in the commentary to the texts. Missing letters with a known correspondent have been added to the *List of Correspondents and Letters Exchanged* below.

¹⁴ Hamper (1827:150) observed that Dugdale threw away his correspondence, and that the letters which are extant were found by coincidence in a bundle at the back of a chest.

¹⁵ See the *List of Correspondents and Letters Exchanged* below.

Christoph Junius had lent money, Vossius' amanuensis Cornelis Tollius, and presumably also Isaac de Brune, Gomarus, the polymath John Marsham, Willem Schaelkens, whom Junius had met with Grotius in Paris, the sculptor Robert van Voerst, and de Vere. Although the extent to which Junius maintained epistolary contact with them cannot be specified, it seems likely that correspondence with Hatton, Stafford, Meursius, Gomarus and de Vere comprised more than a single letter. Known correspondents to whose unretrieved exchange of letters explicit reference is made are Countess Aletheia, Jan de Brune, Johan de Brune, Clauberg, John Cotton, Doublet, Dugdale, Francius, Georg Gentius, John Greaves, de Groot, Grotius, Elizabeth, Johanna and Maria Junius, Franciscus F.N. Junius, Langbaine, Marshall, Nihusius, Fabian Philipps, Christian Ravius, Rubens, Vossius, and Dionysius, Isaac and Joannes Vossius. Any appreciation of Junius' letters would have to take this "shadow corpus" of lost letters and their writers or recipients into account.

Both with and without these unretrieved letters, Junius' correspondence is very much a family affair. Half of the corpus consists of letters exchanged with relatives. Vossius was Junius' most important contact; the letters they wrote make up nearly a third of the extant corpus. Many of these were written during the years Junius lived in London. There are almost twice as many by Vossius as there are by Junius, and from letter 112 in 1637 on, only one letter, 129, from Junius to his brother-in-law survives, while there are fourteen to Junius from him. References to lost letters, however, show that Junius' contribution to their contact was not much less than Vossius'. Besides, Junius also exchanged letters, some now lost, with other members of the Vossius family: his sister Elizabeth and his nephews Dionysius, Matthaëus, Isaac and Joannes Vossius. After Vossius' death in 1649, Junius used to write mostly to Isaac Vossius and to Franciscus Junius F.N. Furthermore, he corresponded regularly with his sister Johanna throughout their lives, although hardly any letters have survived. The corpus includes few letters indeed which do not refer to the Junius and Vossius families in one way or another. Not only do letters exchanged with others frequently mention Junius' kinsmen, some were also written first and foremost on their behalf, as Junius' epistolary intercourse with Casaubon, Francius, and Rous, for instance, demonstrates.

Beyond the extended Junius and Vossius families, there are only a few correspondents in the corpus with whom Junius exchanged

more than a letter or two. They are Grotius, de Groot, Gronovius, Dugdale, Marshall and Selden, as well as Rous and Francius, although their correspondence with Junius was prompted by familial duties, as noted. In addition, Philipps was one of Junius' regular correspondents in the 1650s and 1660s, as references to unretrieved letters demonstrate. Nevertheless, it seems to have been only with Dugdale and Marshall that Junius' epistolary contact was frequent over prolonged periods. Correspondence with Dugdale is extant for the 1650s and early 1660s, when Junius was living in Holland. Once Junius and Marshall had met in 1661, and especially after Junius had stayed in Dordrecht to collaborate with him on their edition for *Evangeliorum versiones*, they exchanged many a letter to continue the conversations they had whenever they had a chance to meet.

Junius' correspondence with most other friends appears to have been concentrated into short periods, rather than spread out over the course of many years. Seven of the ten letters between Grotius and Junius which have been retrieved are dated 1638 or 1639, the other three 1621 or 1622. Even though correspondence between them in these two periods has been lost, there is no suggestion that they wrote to each other during the intervening years. Their epistolary contact had been kindled when Junius was with Grotius and de Groot in Paris in 1621, and when he presented Grotius with a copy of *De pictura* in 1637. Correspondence with de Groot seems to have been similarly restricted to the years 1621–22. Letters exchanged with Gronovius are mostly dated 1639, just after Gronovius had been introduced to Junius in London, and 1651–52, when he lent an Old English glossary to Junius. The subsequent letter from 1657 suggests that they usually did not correspond, but were kept informed about each other by Isaac Vossius.

As shown by Junius' and Gronovius' contact, Junius' epistolary communication with a relative or friend was often not restricted to the letters they exchanged with each other. It was also maintained in correspondence with others, who functioned as intermediaries for convenience. Obviously, letters to and from kinsmen, such as those exchanged with Vossius, frequently were meant for the whole family. But channels for communication might also be more circumstantial, and consequently less expected. When Junius was in London and Isaac Vossius was staying at Queen Christina's court in Sweden, for instance, they seem to have conversed principally through Franciscus F.N., who was in the Low Countries. Both placed requests and sent

answers to each other in their letters to Franciscus F.N., who forwarded their messages in his own correspondence with them, as letters 165 to 175 testify. Likewise, during the first months when Junius was in England after meeting Grotius and de Groot in Paris in 1621, Junius and Grotius mostly communicated via de Groot, as can be seen in letters 32 to 35. When Junius lived in Holland in the 1650s, moreover, his memory was kept alive through Dugdale with such mutual friends as Somner, John Rushworth, Marsham, Philipps, Elias Ashmole, Thomas Cotton and Baron Hatton. Junius also enclosed etymological observations for Hatton in letter 205 to Dugdale. In like fashion, Junius himself was a mouthpiece for Marshall and Isaac Vossius in his correspondence with Marshall.

Special instances in which the interests of someone other than the correspondents were advanced are the many letters of recommendation or introduction in the corpus. In the time he spent at Arundel House, Junius received letters from Vossius, his nephews Matthaëus and Dionysius, and van Heemskerck that were written primarily to recommend or introduce their bearers, who hoped to be shown the collections of art and classical monuments there, as mentioned before. They included Adam Jerislaus and Jan Christoffel Berka, Johan Bodecher's son (possibly Nicholas), Coenraad Burgh, a son of one Castellanus, Gentius, Gronovius, Count Boguslaw Leszczynski, John Johnston, Christoffer and Henrik Lindenov, Hans Mule, Ravius, Jan Sictor Rokyczanus, two Dutch painters, Arnold, and a young man Verlaen. In turn, Junius wrote a letter of introduction on Ravius' behalf to Grotius in Paris, and on behalf of his nephew Isaac, Verlaen, and Burgh to Franciscus in Cambridge. He also recommended Jan van Vliet to Dugdale. Later, Marshall probably delivered Dugdale's presentation copy of *Monasticon anglicanum* (1660) with accompanying letter to Junius in order to make his acquaintance. Conversely, the German Roman Catholic corrector at Blaeu Bartholdus Nihusius, future suffragan bishop of Erfurt, wrote letter 179 to inform Junius that he had sent letters to his connections in Prague and Germany, probably to facilitate Viscount Stafford's travels there.

A distinctive place in the corpus is, furthermore, occupied by the dedicatory letters 108, 116, 189, 194 and 211. Since they were printed rather than being sent to the addressee, and since they did not expect a reply, these letters may appear not to belong in the corpus. Yet they precisely exemplify one of the principal functions of the letter in educated circles, that of honouring the addressee and

winning their favour. Junius' dedication of Vossius' *Harmoniae evangelicae* to Fabian Philipps with letter 193, for example, was a gesture of gratitude for Philipps' support of Junius in the latter's case against the Arundel family. Then, the possibility of dedicating *De pictura* to King Charles, which Matthew Wren in consultation with Archbishop Laud arranged for Junius, gave him an opportunity to honour the king and, indirectly, also his own patron, the king's Earl Marshal, and thus to curry favour with them. Junius' dedicating the English translation to his patroness Countess Aletheia could similarly have been a means of securing his position with the Arundel family. By contrast, not requiring such immediate benefits in Holland at the time, Junius allowed his nephew Jan de Brune to provide the letter of dedication to Prince Frederick Henry of Orange for the Dutch translation of *De pictura*. Frederick Henry was not only a worthy Dutch counterpart to King Charles, but also the brother of Prince Maurice, who had concerned himself with the guardianship of Junius and his sister Johanna after their parents' deaths. For Johanna's son Jan this was an excellent opportunity to draw the prince's attention.

The advancement of the interests of oneself or of one's relations was an important aspect of such early-modern educated correspondence as Junius'. Letters were the traffic of extensive networks of *boni*, "right-minded people," which transcended national or denominational boundaries, as testified by Junius' Dutch and English circles.¹⁶ These far-reaching webs enabled family, friends and scholars to win favours from each other and to strengthen their own reputations through their connections. The binding principle of these networks was the concept of *amicitia*, "friendship," which was understood as relations useful for one's position and advancement in the arts or in society more than as intimacy. *Amicitia* entailed mutual bonds of obligation, characterised by Stegeman (133) as "*do-ut-des*," and paraphrasable as "I do something for you so that you will do something for me in turn." The exchange of letters was one of the principal means of strengthening such relations and maintaining friendships, and, as indicated below, the style of composition of the letters was usually adapted to these functions. A correspondence thus simulta-

¹⁶ The following is adapted from van Romburgh (1999), and based on the study in Stegeman (1997:113–210); cf. IJsewijn and Sacré (1998:218–28).

neously acquired significance from and had significance for the relations in educated milieus. Hence, friends were often people whose favour and service could benefit one, rather than an intimate to whom one turned with private affairs. Because of the prevailing idea of *amicitia*, I have used the epithet “friend” generously in connection with Junius’ circles, and also applied it to those of Junius’ relations who would be considered relatively distant acquaintances nowadays.

A comparably inclusive perspective applied to family connections. Kinsmen appear to have been apt to specify familial bonds in their letters. They referred to relatives, also distant ones, as *cognatus* or *cognata*, “blood relative,” and *affinis*, “related by marriage.” Again, the distribution of these epithets is more generous and the extent of family membership wider than one might expect. While Vossius and Junius called each other *affinis*, and Junius called his nephews *cognatus*, in his Dutch letters, Junius referred to Vossius as *broeder*, “brother,” and both he and Vossius used *cognatus* to refer to some rather distant relatives by marriage, such as Thomas Bull, Bosman, van Barthem, David de la Haye and David de Ruyter. In 59c, Vossius even recommended his eldest son Joannes, child of a previous marriage, by emphasizing the blood relationship between Junius and his younger children through their mother Elizabeth Junius. This comprehensive perception of family relations not only reflects the importance of family ties at the time, it also demarcates in large measure the perspective in which Junius’ correspondence should be viewed.

The letters in the correspondence thus appear as the visible threads of a wide web of kinsmen and friends. For Junius, bonds with relatives were especially important. But as his kinsmen were respected members in the worlds of scholarship and local administration, their concerns were not with family affairs only, but with all aspects of educated life. The role of the letters in the advancement of learning stands out, and is therefore highlighted next.

Intellectual Exchange

The letters reveal how Junius’ extended educated circles operated, and what a central role the correspondence played in their intellectual exchange. The letters were a channel for news on one’s own and one’s friends’ projects and forthcoming publications. That is why

Junius' correspondence can be quite as relevant for an appreciation of some of his friends' studies as for those of Junius himself.¹⁷ To some extent, Junius' correspondence was also a platform for learned discourse. But the amount of scholarly discussions conducted in the letters is relatively small. More often, they included requests for information and materials for studies. Participants lent each other transcriptions, manuscripts and their own annotations on texts, often enclosed with the letters. Thus, those interested had access to materials long before they were published. Requests for such materials also included requests for the purchase of books unavailable at home. Since the writers of Junius' letters were usually based in or close to major book centres, such requests were not difficult to gratify. Yet the correspondence also formed an alternative circuit for the spread of books in a more prominent way. Correspondents often presented each other with their own and their friends' new publications as gifts. This ensured both the spread of these publications, and the continuation of the participants' friendly relations. These aspects of intellectual exchange are discussed below. Details on Junius' studies as found in the texts are addressed first.

Many letters in the corpus are particularly relevant for an ultimate interpretation of Junius' diverse study interests and achievements. The list of his books Junius asked to be sent over to England in 42f–h testify to at least part of his interests in 1622. They are broad in scope, with a certain emphasis on Greek texts, standard works from the early Church, and contemporary history, presumably to supplement books he had already with him. They included Stephanus' *Thesaurus Graecae linguae*, orations of the Athenians Demosthenes and Isocrates, the collection of Greek poetry *Anthologia Graeca*, Plutarch's Greek biographies *Parallela*, the Greek work on agriculture *Geoponica*, Petrus Scriverius' edition of Seneca's tragedies, Grotius' edition of Lucanus' *Pharsalia*, an epic poem about Caesar's achievements, St. Augustine's *De civitate dei*, Optatus Afer's *De schismata Donatistarum* (4th c.), Salvianus' criticism of contemporary, fifth-century abuses, Minucius' defence of Christianity (c. 200 A.D.), Hadrianus Junius' epitome of Joannes Textor's collection of epithets, Georg Peurbach's standard astronomical textbook *Theoricae novae planetarum*, the published correspondence of Junius the Elder with Brownists, Ogier Ghiselin van

¹⁷ For details on Junius' friends' projects of study, cf. Index.

Boesbeeck's *Legationis turcicae epistolae*, Nicolas Clenard's published correspondence, contemporary histories of the state and church in Germany and France by Joannes Sleidanus and Jean de Serres, Grotius' *Poemata collecta*, as well as new copies of Vossius' *Historiae Pelagianae* and *Responsio ad Ravenspergerum*, which both refuted accusations against Remonstrants. In this period, Junius' Latin fluency made Grotius ask him to translate his irenic defense of Christianity *Bewijs van den waren godsdienst* (1622) into Latin, something Junius eventually happened not to have leisure for (40e). It also made the English essayist and poet George Fortescue turn to him for an interpretation of the stylistic terminology with which the Italian rhetorician Famiano Strada had qualified Fortescue's Latin (54, 55, App2). When Junius' learning had found a more specific purpose in the compilation of *Catalogus artificum*, and later *De pictura* and its translations, matters relating to these projects make repeated appearances in the correspondence, from 58b to 129e, and continue to be mentioned occasionally right up to the end of the corpus.

In letter 58, Junius asked Vossius to find and send him Julius Caesar Bulengerus' *De pictura* (1627), and to discuss with him why St. Luke is patron of painters. Only more than a year later, however, Vossius seems to have received news of Junius' study project from a more recent, unretrieved letter delivered by William Petty, and from his son Joannes' letter (63d). Vossius' description of Junius' studies as the preparation of "something on the art of sculpture and painting of the ancients" [*aliqua de statuaria arte ac picturis veterum*] may indicate that they had by then progressed to involve not only work for the *Catalogus artificum*, but also for the preliminary, theoretical treatise that was to become *De pictura* (1637). Vossius enumerated previous studies on the subject by Pomponius Gauricus, Joannes Molanus, and, indeed, Bulengerus (63d). When the manuscript of *De pictura* was sent to Vossius to exact his opinion, Junius explained as the principal reason for its genesis that his theoretical observations had gradually grown to the size of a real book, and that Bulengerus and other treatises on the subject had little satisfied him (93, 95b). He also asked Vossius to send him Hesychius' Greek *Dictionarium* (1521) and Bonaventura Vulcanius' *Thesaurus utriusque linguae* (1600), presumably for the benefit of his studies (94a, 95a). Subsequent correspondence between Junius and Vossius from the autumn of 1634 until the summer of 1637 frequently concerned the various aspects relative to the printing of the treatise. These will be discussed below.

A passing reference to Junius' aptitude for teaching mathematics at Amsterdam, adduced by Vossius as a possible solution for Junius' departure to Paris in 1631, meanwhile reveals that Junius was not focused exclusively on the preparation of *Catalogus artificum* and *De pictura* (84c). He was also intrigued by trigonometry, algebraic geometry, and logarithms, which his friend Oughtred was studying.

Several letters testify that Junius' approach to his studies of the classical visual arts was philological. For his frequent use of Philostratus the Elder and the Younger, he collated a Greek Philostratus manuscript from the Cottonian library he had borrowed from Young with the text in his edition of 1550 in order to find the best readings, as he affirmed to Dugdale years later (195b). His frequent use of Vitruvius' *De architectura*, furthermore, led him to desire to collate two manuscripts, probably from the Arundel and Cotton collections (164b), with an incunable in Joannes' possession, which he requested on loan in 105h. The collations were meant to be preparatory for a new edition, for the purpose of which Vossius also offered to send over another early edition (118d). Grotius took up the philological approach of *De pictura* with the point he raised about it in 117b. Instead of commenting on Junius' art theory or on the visual arts of the Classics, he proposed an alternative reading for the phrase "Judaica vela" in Claudian, *In Eutropium* 1.356–57, which Junius had quoted in *De pictura* 2.8.9. Rubens, by contrast, responded to Junius' approach by advocating the value of the sensory perception of actual paintings, such as those by Italian masters, and thus engaged in the debate between ancients and moderns (114b).

Even before *De pictura* came out, Junius was working on Dutch and English translations of the book, which he described in 102c, 105a and 129e. The reason he adduced for desiring to make the translations himself, even though that necessarily resulted in a less elegant style of English than a native speaker's, is that others might not sufficiently understand his intentions (102c, 105a). This confirms the notion that Junius intended *De pictura* foremost as a theory, rather than an art history. Both translations, however, seem to have been the first long texts he produced in these vernaculars, and thus to have required him to tread in new fields of learning and expertise. Whereas Junius' dedicatory letter to Countess Aletheia for *Painting* does apologize for his abilities as a non-native speaker, but does not seek to legitimize the use of the vernacular for its subject matter (116b), Jan de Brune's dedicatory letter to Prince Frederick Henry

for *Schilder-konst* praises Junius' style of Dutch and embellishment of their mother tongue, thus turning the book into a manifestation and confirmation of the prestige of the Dutch language (129e). That the Dutch and English translations were not Junius' final activities regarding the arts of the ancients is testified by recurrent subsequent references to the *Catalogus artificum* and to a projected second edition of *De pictura* in 155a–b, 175c, 216c, 217b, and 221b. In letter 155, Junius thanked Johannes Smetius for a list of potters, probably culled from the inscriptions in Smetius' collection of archaeological finds from Nijmegen, and indicated that he meant to include them in *Catalogus artificum*. Writing in 1643, he added that he was working on a second edition of *De pictura*, planned to be brought out again by Blaeu. He continued preparations for it in October 1651, and from February 1668 probably until early 1670, if not later.

From letter 164 up until the final letter of the corpus, however, references to Junius' studies in the correspondence first and foremost concern his fascination with the older Germanic languages, and the work he undertook in this field of scholarship.¹⁸ The references suggest that he usually engaged in several projects simultaneously. The first mention of Junius' Germanic studies, dating from January 1649, is his request to Isaac Vossius to find him Ole Worm's treatise on "runic" literature *Runer seu Danica literatura* (1636) (164c). He had already begun to compare the runes in Worm's other runic publications with Anglo-Saxon characters. The reference does not imply that Junius had much expertise in either Old English or "Cimbric," that is, Old Norse, as yet. But he had already stayed with the antiquarian Sir Simonds d'Ewes, and would do so again, to assist in compiling an Old English lexicon and editing Ælfric's grammar; neither of which, however, were to appear. In the second extant reference, 169d, from May 1650, Junius described to his nephew Franciscus F.N. his nearly completed "Etymologicum teutonicum," or etymological dictionary of Dutch—which Gronovius alluded to as being on the origins of (Anglo-)Saxon (176a). Junius explained that he referred the words to their Greek origins, at which he arrived by a comparative study of Old High German, Old English, and Gothic, or, more likely, Old Norse. The work on this dictionary delayed his

¹⁸ For a more elaborate discussion of the course of Junius' Germanic studies, cf. Breuker (1990/1998), van Romburgh (2001).

return to Holland, for in England he could borrow or consult many relevant antiquities “ad illustrationem septentrionalium linguarum” [for the elucidation of the northern languages], such as John Rushworth’s splendid Macregol Gospels, which comprised Old English interlinear running glosses, comparable to the Cottonian Lindisfarne Gospels (169e). It was because of the probability that Isaac Vossius had become acquainted with ancient Gothic in Sweden that Junius desired him to give his opinion about the dictionary (169d). Likewise, at Junius’ request Archbishop Ussher responded with an appraisal of the state of Gothic studies and the Gospels in letter 173. Probably for the benefit of the “Etymologicum,” moreover, with letter 176, Gronovius sent to Junius a “Latin–Theotiscan” glossary, which turned out to be a Latin–Old English one, full of transcriptional errors, which Junius corrected in the margin (176b, 177a). Junius never published the “Etymologicum teutonicum,” however, and it is no longer extant. Yet it was presumably the grounds for his implicit plea to the Leiden Trustees to be assigned the task of compiling such a dictionary of Dutch in emulation of Kiliaan’s (189e).

After these earliest years, the references to Junius’ Germanic studies gain in diversity. In letter 183, dating from January 1653, Arnold addressed Junius with some questions on Old English poetry, because he intended to write a treatise on early poetry. He recalled how Junius and he had discussed the so-called Junius manuscript of Old English biblical poetry, and this letter contains a paraphrase of Junius’ earliest known appreciation of it. Alluding to the runic Edda and to Irish poetry, about the latter of which Ussher had informed him, Arnold was especially interested as to whether Old English poetry was rhythmic. Then, when Junius’ subsequent journey to Germany had yielded him a manuscript of the Old High German version of Tatian’s *Diatessaron* that had belonged to Marquard Freher, he began to prepare a commentary to it (204f). Next, in November 1654, Junius informed Selden how the acquisition of Old High German glossaries and the Murbach Hymnal (both of which Isaac Vossius had bought at the auction of Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn’s library) enabled him to emulate Freher’s and Melchior Goldast’s Old High German publications (187a). He concentrated on the glossaries, which he wanted to compare with the Old English documents he had transcribed in England, in the Cottonian library, thanks to Selden’s mediation. Throughout, he seems to have applied himself to comparing the various early Germanic languages for etymological purposes.

Such a comparative approach had become particularly promising with the arrival of the *Codex argenteus* comprising the Gothic Gospels in the summer of 1654. In letter 188, written in November, Junius granted to be completely captivated by the Codex, and to consider adding an excerpt from it to his *Observationes in Willeramum*, which experienced a delay in printing, to whet the reader's appetite (188a, d). First, however, he had to rearrange the fragments of the Codex (211g). In January 1656, Junius was comparing Gothic with his private manuscript Old English dictionary, thinking that it would improve the understanding of Cædmon, and other Old English, Old Norse and Old High German texts, as he wrote to Dugdale (190b). Then, in the later 1650s, Junius seems to have concentrated on the compilation of an English etymological dictionary, as will be discussed below.

Yet this was not his only undertaking. Dating from 1657, letter 196, which accompanied a copy of the Old Frisian *Druk*, and included van Hemmema's request to Junius for a translation of an Old Frisian *baer*, the settlement of a dispute between the Siuwerdsma and van Hemmema families, testifies to Junius' continuing interest in Frisian. His promotion of the Old Frisian laws for Dugdale's *Origines iuridiciales* (1666) reveals that he was in touch about them with Jan van Vliet and the historian of the States of Friesland, Simon Abbes Gabbema, who had better manuscripts of them, as he knew (206b). In the same letter, dating from 1661, Junius enumerated the various projects he was working on at the time (206a); the annotation of his Old High German glossaries, his commentary to Tatian, and transcriptions and, possibly, annotations of the Old English Alfredian version of Pope Gregory's *Cura pastoralis*, and King Alfred's Old English Boethius. Significantly, perhaps, the Gothic Gospels are not among them. Junius wrote to Isaac only in January 1663 that he wanted to begin to annotate the Gothic Gospels, upon finishing some "Islandica" (209b). After his return from Dordrecht on behalf of the publication of *Evangeliorum versiones* and *Gothicum glossarium*, Junius intended to prepare an enlarged second edition of *Observationes in Willeramum*, for which he asked his friend in Frankfurt to find him Freher's annotations and collations on Willeram, as published by Gotthard Vögelin (1631), and a Latin-German dictionary (210c). The dictionary would be of use for the annotations both on Willeram and on Otfrid of Weissenburg's Old High German *Evangelienbuch*, Junius guessed. In the same period, he continued to prepare his annotated Old High German

glossaries for the press (216b). But having failed to find an opportunity to bring them out, he took up the study of Chaucer in the later 1660s, with the help of Gavin Douglas' translation of Virgil (1553), and an unidentified "comment upon Chaucer" which Marshall sent to him in the summer of 1667 (216b, 214a). Finally, in February 1670, Junius informed Marshall that he was studying Otfrid again.

One of the projects discussed with some depth in the course of the correspondence is Junius' compilation of an etymological dictionary of English. In 205d, he proposed to Dugdale that such a dictionary be made by an Englishman, to whom he was willing to supply all materials he had already collected. He indicated that it was only his advanced age that made him hesitate to undertake this himself, although he believed that he would be able to emulate Giles Menage's French etymological dictionary (1650). He continued to expand his manuscript dictionary on his own, however, and it was posthumously published as *Etymologicum anglicanum* by Edward Lye. In the letter to Dugdale, it is significant that Junius abundantly praised the elegance of the English language, favouring it as "much more capable of goodly and gallant ornaments" than the contemporary Romance languages—as if, after his failed attempt to be assigned the task of compiling a dictionary of Dutch, he had turned his focus on English instead.

The letter also gives insight into the ways Junius collected materials for the dictionary from his explanation of the context of an enclosed letter to Baron Hatton (205a–c). When staying with Hatton in the late 1650s, Junius had shown his host "an alphabetical collection of English words" he had provided with their proper meaning and etymology, adding that he would like to augment it, if he had a good English dictionary, because the standard English dictionaries of John Rider and Thomas Thomas were "very defective." Hatton promised to send him a collection of rare words he had compiled himself. They had discussed English vocabulary and etymology several times, and on one occasion discussed the word *findie*. A little later, Junius transcribed the Old English *Pastoral Care*, in which the word *ungefynde* occurs, that seemed related, but not satisfactorily so. Then, Junius discussed the word with Somner and others, not to satisfaction either. On his return to Holland, he began to compare present-day Danish with "Cimbric," because of the great influence of Danish on early English. Hence, he had found "the true signification and original" of the word *findie* in Danish *fyndig*, which is what he had explained

in the letter to Hatton. This demonstrates a research method that included comparative evidence, suggestions from fellow antiquarians, dictionaries, and ancient documents to cull the “true signification and originall” of words. The method is also apparent in other letters. Langbaine, as a native speaker, made proposals for quite a number of words for the dictionary (198). And letter 208 partly consists of notes on the English words *smoult* and *speckle* derived from existing dictionaries. Junius had discussed the words with Marshall and the minister of the Scottish congregation in Dordrecht Robert Pagett, and they had, likewise, made enquiries for him about “the proper signification” of these words, probably among their congregations. It was likely for his English etymological dictionary too that Junius wanted to borrow from Marshall a treatise with “all manners of sea-termes” in 1666 (213c).

The correspondence more often witnesses Junius’ approach and the development of his ideas. Junius elaborated on the description of the comparative method originally used for “Etymologicum teutonicum” in his dedicatory letter to *Observationes in Willeramum*, letter 189. In it, he promoted the comparison of early Germanic languages, Old High German, Old English, and Gothic, for the enrichment of his mother tongue Dutch, and for the light it shed on the Romance languages. He pointed out that antiquarians had studied these early languages individually, but that he was the first to devote himself to language comparison. His enumeration of foreigners dedicating their studies to their early native tongues, and his references to “Philo-teutones” (and, towards Dugdale, to “lovers of Antiquities” [190c]) suggest an aspiration to establish a field of scholarship, create an antiquarian community, and plot the *status quaestionis* of early northern studies. On behalf of the Leiden Trustees to whom the book was dedicated, Junius emphasized the embellishing capacities of such studies for the Dutch language, capacities that had special momentum seven years after the northern Low Countries had become a Republic.

In continuation of these convictions, Junius’ dedication to de la Gardie for *Evangeliorum versiones*, letter 211, highlights the usefulness of the Gothic Gospels for the recovery of the origins of Dutch. Junius explained that the grandeur of Dutch had led him to research its roots and lineage, which he had in vain tried to find through Old High German and through Old English. But from the excerpts of the *Codex argenteus* in Vulcanius’ *De literis* (1597), he had found “ipsum caput fontemque linguarum Septentrionalium” [the very head and

source of the northern languages], because Gothic, he claimed, derived from the same source as Greek (211d). From the Gospels in the Codex, furthermore, he had discovered that the Gothic language had a natural splendour, was refined, and perfectly suited to the expression of the exalted subject matter of the Gospels (211h).

Junius also elaborated on more practical aspects of his comparative approach. In order to visualize his comparative perspective, he used different fonts for the various early languages, both in his letters (in 203 and 204, for instance), and in his publications. For printing, he had special fonts made, which he promised to send to Selden to see how his English friends liked them (187a). Furthermore, he described his preferred, but not executed, layout for *Evangeliorum versiones* to Isaac Vossius (209b). On one page, the fragments of the Gothic Gospels and the Old English Gospels would be printed in columns, and on the facing page the Greek and Vulgate Latin versions, all four “vers op vers passende” [verse fitting verse]. Since the Gothic was a translation of the Greek version, and the Old English a translation of the Latin, this layout would facilitate comparative analysis. Similarly, Junius argued in 204d that he always tried to adduce as many attestations of a word as possible to enable the reader to make comparisons. Further, he underlined that, for such comparisons to be worthwhile, one should turn to the oldest possible evidence derived from Gothic, Old Norse, Old English and Old High German texts. Because of the untrustworthiness of later transcripts, he had determined to use only the most authentic documents for his studies (177a). For, as he argued to Clauberg in 204x, while books of the middle ages could be of limited use because of their many errors and corruptions, more ancient documents preserved many characteristics of a pristine antiquity. These were a better source to enrich the mother tongue than the fashionable words from Romance languages in the speech of young Dutchmen, at which he expressed his disgust in 204d. He added the topical complaint, however, that a rivalry for the prevalence of High or Low German thwarted his efforts; yet at the same time, he claimed that Dutch (or Low German) seemed to prevail (204y–z).

Actual examples of etymological explanations demonstrating this approach occur in the correspondence in letters 203, 204, and 208. While letter 208 includes the aforementioned notes on *smoult* and *speckle*, letters 203 and 204 to Clauberg are detailed responses to ety-

mological questions on a number of words, *lichaem* (203c-i), *demoed/oodmoed* (204b-c, e-f), *antfristot uurthan* (204g-p, concentrating on the prefix *ant-*), *adel* (204q), *hunger* (204r-s), *arbeyd* (203t-u), *bank* (204v), and *bauch* (204w). Much in these notes was copied by Junius from his annotations to Tatian. Moreover, letter 207 accompanied his responses to questions van Vliet had raised about the Frisian proverbs Junius had stimulated him to prepare for publication.

From these references, it may be seen that the number of full discussions of scholarly topics is fairly small. Junius seems to have preferred to use mediums other than his correspondence to exchange intellectual views, and to have resorted to the pen only when prevented from face-to-face contact. For, as letters 203, 204 and 208 prove, discussions on paper implied much copying of text. Personal communication with habitués of Arundel House, such as Selden, is presumably also at the root of the lack of discourse on art and art history in the correspondence while *De pictura* and *Catalogus artificum* were in the making. Likewise, Junius' stay in Dordrecht near Marshall accounts for the absence in their letters of anything to do with their collaboration on the preparation of *Evangeliorum versiones*, which is mentioned only with respect to its distribution after publication.

Yet Junius' corpus is full of references which demonstrate that epistolary relations between scholars played an essential role in the spread of ideas and texts. One's friendship with a scholar also gave access to his own circle of befriended scholars, and their projects of study. Hence, direct contact between two scholars was not absolutely necessary in order for them to benefit from each other's notes, transcriptions and other materials. What is more, the routes which were used to come by relevant materials could be rather circumstantial, and involve several mediators. But the need to involve others in order to get desired materials need not be seen as cumbersome. True, it was most practical to borrow a relevant manuscript from a friend one regularly met, but the engagement of others one did not know oneself added an attractive social aspect to the process of one's studies. Since many of those in Junius' circles were not attached to a university—Junius included, this social aspect had unmistakable relevance and appeal. It seems to have founded a sense of one being part of a community which was cherished for, and existed by virtue of, these reciprocal bonds of learned exchange. For the present-day student of early modern scholarship, it is good to realize that even

the recognition that two scholars were friends of friends can be adequate justification for an assumption that they had access to each other's expertise, when desired.

The functioning of learned relations can be observed particularly well in routes that involved more people in the correspondence. For example, when Thomas Stanley, who was preparing an edition of Aeschylus, wanted to enquire of Salmasius for new materials, his uncle Marsham, a friend of Junius through Dugdale and Greaves, intimated this, probably through Greaves, to Junius, who forwarded the request to Isaac Vossius, who was attached to the court of Queen Christina of Sweden, just like Salmasius—except that a conflict between Salmasius and Isaac prevented the latter from doing the favour (181b). Much, indeed, can be seen to have depended on the preservation of the occasionally delicate stability of such friendly relations.

A small affair involving, again, both Marsham and Isaac illustrates this aptly. Marsham desired to borrow a text on the Egyptian Nomarchs from Isaac Vossius through Junius, but Isaac had meanwhile heard from his friend Gronovius how Goswijn Hogers, one of Gronovius' former students, had written to his former professor that John Pearson had indicated how Marsham had raised doubts about Isaac's *De aetate mundi* to him. Isaac therefore seemed less inclined to gratify Marsham's request, so that Junius was compelled to insist that neither he nor Herbert Thorndike, a mutual friend, had heard Marsham voice such negative opinions about Isaac's work. Marsham himself thereupon visited Junius to emphasize that instead of raising doubts about *De aetate mundi*, he had commended it to various people, and that the student must have been misinformed. Thus, in two letters to Isaac, Junius strove to stabilize the relations between his friend and his nephew, presumably to satisfaction (199b, 201c).

Nevertheless, despite the failed contact with Salmasius, and the unease around his uncle's opinion about *De aetate*, Stanley corresponded with Isaac after the appearance of Aeschylus (1663), and later urged his friend Edward Sherburne to write to Isaac concerning his intended edition of Manilius. Sherburne's friend the London bookseller Robert Scott delivered Sherburne's letter in 1669, when he was with Isaac and Junius for business, which included negotiations about the price of *Evangeliorum versiones*. Isaac thereupon provided materials both for Sherburne and for Stanley's Aeschylus studies. Junius, in turn, wrote this to Marshall to keep him informed (220b).

The letters of Junius' correspondence were more often accompa-

nied by books, ancient manuscripts, transcriptions and notes lent to friends or friends' friends. For example, Junius borrowed for Isaac Vossius' projected edition of Ptolemy two ancient Ptolemy manuscripts from the Arundel collection (129g). And, in response to Grotius' philological interest in his *De pictura*, Junius arranged that Young, the royal librarian, sent to Grotius variant readings from the *Codex Alexandrinus* for the benefit of the latter's annotations on the Gospels (119c). Similarly, Junius forwarded material on Palaephatus and Cornutus from Young to Cornelis Tollius via Franciscus F.N., and Young's annotations on the Letter of St. Clement to Isaac Vossius (167f, 141a). Through his nephew Isaac, he promised to Nicolaas Heinsius, who was preparing an edition of Ovid, to bring Sir Roger Twysden's manuscripts of *Metamorphoses* with him on his return to Holland, and he later sent a copy of the completed edition to Twysden at Heinsius' request (201e). When Junius was in England in 1659, he used his connections to gain permission for Isaac to borrow the *Codex Alexandrinus* from the former King's Library at St. James', although his nephew seems to have been too lax to have availed himself of the opportunity (199d). Junius also enquired on Isaac's behalf as to whether Strabo's *Codex Romanus* from Young's former library was for sale (199c). Junius' letter 214 seems to have been accompanied by volumes 1 and 6 of the *London Polyglot* (1657) Isaac Vossius had on loan from Thorndike, to enable Marshall to continue his study of Samaritan at home in Dordrecht, instead of on a visit to Junius and Isaac.

On the other hand, together with letter 196, Junius received a copy of the incunable *Druk* with Old Frisian laws (196a) from de Vere's relative Doeke van Hemmema, with the assurance that the Leeuwarden town secretary Theodoor Saeckma was also willing to lend materials for Junius' Frisian studies (196c). And Marshall sent James Windet's *Minha behula* (1663) and an unidentified commentary on Chaucer with his letter for Isaac Vossius' and Junius' use (214a). Clearly, the most diverse scholarly materials, including rare ancient manuscripts and handwritten notes, were made available to those interested through Junius' correspondence well before they were published. The notes from which Junius quoted in his long expository letters to Clauberg, 203 and 204, for instance, still await publication.

This informal network for the exchange of learned materials also allowed correspondents to place requests for the purchase of books in the book centres of Leiden, Amsterdam and London. With letter

4, for example, Matthias Flacius Illyricus' Otrifrid (1571) and Paullus Merula's Willeram (1598), which Jean de Nerée had bought in Leiden for Junius' brother Johan Casimir, were forwarded by Junius to Vossius to have them sent on to his brother. Vossius, Isaac Diamant, and the Dordrecht physician Franciscus Persijn also asked Junius to buy books at a Leiden auction for them (6c). Much later, with letter 68, Junius sent a parcel including an unidentified Italian book for Franciscus Vossius, Benedetto de Accolti's *De bello a Christianis* for Matthaeus Vossius, and Sidney, probably the *Arcadia* (1627), for Dionysius Vossius, all of which Junius seems to have bought at their request in London. Likewise, he sent a recently published edition of Matthew Paris' *Historia maior* (1640) to his nephew Matthaeus with an unretrieved letter (140a) from there. And Vossius asked him for a book in Latin describing the rites of the Church of England (109b). In his turn, Vossius had bought for Junius a copy of Hesychius (1521) and Bonaventura Vulcanius' *Thesaurus* (1600) in Holland, and sent them with letter 94.

Furthermore, when back in Holland, Junius tried to find "Strozza or Sforza *De condenda urbe nova*" for Selden (187b), and Fridericus Sylburgius' *Rudimenta* (1582/1600) for John Cotton, while his nephew Isaac had acquired two manuscripts, one of which was a *Geoponika* from Paris, for Cotton (221a). The fact that the books Matthaeus Vossius had had as historiographer of Holland and Zeeland had already been sold after his death also meant that Junius would have to look for appropriate titles with booksellers in order to gratify Dugdale's request for materials relating to the extensive land reclamation conducted in Holland, for the benefit of Dugdale's *History of Imbanking* (1662) (195c). Private purchase was arranged in the letters more often. In 218a, Junius informed Marshall of Isaac Vossius' Coptic Gospels, which had been sold to Theodorus Petri, who kept postponing coming to pay and pick them up. Since he had an interest in the Gospels himself, Marshall desired Junius to watch the transfer, for Isaac next meant to offer them to Melchisedech Thevenot if Petri kept procrastinating. As a result, Marshall managed to secure the Gospels for himself.

The letters accordingly also include references to book prices. In 1615, Junius bought a manuscript comprising Guido da Colonna, certain Letters to the Pharaoh, and Alanus de Insulis, and a paper manuscript of Terence in London for four English shillings each, "pretio non magno" [not a high price] (10c). With letter 11, Vossius

added a list of commentators on Aristotle he had just bought from Janus or Winand Rutgers, albeit expensively, so that Junius no longer needed to look for them in England. He added that he would sell possible duplicates to others for the same price—to emphasize that he did not want to make a profit (11e). In 1612, furthermore, Vossius maintained that prices at Leiden auctions used not to be forced up much above the price in the catalogue (6c). Yet the copy of Hesychius that he bought for Junius in Holland cost twelve to thirteen guilders in 1634, whereas Junius had bought a copy for eleven guilders in London (94a, 95a). Moreover, in 1650, when the forced sale of valuables and rare books by the royalist aristocracy during the first few years of the Commonwealth presumably reduced prices, Greaves had found Arabic and Greek manuscripts for Queen Christina with the London bookseller Cornelius Bee (166c). But in 1652, England was highly priced again in comparison to Venice, Florence, Rome, Naples and Sicily, where, as Junius reported to Greaves, Nicolaas Heinsius had discovered that “old Latin and Greek manuscripts are . . . at the rate of so much a pound; as if books were to be valued only by the weight of parchment” (191a). The manuscript of *Geoponika* from Paris was expensive, according to Junius, for its thirteen pistoles (a pistole probably being ten francs), but since there were no auctions in Leiden due to the raging plague, there had been no other way to satisfy Cotton’s request (221a). Finally, ten years after publication, Junius’ *Observationes in Willeramum* cost so much, four or five guilders at Leiden auctions, that Junius planned to bring out a second, enlarged edition (210c). This price, presumably for a bound copy, was actually the same as that for an unbound copy of *Evangeliorum versiones*, as mentioned below.

More notable for the spread of books with the correspondence is the practice of letter writers to present new publications to befriended scholars and dignitaries whose favour it was important to foster. This forms a recurrent theme in the corpus. Often, letters were enclosed with a new publication by the sender or an intimate of the sender as a gift for the recipient. Often, too, the recipient was asked to distribute copies to others, and thus to strengthen bonds in their networks. The list of those whom Junius desired to offer his *De pictura* illustrates the range of family, friends, and dignitaries who were obliged by this favour. They included King Charles, to whom the book was dedicated; Charles, Prince of Wales; Charles Louis, Prince Elector of the Palatinate, and his brother Rupert, both of whom Junius had met; his patron the earl of Arundel; the father of Junius’

pupils, lord Maltravers; his former pupil William Howard; Archbishop Laud; the Bishops Juxon, Williams, and Wren, who had urged him to dedicate the book to Charles; Vossius and his family; Junius' brother-in-law Samuel Naeranus, his uncle Gomarus; Claudius Salmasius, who had asked Junius for drawings of the Arundel marbles; Vossius' colleague Caspar Barlaeus, Grotius, Doublet, van Heemskerck, who had delivered the manuscript of *De pictura* to Vossius, and other, unnamed aristocrats and dignitaries (107d). One may assume that Junius presented friends at Arundel's court with copies himself. He subsequently received letters of thanks from Rubens (114), and Grotius (117), and *De usuris* (1638) as a return gift from Claudius Salmasius with letter 118. In Junius' name, Vossius also presented Meursius and Joachim Borgesius, Franciscus F.N.'s tutor in Groningen, with copies of *De pictura* (113c).

The list of English friends Junius wished to present with *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665) is equally illustrative of his English relations in the late 1660s. They include his former pupils the earl of Oxford and Henry Howard, John Cotton, whose library had yielded much material for Junius' Germanic studies, Marsham and Elias Ashmole, both friends through Dugdale, Dugdale himself, Philipps, who had assisted Junius in his case against Stafford, John Rushworth, whose Anglo-Saxon Gospels manuscript Junius had used, and the Anglo-Saxonist William Somner (214e). Once again, the gift elicited or renewed epistolary contact, but it has not been retrieved (217a).

Letters were also sent with new publications by Junius' friends. After their meeting in Paris, Junius received several of Grotius' works; *Stuytinghe van een tastelijcke loghen* and *Silva ad Thuanum* through de Groot (33j, 35j), *Apologeticus* through Christopher Wren (44dn), and *Disquisitio an Pelagiana sint*, with which Junius also presented Laud and Bishop Harsnett (44e). This way, he helped spread Grotius' publications, which were not available in England at the time. Later, Vossius meant to send copies of Grotius' *Sophompaneas* to Junius and other English friends (101j). Junius further received Ravius' *Panegyrica secunda* (1644), probably with an unretrieved letter (156a), and Gronovius' *Observationum liber novus* (1652) with additional copies and letters to forward to his nephew Isaac and Queen Christina in Sweden (180b). Junius himself sent letter 58 with Selden's *Marmora Arundelliana* (1628) to Vossius, and enclosed Jan van Vliet's *'t Vader Ons* (1664) with letter 210 to a bookseller in Frankfurt. His letter 213 to Marshall was sent with two copies of Isaac Vossius' *De Nilo* (1666) on the author's

behalf, one for Marshall and one for the Dordrecht predicant Jacobus Lydius, an unidentified parchment “toy” from William Boswell’s auction, and a *Vocabularium*, which had both belonged to Isaac. Dugdale’s unretrieved letters to Junius repeatedly accompanied books of his that had just appeared; two volumes of *Monasticon* (1655), *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656), and *The History of St. Paul’s* (1658) (195a, 206a, 216a).

Vossius and other family members obviously sent their new books to Junius in London too. Letter 47, for example, accompanied Vossius’ *Rhetorices contractae* and *De rhetorices natura* at Junius’ request, an unretrieved letter *De historicis Graecis* (1623), letter 57 *De historicis Latinis* (1627), and Dionysius’ letter 86 Vossius’ Amsterdam inaugural address *De historia utilitate* (1632). Letter 94 presented Junius with Dionysius Vossius’ translations of Everard van Reyd’s *Historie* (1631) and of Menasseh ben Israel’s *Conciliador* (1632), and another copy of Dionysius’ *Panegyricus* (1633), which Junius already had for his own use. On Dionysius’ behalf, Junius sent two copies of the *Panegyricus* to Casaubon and Bargrave with letter 89. In addition, letter 103 was enclosed with Matthaeus Vossius’ *Annales* (1635); letter 131 with Gerardus Vossius’ *Velleius* (1639), and the promise of Isaac Vossius’ *Iustinus* (1640); letter 152 with Dionysius’ *Maimonides* (1641), and letter 158 with Franciscus Junius F.N.’s *Disputationes* (1645). Letter 126 was sent with four copies of Isaac Vossius’ *Scylax* (1639), which Junius presented to Laud, Bishop Wren and Henry Bourchier, earl of Bath, in Isaac’s name, besides keeping one for himself (129f). Likewise, letter 134 indicated that Georg Gentius would deliver two copies of Franciscus Vossius’ *Carmen de victoria navali* (1640) to Junius, for himself and a friend. Much later, Junius received Isaac Vossius’ *De vera aetate mundi* (1659) with an unretrieved letter (201e).

Furthermore, while 57c simply reveals to whom else Vossius had sent copies of *De historicis Latinis* in England, in 72d he asked Junius to keep one copy of his *Oratoriarum institutionum* (1630) for his own use, present one to Laud, and send other copies to Meric Casaubon, the Canterbury dean Isaac Bargrave, Rous, the Orientalist Edward Pococke, and to Vossius’ son Joannes for distribution at Cambridge. Likewise, in 101h, Vossius gave complicated instructions, a diagram included, for the presentation of his *Aristarchus* (1635). Two gilded copies were meant for Junius’ pupil and the library at Cambridge, and four regular copies for Junius himself, for the president of Jesus College Stephen Hall, for Casaubon, and for Bargrave. Another

parcel had been sent to Laud's secretary William Dell (101k) for further dispersion. These instructions were to little avail, however, for the parcels were purloined, and only a few copies were eventually recovered, with difficulty, from the High Commission Court (102a).

In general, though, the opportunity to renew contacts with Englishmen by handing them Vossius' books was attractive to Junius. In 129h, he voiced his express desire to give Vossius' *De theologia gentili* (1641) to Laud in person in order to reaffirm his friendship with him. He subsequently presented Laud with part of the still unpublished book in 1639 (131c), and received two of Laud's publications to deliver to Vossius in turn (136cn). But when a parcel of eighteen copies of the book, including one for Junius, was sent to Dell in December 1641, it was retained at the Customs Office for five months, and Junius probably could not assist in their distribution before having to cross over to Holland in February 1642 (152a).

Yet the transfer of books and manuscripts always entailed some risk. Not only were parcels kept for a long time at the Customs Office, or checked at the High Commission Court in order to pass the Archbishop's censure, but they could also be lost or difficult to trace. It nearly happened that the Ptolemy manuscripts from the Arundel collection for Isaac Vossius were captured by privateers operating in the Channel (129j). A parcel with books and materials of Isaac, Doublet, and the merchant Hooft, which Junius had sent from London to Vossius, did not arrive in due course either, causing Vossius to write twice, anxiously and annoyed (152d, 153d). Conversely, it took Junius some effort to find Jan Christoffel Berka in London, with whom Vossius had sent twenty copies of Pococke's *Versio et notae ad quatuor epistolas Syriace* (1630), published in Amsterdam, to deliver to the author's friend in Oxford (81a).

Moreover, once sent on loan, materials could be so hard to have returned that repeated assistance of friends was desired. Their endeavours were followed in the letters. Thus, when Junius moved to England in 1621, a recurrent topic in his correspondence with de Groot and Grotius was the retrieval of a manuscript copy of Grotius' "De imperio" sent to Bishop Overall, who had died in 1619, for comments in 1617. Concerning it, Junius addressed Bishop Andrewes, who consulted Overall's former secretary John Cosin, who gave it to the sons of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt to bring it from London to Paris (32j). Junius' letter 212 comparably enclosed a note with instructions for Marshall about Isaac Vossius' Ostroh Bible (1580/1)

and copy of Christianus Schotanus' *Beschryvinge van Frieslandt* (1664), which had been lent to their friend Jan van Vliet, who had died in the meantime. Since van Vliet had incurred debts, it was important that Marshall, who lived closer to van Vliet's hometown of Breda than Junius and Vossius, found out about them. Marshall had no problems getting them—but both titles have remained part of his, not Isaac's collection (212a). Furthermore, the annotations on Marianus Scotus which Vossius, who had died in 1649, had borrowed from Archbishop Ussher in 1631 were even accidentally sent on to Isaac Vossius in Sweden after Vossius' death, so that the Archbishop urged for their return through the minister of the English church in Amsterdam, and through Junius, who each individually took up the matter with Franciscus F.N. (167d). It took many more pleas and requests to friends, Junius among them, before Selden's manuscript of Vettius Valens and a Cottonian Vitruvius manuscript, both lent to Salmasius and the Leiden scholar Johannes de Laet in 1648, were restored to their respective collections, years after their borrowers' deaths (178c). This was one reason, no doubt, why Englishmen hesitated to lend ancient manuscripts abroad, having found they were not returned after five or more years, as Junius wrote in 169e. Dugdale's inquiry to Junius about a manuscript of Philostratus' *De vita Apollonii* in 1657 may also have concerned a Cottonian manuscript, one that formerly might have been lent to the Arundel family (195b). Dugdale had made such inquiries to Junius about two other Cottonian manuscripts before.

In that affair, however, Junius had appeared unable to do anything. At stake were two fabulous manuscripts from the Cottonian library, the so-called Cotton Genesis and Utrecht Psalter, which Robert Cotton had lent to the Arundel family in the 1620s, and which the family had taken to the Continent in 1642. In 1656, on behalf of Thomas Cotton, Dugdale asked Junius, as the Arundels' librarian, whether he knew where they were kept. While Junius suggested that Henry van der Borcht and Edward Walker, both in the Arundels' service, but then in the Palatinate and Cologne, respectively, might know about them, and Wenceslaus Hollar, who was in London and had furnished drawings for some of Dugdale's books, would know how to write to van der Borcht, he was compelled to add that Stafford boasted about having the Genesis, yet when Isaac Vossius had suggested comparing it with the *Codex argenteus*, he had joked that it would surely be confiscated if he produced it, because

Junius and his other creditors had had his movables in the Low Countries sequestered. Stafford and his wife were actually to claim it as their own possession, so that John Cotton eventually was forced to buy it back, whereas the Psalter was sold in Utrecht, where it has remained. It is suggestive of Stafford's power that the Genesis could not even be reclaimed by force of law (190a, 191a).

Another aspect relating to books, studies and relations that is treated prominently in the letters is the publication of the correspondents' works. This may be illustrated by the repeated discussion in letters 93 to 113 about the printing, proof-reading, distribution and receipt of *De pictura* (1637). Despite several delays that impeded frequent epistolary communication, Vossius and Junius used the letters to keep each other informed of the printing process, so that Junius could keep in touch with the procedure even from abroad.¹⁹ Letter 93 was delivered together with the manuscript of "De pictura" to Vossius by van Heemskerck. As soon as Vossius had expressed his pleasure at reading it (94b), Junius wished him to exact other people's opinion on the desirability of its publication (95b). Two months later, the Amsterdam publisher Joan Blaeu, a friend of Vossius, had agreed to bring it out, and Vossius notified Junius that Blaeu would begin printing in May 1635 (99g).

With letter 100, dating from April, Junius sent the remaining part of the manuscript. The letter itself reported in passages of direct speech how Bishop Wren urged him to dedicate the book to King Charles. This made Junius implore Vossius twice to recommend him and *De pictura* to Laud (100k, 111c). It also entailed some modifications to the book. Not only was it advisable then not to subdivide the book with separate headings, as Junius had been considering, but since Wren insisted the Greek in it should be translated into Latin for the king and courtiers, and since the book would be more marketable if the Greek were translated, yet since printing was imminent, Junius also implored Vossius to have translations made, for instance by his sons Isaac and Gerardus, or by their brother-in-law Naeranus (100a-g, l). Vossius, in turn, reported on the difficulties of the translations, in that he and Gerardus often had to browse a text completely before the passage quoted was found, and often had to translate it themselves, because there were no or only bad translations available

¹⁹ For an interpretation of the genesis and printing of *De pictura*, cf. Nativel (1996:87-100; 1998).

(106a). Meanwhile, in 102d Junius announced the visit of his friend, the sculptor Robert van Voerst, who would see to certain unidentified matters relating to *De pictura*, as Junius had explained in an unretrieved letter to his sister, and report on its status on his return to London. Likewise, Willem Blaeu had been with Junius in London, and taken an unretrieved letter with instructions for his brother the printer (105a).

Printing finally began almost a year after its planned date, as Vossius indicated in letter 106. That may be the reason why Blaeu brought out *De pictura* without expenses for Junius. It was unusual, according to Vossius, for generally only books with a large prospective sale—because the author had a great reputation, or the subject matter was popular, or concerned business, or involved stories—were printed without the author's expenses (112a). Vossius pressed for a list of items for the index, and for the letter of dedication, and wrote the proposed title to gain Junius' approval (106b). The letter was enclosed with two proofs of the first fourteen quires of *De pictura* for Junius to proof-read and share with a friend—who possibly was Anthony van Dyck (110a–b). With letter 107, Junius sent the dedication, letter 108, after receiving Wren's and, through Wren, Archbishop Laud's advice. He noted down two minor mistakes in the proofs in 107a, but was prevented from providing a list of printing errors until February 1637, because an outbreak of the plague forced him not only to stay away from London, but also not to have contact with the plague-stricken places (107c, 111a). He did, however, give his approval of the title (107e), and begged Vossius to advance the expenses of copies he desired to be sent to England for presentation, while he was in the country (107c–e). He also asked Vossius to have the copies bound in Holland instead of London, again because of the plague (107d). With letter 109 of July 1636, Vossius notified Junius of the receipt of the dedication, and announced the prospective completion of printing a fortnight from then. Yet, when Junius failed to find the book published after his return to London, he still corrected the proofs and sent them to Vossius at the same time as letter 111, in February 1637. Finally, then, letter 112 was accompanied by the finished book, and suggested some final steps: if Junius provided summaries of the chapters, and errata of the final part of the book, they could be added on separate sheets to the copies in Holland, together with an index (112b). This has, however, not happened.

Comparable concerns, though measured out in less detail, are

found in the letters about other publication processes. Thus, 188c reveals that the printing of Junius' *Observationes in Willeramum* had proceeded up to the thirteenth quire, and that there were five or six quires still to be done; 210a that the printing of *Evangeliorum versiones* was nearly completed, with only four or five sheets remaining; 118i that printing of Vossius' *De theologia gentili* (1641) was at the one-hundredth quire, that is, the fifth alphabet; and 47e that all of Vossius' *Ars historica* (1623) was printed, except for the preface. Likewise, Blaeu had almost finished printing Vossius' posthumous *De veterum poetarum temporibus* (1654), and was waiting for a dedicatory letter that Junius implored Isaac Vossius to write to preface to it (186b). Junius dedicated Vossius' *Harmoniae evangelicae* (1656) with letter 194 to Philipps himself.

Issues more often concerned dedications and the delays in printing they caused. In 167c, Junius indicated to Franciscus F.N. that John Greaves had solicited him to hear from Isaac Vossius, who was at Queen Christina of Sweden's court then, whether and how Greaves might dedicate his edition of Ulug Beg's astronomical tables and excerpts of Abū 'l-Fidā's geography (1650) to the queen—which was not to happen. Furthermore, in November 1634, Vossius consulted Laud as well as Stephen Goffe, chaplain to the English regiment of Colonel Horace Vere in the Low Countries, as to whether to dedicate his *Aristarchus* (1635) to either or both of King Charles' sons (94a). With letter 95, Junius enclosed Goffe's letter with Laud's reply, which specified that King Charles advised the book to be dedicated to Charles, Prince of Wales, only. This led to some delay, for the title of address of Prince Charles had to have the proper form. Goffe had asked the prince's tutor Brian Duppa, who had conferred with Arundel in his function as Earl Marshal, who, in turn, had discussed it with the king. The king then had the proper form forwarded to Vossius by the English resident in the Low Countries William Boswell (98a). When Vossius finally received Boswell's note in January 1635, the preface, the only part of the book not yet printed, could be finished (99e).

Some details on transactions with booksellers, moreover, is found concerning *Evangeliorum versiones*. Once the book had been printed "typis et sumptibus Iunianis" [with Junius' fonts and at his expenses], as the title page states, Junius and Marshall apparently both had stacks of the copies (214b, 220a). Authors seem more often to have had stacks of their own publications; the bookseller Franciscus Raphelengius, for instance, had asked Vossius to send over twenty-five

copies of his *Commentariorum rhetoricorum* (1609) (6d). To promote *Evangeliorum versiones* and the accompanying Gothic dictionary to his friend in Frankfurt, presumably for display at the spring book fair, where the book could not yet be offered for sale because de la Gardie had not yet received his due copy, Junius enclosed an old sample of the printed Gospels and a full sheet of the *Glossarium* with letter 210. In addition, Cornelius Bee and Robert Scott, both London booksellers doing business in Holland, and so well acquainted with Isaac Vossius and Junius that they came to see them and do business with them privately, were offered *Evangeliorum versiones* for five guilders, and large paper copies (which were a de luxe version with wide margins printed from the same type setting) for nine, and a quantity rebate if they desired to take up a large number, such as the fifty to one hundred copies which Scott desired (214b, 220a). Isaac thereupon advised Marshall on the quantity rebate for Scott, in French, in a note enclosed with letter 222. These prices were presumably for unbound copies.

The copies of *Evangeliorum versiones* he wanted to present to his English friends Junius had bound in Holland (214e). Binding was apparently better there than in England, which is why Junius had also sent Sidney unbound to his nephew Dionysius from London (68c). Then, for shipment, the parcels of *Evangeliorum versiones* were to be wrapped in “cordage and pack paper,” which Junius trusted one Mr. Giering would provide to Marshall (220a). After the bookseller Adriaan Vlacq’s death, though, Junius did not quite see how the books were best transported safely to England (214e). He wrote so a fortnight before Michiel de Ruyter made his famous raid up the Medway during the Second Anglo-Dutch War.

The war had had more serious effects on book trade and, in Junius’ case, had prevented the publication of his annotated glossaries, as he explained to Dugdale in February 1668, after the war:

the common calamitie of a grievous unneighbourlie collision of neighbours [had] shaken a great part of Europe almost all to pieces . . . The first falling out, you know, was the bane of all commerce, paper could not be had but at excessive rates, the heat of writers grew very coole, and presses were every where laid asleep (216a).

The observation is a variation on Erasmus’ comment on Italy, “frigent studia, ferment bella” [studies are dormant, whereas wars are hotly pursued]. Sometimes, intellectual exchange was impeded by the actual political situation.

Composition

From the start, publication was a realistic prospect not only for dedications, but also for other letters in Junius' correspondence. The corpus shows that Rubens', van Dyck's and Grotius' two letters of praise for *De pictura*, letters 114, 110, 117 and 120, were prefixed to the Dutch translation and the second edition as liminary texts. Junius must have furnished copies of the letters himself for inclusion in *Schilder-konst*. Likewise, he had Archbishop Ussher's letter 152, on the *status quaestionis* of Gothic studies, prefixed to the edition of the Gothic Gospels. Hicckes (1703–05) made similar use of Junius' letter 187 to Selden. Correspondence containing scholarly expositions, moreover, differed so little from regular intellectual discourse that it could easily be incorporated into the argumentation of a thesis. This is why Junius included Langbaine's and Clauberg's comments on particular etymologies, letters 198 and 202, in the appropriate entries of his English etymological dictionary. But also a renowned scholar's general correspondence was collected and edited by (near-)contemporaries.²⁰ Some letters of Junius' corpus had already appeared in print in the seventeenth century, notably in Colomesius (1690–91). Correspondents in Junius' circles could therefore expect their letters to have a wider readership than the addressee.

The style of composition of the letters, especially of the Latin ones, took account of this in their formality. The Latin letters follow the rules of the art of letter writing, *ars epistolaria*. The art had been practised in classical times, as exemplified by Quintilian, Cicero and Pliny the Younger, and developed in the Renaissance notably by Erasmus in his treatise *De conscribendis epistolis* (1522) [*On Letter Writing*].²¹ It prescribed a range of conventions about structure, style and treatment of each topic of discussion. A declaration of friendship had requirements different from those of a recommendation, an exhortation, a condolence, a dedication, a learned discussion or a family affair. In addition, extensive polite formulas had to be woven into

²⁰ See, for example, Gronovius' edition of part of the correspondence of Isaac Casaubon, and Burman's several volumes of learned correspondence, which included letters of Isaac Vossius, cf. 126cⁿ, Burman ([1724]–27).

²¹ The following account of Latin letters is adapted from van Romburgh (1999), and is based on the study of the Latin letter in the Republic of Letters in Stegeman (1997:194–209 *et passim*).

the text, as well as *topoi* and quotations from classical authors. Erasmus' *Adagia* were a treasure trove for such citations. A letter should nevertheless give the impression of spontaneity, for correspondence was interpreted as a conversation between absent friends, and the letter itself as a tangible representation of the absent writer. Since the Latin letter was a principal means of communication in international learned networks, the ability to conduct proper correspondences in Latin was a prerequisite for a stable position in these circles.

In Junius' corpus, the characteristics of *ars epistolaria* are most striking in letters written for the foundation or continuation of *amicitia* between sender and recipient. Conventions made such letters resemble poetical declarations of love instead of neutral reaffirmations of a bond between acquaintances.²² "Totum me tenes, habes, possidesque" [You have me, hold me and possess me completely], Junius varied to Godfried van Wessem on a text of Pliny the Younger, "amo te (nihil possum ardentius dicere), ut tu me" [I love you (I can say nothing more ardent) as you love me]. The principal purpose of this particular letter, 26, was to ask of van Wessem to collect Junius' annuity in Dordrecht, as he had also done in earlier years. As a bond of friendship implied the obligation of granting favours to each other, it was important to reinforce it as much as possible by emphasizing its uniqueness time and again, a uniqueness which was almost wholly determined by the addressee's inimitable nobility.

The writing of letters of friendship was accordingly a series of stylised exercises, for the purpose of which correspondents might conjure up the most intricate rhetorical fireworks. It invited emulation, for although the addressee was considered the sender's superior in all respects, the latter acknowledged this in a triumphant display of his own genius, and the addressee would do likewise in his reply. This is the context of the image of correspondents with their pens as gladiators in the arena in 51b. And it is especially in an exchange between new correspondents that letters contain an exaltation of mutual friendship as the only one to have proved genuine in comparison with the insincerity trying to pass for friendship in the rest of the world, as, for example, in the correspondence between de Groot and Junius in letters 32 to 35.

²² For a discussion of the conventions and *topoi* of letters of friendship, cf. Stegeman (1997:115–16, 227–36).

The corpus shows that conventions allowed for different ways of celebrating *amicitia*. Perhaps the most straightforward manner was to intersperse the text with citations of classical authorities. Usually, but not always, as will appear below, Junius restricted himself to including one or two of such phrases, and then coming down to business, as if the mere reference to formulas of *amicitia* sufficed. Favourite quotations he incorporated in this way were Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 8.21.5.2–3, “amat enim qui se sic amari putat, ut taedium non pertimescat” [he loves most truly who believes to be loved in such a way that he does not greatly fear repulsion], and Aristophanes, *Fragmenta* 389, ἔξεχ’ ὦ φίλ’ ἦλιε [shine out, fair sun].²³ De Groot, on the other hand, demonstrated a more refined treatment. He took the traditional themes and *topoi* of friendship as a point of departure and remoulded them using new imagery. De Groot’s text then seems to be full of classical phrases, but they are not literal quotations. The elegance of this style is apparent in his lengthy expositions of the nature of Junius’ friendship with him in 33a–f and 35a–h.

Occasionally, Junius treated selected addressees to a conceivably less elegant but equally erudite form of composition. The most intricate paragraphs in his letters are mosaics of unacknowledged quotations from the Classics strung into an almost continuous text by careful selection and ordering, a style he also used for *De pictura*.²⁴ He obviously tried to choose his quotations in such a way that he needed to interfere as little as possible. Junius further complicated identification by omitting any indication that the texts were compilations. In order for the compositional game to be revealed, then, the recipient should be capable of recognizing the layer beneath the text without being given any clues. Otherwise, the composition might merely appear stilted and unattractive, and thus be a waste of effort. Such passages were consequently both a demonstration of Junius’ skills, and a token of respect for the recipient’s erudition. The opening section of letter 119 to Grotius may serve as an example of this style. In a string of quotations from different places in Cicero’s letters,

²³ Cf. 26a, 27a, 28a, 34a, 128a, 169h, and 28c, 56c, 155b, 167b, respectively.

²⁴ The image of a mosaic is derived from 117a, where Grotius characterised Junius’ composition of *De pictura* thus. For Junius’ style of composition in *De pictura*, cf. 93aⁿ, Nativel (1986).

Junius expressed his pleasure at receiving Grotius' letter 117, which thanked him for a copy of *De pictura*.

Tuus in me animus tuumque de me iudicium, utrum mihi plus dignitatis in perpetuum an voluptatis quotidie sit allaturus non facile dixerim. "amor enim tuus ac iudicium de me utrum mihi plus dignitatis in perpetuum an voluptatis cottidie sit adlaturus non facile dixerim," Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* 10.24.1.9–12.

Crebro regusto tuas litteras atque in iis acquiesco;
"crebro regusto tuas litteras atque in iis acquiesco," idem, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 13.13.3.2–3.

sollicitudines tantum meas tua indies merita magis excitant, ne quid aut ex amore aut ex iudicio tuo deperdam.
"sollicitudinesque meas cottidie magis tua merita exacuunt, ne quid aut ex amore aut ex iudicio tuo perdam," ibidem 10.23.7.2–3.

Ego quid possim nescio; vel potius, me parum posse sentio. Illud tamen tibi polliceor, me omnia quae te velle, quaeque ad res tuas pertinere arbitror, tanto studio officioque esse facturum, quanto tu in meis rebus studio semper fuisti,
"ego quid possim nescio, vel potius me parum posse sentio. illud tamen tibi polliceor, me quaecumque saluti dignitatieque tuae conducere arbitror tanto studio esse facturum quanto semper tu et studio et officio in meis rebus fuisti," ibidem 6.22.3.1–4.

quod, quamquam intelligo me cum multis esse facturum, appetam tamen huius rei principatum
"quod quamquam intelligo me cum multis esse facturum, tamen appetam huius rei principatum," ibidem 11.6a.2.7–8.

tuamque erga me benevolentiam, ut ut merita non assequar, sedulo imitabor.
"benevolentiam tuam erga me imitabor, merita non adsequar," ibidem 6.4.5.7–8.

Junius used this style mostly for the expression of his esteem for the addressee, of *amicitia* and of the joys ensuing from conversing through letters, as to van Wessem in 26a, to de Groot in 32a–b and 34a–e, to Grotius in 38a–b besides 119a, to Vossius, to a lesser extent, in 27a, and to King Charles less concisely in letter 108.

Especially noteworthy, however, are the instances where Junius composed different messages in this way. In letter 49, he expressed his concern about his sister Johanna's illness to Johan de Brune in quotations mostly from Quintilian. In 83, he constructed an account of his leaving Arundel for Paris and a request for Vossius' opinion on this move from a range of unattested quotations from Pliny the Younger, Quintilian, Ovid, Servius Honoratus, Seneca the Younger,

Valerius Maximus, Aulus Gellius, Caesar, Juvenal, Tacitus, and, for the passages in direct speech, Terence. Letter 154, to Jan de Brune, consists almost completely of such a compositional mosaic. It laments the troubles in England in 1642, and deserves to be quoted with its sources in full because of its unusualness.

Quemadmodum vides in quo motu temporum, quanta in conversione rerum ac perturbatione versemur;

“videtis quo in motu temporum, quanta in conversione rerum ac perturbatione versemur,” Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 94.5–6.

ita nec praeterire te potest, luctuosum conquassati et labefactati,

“labefactatam rem publicam . . . conquassatam civitatem,” idem, *In Vatinius* 19.8–10.

ne dicam funditus eversi regni statum me quoque,

“funditus eversam fortunam,” idem, *Epistulae ad familiares* 5.21.4.2.

in quem transversa incurrit misera fortuna reipublicae,

“in adulescentiam . . . transversa incurrit misera fortuna rei publicae,” idem, *Brutus* 331.1–3.

praeter caeteros tangere.

Cf. “quae me res praeter ceteros impulit,” idem, *Pro S. Roscio Amerino* 2.4.

Ego tibi interim in omni genere officiorum singulare meum studium polliceor,

“ego vero tibi profiteor atque polliceor eximium et singulare meum studium in omni genere officii,” idem, *Epistulae ad familiares* 5.8.4.3–4.

simul ex hac infeliciois aevi caligine et tenebris emergere dabitur.

Cf. “in illa caligine ac tenebris quae totam rem publicam tum occuparat,” idem, *In Verrem* 2.3.177.5–6; “ex superioris anni caligine et tenebris lucem in re publica,” idem, *Post reditum in senatu* 5.2–3.

Faxit Deus ut hoc periculum, quod conceptum Britannia parturit, sanioribus consiliis tandem aliquando comprimatur ac discutiatur.

“hoc quod conceptum res publica periculum parturit consilio discutiatur,” idem, *Pro Murena* 84.13–14.

Magnitudo rei longiorem fortasse desideraret orationem; coniunctio vero nostrorum animorum brevitate contenta est.

“magnitudo rei longam orationem fortasse desiderat, coniunctio vero nostrorum animorum brevitate contenta est,” idem, *Epistulae ad Familiares* 2.23.3.11–13.

The compositional method here serves both as a solace from an awareness that events eliciting these phrases had also occurred in the past, and simultaneously as a protective veil for the formulation of matters politically too fraught to be expressed directly.

For the treatment of other subjects, the principles of composition were similar, although their distribution differed. Quotations, *topoi* and polite formulas derived from a long tradition of examples were

interspersed more or less prominently in the discourse, depending on the topic discussed and the form of composition appropriate for it. For example, letter 20 is a letter of congratulation and exhortation by Junius, letter 22 one of consolation as well as exhortation, letter 156 one of gratitude, letter 137 one of reproach, and letter 135 is a typical letter of introduction. The dedications, letters 108, 116, 189, 211, and, to a lesser extent, 194, display even more carefully formulated and sustained praises of the dedicatees, with more ornate polite phrases than the shrewd emulations in the letter of friendship. But then, they were primarily designed to win the addressee's favour for the writer, and were, moreover, included in the book to be judged on contents and style by the whole learned readership. Discussions of learned material, on the other hand, were expressed in the unadorned language traditional in scholarship, their formulas determined by the jargon of scholarly discourse. Fine examples of such texts by Junius are letters 203 and 204 to Clauberg, with their expositions of etymological problems and methodological principles, and mixture of personal and general scholarly detail.

Nevertheless, the greater part of the corpus consists of informal letters exchanged with family members, *epistolae familiares*, written in a straightforward style. They show that Latin also excellently lent itself to the writing of casual, personal letters to intimates, without ceremonial phrases or rhetorical embellishments. It is indicative of the level of familiarity between Junius and his correspondent that polite phrases could be left out and care in composition ignored without creating problems. Such letters appear to have been written spontaneously, syntactically correct but stylistically unimpressive. Yet it is precisely these unrefined letters which demonstrate the extent to which Latin was a living language for the correspondents. The composition of a rhetorically intricate letter with the aid of guides and anthologies was a craft learnt at school, but chatting fluently in Latin could be done only by someone who moved freely through the entire repertoire. In Junius' collection, the correspondence with Vossius, the master of rhetorics, yields the most of such easygoing texts. Sometimes Vossius wrote to his brother-in-law a true barrage of family information and questions about the latest news, or an informal chat lacking in compositional considerations, as in 69b and 84f. In the latter instance, Vossius remarked about this kind of writing, "vides quam familiariter ac libere omnia perscribam, haud aliter ac si praesens adesses" [you see how informally and freely I write

everything, no differently than if you were here]. It is, therefore, not unlikely that Vossius and Junius also used to speak with each other in Latin.

While the bulk of the corpus is in Latin, the number of letters in English or Dutch written by Junius significantly increased from the mid 1650s. This is not by coincidence. In his Dutch circles, correspondence between scholars was regularly conducted in Latin, as abundantly demonstrated by the family letters in the corpus. The vernacular was reserved for those unfamiliar with Latin, such as Junius' sisters. In the English circles around the earl of Arundel, on the other hand, the vernacular was a regular and accepted medium of communication, probably preferred over Latin. During his residence in England, Junius must gradually have improved his fluency in conversations with his English friends. In the meantime, a growing pride in a native identity had also made the use of the vernacular more fashionable among his Dutch friends. In the late 1630s, Junius showed his sympathies for Dutch and English in his translations of *De pictura* into both languages. His first English letter in the corpus, the dedication of *Painting*, letter 116, reveals he had grasped the language and its stylistic conventions well, notwithstanding his apologies in 116b for the "forced stile of a forrainer." Both changing manners, and these translations prepared the ground for the more frequent use of the vernacular in the corpus. Junius, however, continued to conduct his correspondence with Dutchmen and Englishmen in Latin for another fifteen years.

The switch to the vernacular in Junius' letter writing seems to be directly related to his studies in Germanic philology and the history of the Germanic languages. They must have encouraged him to believe that Dutch and English were sufficiently elegant to be suitable for his epistolary communication with his learned friends and kinsmen. Such a conviction is a probable reason for Junius not to use French, despite its growing popularity in the Low Countries: in 204d, he expressed his disgust at its fashionableness. His English letters are best represented in his correspondence with Dugdale and Marshall. They display an animated scholarly and friendly tone, which the correspondents probably also used in their conversations. It is at its peak in Junius' transcription of his conversation with Robert Scott in 220a. The change from Latin to Junius' mother tongue, on the other hand, is clearest in his letters to Isaac Vossius. Up to letter 188 in 1654, their correspondence was conducted in

Latin, but the next extant letter, 199, from 1659, and ensuing ones were in Dutch. Since Junius drew no attention to a change of language in 199, they may already have been corresponding in Dutch in letters now lost.

While the description of domestic affairs in the vernacular was obviously unproblematic, the expression of intellectual matter proved less straightforward. For his exposition on the desired format for his edition of the Gothic Gospels in 209b, Junius therefore had recourse to Latin jargon, thus creating a macaronic text. He incorporated nearly all the Latin phrases seamlessly into the Dutch by giving them the case endings appropriate for their syntactic functions in the sentence. Such a combination of languages occurs more often in the corpus; Rubens' letter of thanks for *De pictura*, letter 114, is also dual-language, and resorts to Latin for its formal part. Likewise, Junius wrote letter 208 to Marshall in English, yet the etymological notes, which formed part of it, in Latin. In other words, Junius' use of the vernacular as the first language in a letter to a scholar was a deliberate choice. In its shift in languages preferred for communication, the corpus reflects the development of Junius' interests as well as the changed times.

Modesty

In the aspects treated thus far—the functions of the letters, the topics discussed, the learned exchange, the persons mentioned, and the composition and language employed, Junius' correspondence is characteristic of its time and educated milieu. It is, however, atypical for its modest size. Although it runs for seventy-two years from his youth to his old age, the corpus, with its 226 letters, is relatively small. Junius' learning, the circles in which he moved, the cultural context in which letter writing was a regular means of communication, and the fact that he had kinsmen and friends abroad all lead one to expect a corpus of several thousands letters more; for comparison, the correspondences of Vossius, Grotius and Gronovius, who moved partly in the same circles, comprise 3,429, 7,725 and 5,150 letters, respectively.²⁵ Furthermore, although many of the letters Junius

²⁵ See the inventories of these correspondences, referred to as *ICVossius* (1993),

exchanged are lost now, as noted earlier, there is no indication that his correspondence has suffered more than those of his friends. Instead, Junius himself seems to have been the principal cause for the modest size of the corpus. Time and again, he was reproached by Vossius and even by his nephews for being so tardy in writing letters.

Junius probably much preferred face-to-face contact to letter writing. Although he preserved many of his letters and drafts carefully enough, he seems to have considered correspondence as truly additional to personal conversation, and not as its possible substitute. He did not usually exchange letters with those he had a chance of seeing regularly, as the scarcity of letters in the corpus sent over a short distance suggests. The correspondents rather reveal those he did not meet in person in a certain period. This may go some way to explain the lack of letters exchanged with members of Arundel's circle, notably Selden, during the years Junius lived at Arundel House. Conversely, this may also explain the temporary increase in his letters to the Vossius family after he had just been with them in 1630. Furthermore, Junius seems not normally to have sent letters to people he had not met in person, although initiating correspondence could well lead to a friendship at the time. Apart from some of his dedications, and letter 163 written on Countess Aletheia's behalf, probably the only letters in the corpus which Junius wrote to someone he had never met were those to Clauberg.²⁶ Their becoming acquainted through letters, however, must have been facilitated by their mutual friend Graevius. Certainly all those mentioned above whose correspondence with Junius is lost knew him in other ways than through letters.

In addition, Junius was slow in corresponding regularly with all those friends and relatives he did not see. While his family used to complain about this trait of his, their intimacy did not suffer from it, nor, apparently, did his relationships with friends. Petty and Junius, for instance, seem not to have exchanged letters during Petty's extended travels, although he had even hoped Junius would join him on them. Again, while the letters Selden and Junius exchanged tes-

BWGrotius (1928–2001), and Dibon, Bots and Bots-Estourgie (1974); likewise, Stegeman (1997:44–48).

²⁶ Possibly Junius also had not met the unidentified Dutchman connected with the booktrade to whom he sent letter 210, yet the tone of the letter makes it more likely that he was familiar with him.

tify to their friendly, even domestic, intercourse, they hardly wrote to each other when Junius was in Holland.²⁷ Likewise, Junius' correspondence with Grotius shows several gaps of half a dozen years or more, without a suggestion that their friendship diminished because of the intervening period. Their exchanges show that, even at that time, one could be friends at a distance without reminding each other of this in letters. In Junius' correspondence, the reaffirmation of *amicitia* is surely not a leitmotiv.

The correspondence is also modest in another sense. Like the tip of an iceberg, the letters often allude to numerous issues in Junius' life and Dutch and English circles, but do not write them out in full. Whereas longer descriptions of events or projects do occur, they are much rarer than the many fairly brief references to wide arrays of topics. Sometimes a mere reference sufficed for matters both correspondents evidently knew through other channels, but sometimes treatment is simply cursory. Glimpses the letters provide then require a reconstruction of their contexts before they can be understood by others than the correspondents themselves. As noted earlier, few full scholarly discussions are included in the letters. Moreover, while present as a backdrop of the corpus, contemporary history hardly forms a topic of discussion, and is certainly mentioned less often than the risk that letters might be intercepted made necessary. In the letters exchanged between England and the Dutch Republic in 1652–54, for instance, there is little indication that the two countries were at war then. The interests of the correspondents clearly lay elsewhere, in friendly relations and intellectual exchanges.

Besides, Junius used to be notoriously frugal in intimating personal detail or informing his addressees of what was occupying him. That, at least, was what Vossius and the family felt during the many years Junius lived in London. He was somewhat more expansive, however, in his letters to Dugdale and Marshall. These were written in a different period of his life, and reinforce the impression that Junius turned to letter writing more easily when he had insufficient conversation partners. Still, little concerning his daily, domestic life can be retrieved from the corpus. That is why the loss of correspondence with his sisters is particularly to be regretted, for it is in the

²⁷ The letter App9, however, may possibly be written by Selden to Junius. If so, it could be indicative of a more frequent epistolary contact than is suggested by the letters in the corpus.

extant letters to them that Junius was more informative. For instance, it is not known how he lived the many years at Arundel House. Virtually the only occasions he really elaborated on his private circumstances to Vossius were in letters 27, 28 and 30, when he was living privately in Paris looking for a position, and in letter 83, when he had temporarily moved there from London because of Arundel's reluctance to pay him. And virtually the only lengthy description of family affairs by Junius occurs in letters 102 and 105, which have to do with his efforts to save the family reputation after his nephew Joannes was removed from Cambridge. For a glimpse of Junius' appearance one had better turn to Joannes, who wrote home from London in 1628 that he had

found uncle in excellent condition, dressed in *granito* with silver trimmings, at his side a precious poniard that formerly belonged to the elder Earl of Essex. The reason why I am writing this, dear father, is because he has requested me to do so.²⁸

The final sentence of this excerpt is telling, for although the scarcity of such personal detail in Junius' correspondence is perhaps to be regretted, his reluctance to write about himself is simultaneously informative.

To conclude, Junius' correspondence is both typical and atypical for that of a member of seventeenth-century learned and elite circles. It is typical for the kinds of people figuring in it, the significance of their webs of relations, their intellectual exchange, the display of elite culture, the style, and for its provision of copious detail on aspects of Junius' life and studies, as well as those of his relatives and friends. On the other hand, it is atypical both for the repeatedly cursory treatment of these very aspects and for its modest size. Despite the loss of letters, the corpus contains several thousands letters fewer than those of other members of Junius' circles. However praiseworthy his diligence may have been, Junius seems to have reserved it rather for his studies and for face-to-face conversations than for conducting regular correspondences. The modesty of the corpus, however, is also significant. It demonstrates that someone with a good reputation and the right relations like Junius could be a respected member of educated circles without keeping up an extensive correspondence.

²⁸ See App3 (Dutch original).

Edition

The relatively modest size of the corpus has made it feasible to make a comprehensive edition of the letters, many of which appear here for the first time. The aim of the edition is to make Junius' correspondence accessible to students of his life, work and times. For this purpose, the letters have been collected from eleven libraries and archives and from early modern publications; they have been published in full, and furnished with a commentary, translations and a critical apparatus in order to facilitate efficient usage. The edition has brought together correspondence which of its very nature has always been apart in time and space. And like any edition, the present one is the outcome of a myriad decisions and interpretations. An explanation of its conception and principles is therefore provided here.

The correspondence presented in this edition is meant to be complete. Its completeness is understood to comprise, following Becker (1981:257), "all letters known to have survived either in manuscript or printed form." This working definition requires some clarification.

A letter is taken to be the best available version of a text written to (a) particular addressee(s), which has, or could have a heading, place and date of provenance, and signature; which was, or could have been sent to the addressee(s); and of which Junius is either the intended sender or recipient. A dedicatory letter prefaced to a publication is therefore included in the corpus, even though it was not actually sent to the addressee, but a "Letter to the Reader" is not, nor is a contribution to an *Album amicorum*.²⁹ The best and most authoritative version of a letter is an autograph original [*o*]. If that is not available, it is an autograph copy [*ca*], facsimile [*f*], non-autograph copy corrected or uncorrected by the author [both *c*], draft [*d*], or early modern printed version [*p*], with modern editions [*e*] for comparison. For each letter in the edition, the version which has provided the source text is mentioned first.

By far the greater part of Junius' correspondence is available in manuscript, and most in autograph originals or copies made or corrected by the writer. They can be found in several collections. Many are part of the family collections which descendants of the Vossius

²⁹ Junius' two known contributions to *Alba* have, nevertheless, been edited as App4 and App8.

family presented to the Amsterdam Remonstrant Church, and which have been entrusted to Amsterdam University Library (UBA). Other letters are in the Rawlinson letter collections (Rawl.) in the Bodleian Library (BLO); in the British Library (BL), mostly among the Harley manuscripts (HL); in Marshall's and Junius' bequests to the Bodleian Library; in Leiden University Library (UBL), the National Library of France (BN), Munich University Library (UBM), the Dutch General State Archives (ARA), the Dutch Royal Library (KB), Lambeth Palace, Fondation Custodia in Paris, Rotterdam Municipal Library (RGB), and Friesland Provincial Library (PBF). Original letters have often been preserved as loose sheets, but these have also been bound with copies and drafts into thick letter books, so that the distinction between the texts actually sent and other versions has sometimes been blurred. Some letters occur together on a single sheet of paper; an original and a draft or copy of the reply, for instance, or copies and drafts of several letters written down on whatever space was still left on scarce paper. The letter reproduced on page 63 shows the original of letter 164, no. I 89b in the Vossius collection of the Amsterdam Remonstrant Church.

Of all versions, the early modern editions must be treated with particular caution, for editorial intervention used to be much more accepted than it is today. Collation of manuscript versions with those in Colomesius (1690–91), the principal early printed source of Junius' correspondence, gives insight into Paulus Colomesius' method, and thus into the reliability of his editions of letters for which no manuscript has survived.³⁰ Colomesius seems to have used the autograph and non-autograph copies now in London and Oxford, and not to have had access to the autograph originals which are now in Amsterdam. His editorial practices appear not only from minor changes, but also from the addition of headings different from those in the originals or copies, and once even from his combining two letters into one, 99 and 101j–l, and consequently the predating of one of the texts. No such collation has been possible for Junius' correspondence with Dugdale in Hamper (1827), another important early source, for Junius' letters to Dugdale are now lost, and the Junian letter collections in Oxford and Amsterdam do not preserve

³⁰ In the present edition, most texts from Colomesius have been taken from the copy of Colomesius (1690), now UBL, 1013 A 8.

any copies of them, nor do they preserve Dugdale's letters to Junius, for that matter.

Because of its inclusion of letters from different formats, the present edition is eclectic. Its working definition implies that the least authoritative version for one letter may equal the only available, and hence best, version for another. It presents texts edited from autograph originals next to rough drafts and those derived from early modern publications. However, the convenience of having all letters accessible and together in one body outweighs any inconsistencies that may result from this approach.

A further clarification of Becker's working definition concerns the notion that the corpus is considered complete when it includes all the letters known to have survived. For this implies both that more letters may have survived than are now known to the editor, and that more letters which should have been part of the corpus have not survived. It also indicates that the corpus is incomplete in comparison with the correspondence Junius once conducted in reality. But then, Junius himself never had his complete correspondence either, if only because letters must already have been lost or destroyed before he sent or received his final letter, and because all these letters have never before been collected together. The preservation and retrieval of letters has surely been a matter of chance. It has depended on such variables as the lapse of time, the mislaying of letters, their being thrown away or burnt after receipt, or their never having been catalogued. Chance is the major cause of the aforementioned lacunae in the corpus, as well as the major reason why some of them may one day be filled. The reproduction of Junius' letter on page 63 serves as a sample of his hand to facilitate the identification of as yet unknown letters he wrote.

The present corpus builds on the checklist of Junius' correspondence assembled and published by Bremmer (1998b). While a subsequent questionnaire sent to libraries in Europe and North America did not bring any additional letters to light, several uncatalogued letters were found in letter books in the British Library, Bodleian Library and the Dutch General State Archives in the course of the research for this edition, and one was a new addition to Collection Frits Lugt, Fondation Custodia. Some additional letters appeared to be included in Junius' etymological observations, and some autographs could be added to the known copies or printed versions. Bremmer's inventory has been updated with these letters, and with changes owing

to the coincidence of some autograph originals with non-autograph copies or printed versions, or the splitting of what had been considered as one letter into two. The total number of letters in the corpus is now 226.³¹ An inventory can be found on pages 69 to 82.

The extant 226 letters, however, form only two-thirds of Junius' correspondence at the most, and presumably no more, or even less, than half of it. As noted above, the corpus and some secondary sources provide references to the definite one-time existence of an additional eighty-four letters which have not been retrieved; to the likely former existence of another fifteen, and to further letters less clearly alluded to in the correspondence. No doubt more letters once existed besides these. One should therefore be aware of the fact that Junius' complete correspondence published here is simultaneously comprehensive and partial.

³¹ App9 may be another letter, from Selden to Junius.

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

The method of reference and presentation of the letters is as follows.

Letter number

⁰ **1** ₂

- Letter number **1** in the sequence of the corpus.
- Reply to an unretrieved letter, distinguished as 0, as explained in the letter's first footnote.
- Replied by letter **2** of the corpus.
- The sequence of the corpus is chronological in accordance with the new style calendar, for which see below. Letters of which the date is incomplete or wanting have been inserted at the most probable position in the sequence. Their date has been reconstructed on the basis of references in the text and context. The one letter for which this proved inconclusive has been placed at the very end of the corpus, as [000]. Letters **85** and **85I** are so closely related that they warrant appearing under the same number, yet are sufficiently distinct not to be treated as textual variants; hence their numbers.
- **App1** to **App9** refer to texts in the APPENDIX.

Date

02 05 01

- Written on 1 May 1602, that is, in the year [16]02, in the 5th month on the 1st day, in accordance with the new style calendar (see below). Letters dated in the old style have been given the corresponding new style date in the heading and have retained their original date in the text.
- The distinction between old and new styles of dating is the result of a new calendar introduced by Pope Gregory in 1582 to catch up with the real lapse of time.¹ It ran ten days ahead of the old, "Julian" style calendar. In Junius' time, many countries and regions, such as the provinces of Holland, adopted the Gregorian calendar,

¹ Cf. Harvey (1946:907).

but others had not yet done so, such as, for instance, most of the rest of the Dutch United Provinces, Germany and England. The latter retained the old style of dating until 1752. In order to find the corresponding new style date, ten days usually have to be added to the date of letters written in a region using old style.

- Letter 10 was jokingly dated in the English style, which changed the year on Lady Day, 25 March, and counted in regnal years from the date of the king's accession, 24 March for King James and 27 March for King Charles.
- When correspondents did not mention their style of dating, it has been determined on the basis of the place of writing or references to datable events in the letters. Since old style dating was the convention in the England of Junius' time, for instance, all letters from England are considered to have been dated in the old style, unless the writer specified otherwise. This has been done on the assumption that writers residing or staying in England, including Junius himself, more likely silently dated in the style they were using every day than in the new style current in Holland and today.²
- In the Roman calendar still current in Junius' time, the (first) Kalends was the first day of the month, and Nones and Ides the fifth and thirteenth, respectively, but the seventh and fifteenth in March, May, July and October.³ The other days of the month were calculated as the second, third, fourth, and so on, preceding the first Kalends, Nones or Ides, so that, for example, the fourth Kalends of July was equivalent to 28 June, the third Nones of March to 5 March and the fifth Ides of April to 9 April.
- Reconstructed dates appear in square brackets and are explained in the first footnote.

² This is not always the practice adopted in other editions or inventories of correspondences. In *ICVossius* (1993:ix), for instance, the decision has been made that "[w]hen a correspondent dated a letter without mentioning the followed calendar, we have presumed that he was following the Gregorian one, unless we had clear indications to the contrary." An English place of writing apparently formed no clear enough indication, so that letter 10 is listed as 4 February 1614 in *ICVossius* (1993), while its new style date is 14 February 1615, and Matthew Wren's letter is listed as 21 March 1627, while its new-style date is 31 March 1628, cf. 57cⁿ.

³ Cf. Harvey (1946:907–08).

Sender and Recipient

SENDER (PLACE INDICATED) TO RECIPIENT [PLACE ASSUMED]

- If the place of writing or address is indicated in the letter, its copy or draft, it appears in round brackets; if it is only assumed, it is provided in square brackets in the heading. A correspondent's place of writing or address is silently assumed to have been their place of residence at the time. Otherwise, assumptions about place of writing or address are explained in the small print of the heading.

Sources

- *o* autograph original
- *d* draft
- *ca* autograph copy
- *c* non-autograph copy
- *p1* an early modern printed version
- *p2* another early printed version
- *e* modern edition
- *f* facsimile

Text

Address, or the abbreviated address as appearing in the heading of a draft, copy or printed version.

A

- The organizational unit of the corpus is the paragraph as distinguished by the editor. Although the original subdivisions of a letter have been taken into account, a more up-to-date distinction into paragraphs has been silently introduced to facilitate reading and using the texts. For each letter, paragraphs have been distinguished by **a**, **b**, **c**, and so on. Reference to the text is made to these paragraphs, not to pages or lines, so that **1a** refers to the first paragraph of the first letter of the corpus. This allows its student to choose whether to read the original text or the translation, and to switch easily between them. Occasional references to matters described only within a footnote have been distinguished as, for instance, **1aⁿ**. The paragraph character is also used as organizational unit in the commentary, the critical apparatus and index.

Latin

- ‘u’ and ‘v’ are distinguished in accordance with modern practice, ‘æ’ and ‘œ’ are separated, while both ‘i’ and ‘j’ appear as ‘i.’
- Accents have not been reproduced.
- Punctuation and capitalisation have been modernised.
- Abbreviations have been expanded and indicated in italics, except for ‘et,’ ‘m(m),’ ‘n(n),’ ‘qui,’ ‘que,’ ‘us,’ which have been silently given their full form.

Vernacular

- Spelling has been retained, and so have punctuation and capitalisation as much as was feasible.

Special vernaculars

- Greek, Hebrew, Gothic, runes and Old English have been presented in their own script in the original versions, and transliterated or translated in the translation, depending on their function in the text. Accents have been represented for Greek.
- The Old English is based on the Old English letter types Junius had made for his publications (see 186a). They have been adapted for computer use by Peter Baker, University of Virginia. The runes are from the Gullskoen font created by Odd Einar Haugen, University of Bergen, Department of Scandinavian Languages and Literature. The Gothic is the gothic 1 font based on the *Codex argenteus* by Boudewijn Rempt, Deventer.

Critical Apparatus

- \text inserted by writer/
- [– text deleted by writer]
- [text changed > into new text by writer]
- [+ lost text reconstructed by editor]
- [uncertain reading]
- All critical commentary has been referred to the critical apparatus; comments have been included in footnotes only when a reading had implications for a proper understanding of the text.
- A superscript “^o” before a word in the text indicates that critical commentary about it or its immediate context is included in the critical apparatus.
- Special readings, such as deletions, insertions and changes in the

source text are given in the critical apparatus by the word or phrase from the edited text, followed by the source reading, as in “ignotis: ignotis[– q].”

- Obvious mistakes in the source text, such as a word unnecessarily repeated, are given in correct form in the text, while the source reading is given in the critical apparatus, such as “enim: enim enim.”
- Variant readings are given in the critical apparatus by the relevant word or phrase from the text, followed by the source and the variant reading found in it. Thus, “longe diversum: *ca* aliud” means that the text taken as source for the edition reads “longe diversum,” where the autograph copy has “aliud” instead.
- Roman numerals have been silently replaced by Arabic ones except in Latin.
- Folio or page changes are indicated by |.

Translation

- Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.
- The translations have the sole aim of aiding the understanding of the original texts. For this reason, they are as close to the original as possible, having been made more “word for word” than “sense for sense;” see 129e for Junius’ distinction between the two manners of translation. Their tone and style follow the original and have not been adapted to a style in English which might express the contents more fluently. Circumstantial formulations therefore need not reflect clumsy Latin, but merely the differences in structure and conventions between two languages. The translations, then, are no substitutions for the original texts, and should never be seen separately from them. But this proviso should already be obvious from the fact that translation always involves interpretation—as does editing.

Commentary

- The commentary is primarily aimed at students who consult a number of the letters, but not the entire edition. Each letter has been annotated, and all its topics of discussion have been identified in order to give this group of users easy and ready access to them. For this purpose, the principal commentary is provided with the letters themselves and not in the general introduction.

- Details of persons, books, events and other matters of interest are given at their first occurrence in the text. Occasionally a forward reference is provided.
- References are given to letter number and paragraph character, such as 1a, to indicate that a particular section and its commentary includes information relevant to the referent. Reference is usually not given to a footnote, but if it is, it appears as, for instance, 1aⁿ, without further specification of note number.
- Backward references, usually to a first occurrence and identification, are provided for all matters except individuals. Once a person has been introduced in the correspondence, they will subsequently be identified in the commentary by name only, as, for example, “William Boswell.” Details provided on them in earlier sections of the correspondence can then be found via the index.
- Book titles appear in abbreviated form after their first occurrence.
- Names of people are written out in the commentary to facilitate identification. However, Franciscus Junius F.F., Gerardus Joannes Vossius and Hugo Grotius appear as “Junius,” “Vossius” and “Grotius” throughout.
- Within square brackets, editorial intervention is enclosed by round brackets. [SvR] is added only where it may be unclear that the brackets and text are supplied by the editor.

F. 22

J. 89. b

P. 2.

Cognate charissime

Post meū ex septentrionalibus Britannia tractibus reditum
libens ex iis, qui a vobis ad nos traſciebant, exoptatū ſubinde
nuntium de veſtra valetudine accipi. Faxit Deus ut animi
noſtri in hac fatali orbis Britannici rabie frequenter dulciſſima
hoc miſeræ valetudinis ſolatio ſuſtententur. Miralæris
forte unde ullam bene de rebus noſtris ſperandi occaſionem
arripere valeam. mihi tamen ſperare libet tantū aliquando
aſſurum tempus patiar, in quo parentibus tuis optime
ſemper de me meritis totiq; ad eo familia veſtra, ſi non parè,
meritiſſimam tamen pro viribus gratiam reponam.
Clariff. Salmaſius videtur naſcis quid de codice quodā Vitru-
viano delineationis. ſplendidiſſimis illuſtratis ex te mandiviſſe
affirmatq; in ultimis ad Do. Seldem litteris me aliquando
apud te mentione inſeruiſſe codicem Cottoniani antiquiſſimi et rariſ-
ſimū figurarū picturā inſtructiſſimi; ac mihi quidem aliquando
uſum codicem iſtum, ſed uſum apud exoptanti mihi denegatum.
Memini certè me jam dudū nonnihil de codice illo apud te
agiſſe; ſed nullam delineationum, quæ nullæ erant, mentionem
inſerere potui; operâ denique Patricii Junii codicem illū Cotton.
aliquam riu penes me in adib. Arundelliani habui, ac aliquan-
dum partem, uſque dum aliis curis avocarer, cum impreſſis
Vitruvii cod. conferre coepi. Quæ cum tum longè recedant
ab iis quæ Clar. Salmaſius tuis verbis urget, ſubdubitare cogor
an non poſt tantū temporis intercaſedineſ ac laborioſiſſima
peregrinationem alibi ex alio quopiam inaudita confideris
cūm iis quæ jam olim ex me audiviſſi. Ego hæc vet. Cimbricæ
litteræ cum Anglo-Saxonice conjungere coepi. Olai Wormii
Faſtes et Monumenta Danica ſedulo verſavi. niſſi quæ tamen hæc
nantiſſa potui Runicæ literaturæ Wormii, Amſterodami (ni
fallor) excuſari. Sicq; copiam facere mihi poter, immenſa
obligaveris me. Do. Patricius Junius et Do. Joh. Præſcius
crebrè tui meminerunt, nec deſtituerunt rogare ut non ſi-
nerem diu contractam notitiam intermorari. Ego hæc eodem
cum Doctore Præſcio utroſq; hoſpitiſ; integros interim quoadoq;
menſes tranſiſſe apud in adibus Sir Simonis d' Eweſſ,
viri antiquitatum omnium ac noſtri amantiffimi. Inante
vare cūm eo forte cogor excurrere in agrū Suffolciensium.
ſi commodum homines nanciſſeris per quos Runæ Wormii
una cūm litteris ad me tranſmittas, miſſet ad Do. Philippi
anam Philippi, &c. Plurimā ſalutem meis verbis
dicet optimis parentibus. vale. raptim. Londinii.
Anno 1649. 19 Jan. ſt. vet.

Tibi addictiſſimus

BIBLIOTHEEK
Remonsr. Kerk

J. Junius

LIST OF CORRESPONDENTS AND LETTERS EXCHANGED

- The list comprises both retrieved letters and those known to have existed or to have probably existed.¹
- The actual corpus consists of letters exchanged with sixty-four correspondents, fifteen of whom belonged to the Junius and Vossius families. Unretrieved letters were exchanged with an additional seventeen persons, four of whom were members of the extended families, viz. Abraham van Barthem, Isaac de Brune, Franciscus Gomarus and Prudence Greene.
- A number refers to a letter number in the sequence of the corpus.
- Letters written by Junius appear as **1**.
- Letters written to Junius appear as **2**.
- References to unretrieved letters mentioned in retrieved letters are presented following '[?]. If the unretrieved letters are replies to retrieved ones or replied by retrieved ones, the letter number of the retrieved letter is given. If the unretrieved letter is just mentioned in the course of the text, the letter and section character in which the reference occurs is given. "Probably" indicates that the one-time existence of an unretrieved letter is probable but not completely certain.
- Names of those whose exchange of letters with Junius has not been retrieved are indented.

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¹ While closer to the true numbers of letters Junius and his correspondents exchanged, the inventory of extant and lost letters does not represent his full epistolary intercourse. Especially the indication of probable exchanges of letters now lost should be treated cautiously. Cf. Introduction.

- Arnold, Christoph 183
- Barthem, Abraham van [109a]
- Booth, Cornelis 224
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- de Brune, Isaac [10f]
- Brune, Jan de 154 [113c (general reference), 152b (probably), 153a (probably)]
- Brune, Johan de 49 [49, 153a (probably)]
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- Corvinus, Joannes 142
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- Gronovius, Johannes Fredericus 127 128 176 177 180 197
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- Jungen, Hans Hector zum 184
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- Junius, Maria **31** [26c, **29b** (probably), **31a**, 153a]
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² **App9** may be another letter from Selden to Junius.

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INVENTORY OF THE CORPUS

- Letter number is in the sequence of the corpus.
- 02 04 23 means 23 April 1602 new style.
- Sender (place of writing indicated) to recipient [place of address assumed].
- A super- or subscript number indicates the letter replied by or replying to the letter in question.
- A super- or subscript '0' refers to an unretrieved letter.
- Versions of the letters appear in small print, cf. *Editorial Principles*.

1 ₂	02 04 23	Junius [Dordrecht] to Junius the Elder (Leiden)	84
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7	13 12 09	Vossius [Dordrecht] to Junius [Middelburg]	100
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 99a <i>c</i> : UBA, III E 4, no. 104	
⁰ 8	14 08 28	Vossius (Dordrecht) to Junius [Middelburg]	106
		<i>d</i> : UBA, III E 4, no. 111bis <i>c</i> : UBA, III E 4, no. 111	
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10 ₁₁	15 02 14	Junius (London) to Vossius [Dordrecht]	116
		<i>o</i> : BL, Add. 34727, f. 26	
¹⁰ 11	15 03 15	Vossius (Dordrecht) to Junius (London)	122
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12	15 10 20	Junius (Middelburg) to Vossius (Leiden)	126
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13	16 03 01	Junius [Dordrecht] to Adriaan van der Loo [Groningen]	130
		<i>o/ca</i> : UBA, M 76a	
14	16 06 07	Junius (Breda) to Adriaan van der Loo [-]	134
		<i>d</i> : UBA, M 76b	
15	16 [06–12 00]	Junius [Breda/Delft] to Vossius (Leiden)	138
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16	16 08 24	Paul de Seriere (Louvain) to Junius (Middelburg)	140
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17	17 02 19	Junius [Delft] to Elizabeth Junius (Leiden)	142
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18	17 02 [19–25]	Junius [Delft] to Elizabeth Junius (Leiden)	144
		<i>o</i> : BLO, Rawl 79, f. 65	
19	17 [02–04 00]	Vossius [Leiden] to Junius (Delft)	146
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 100j	
20	17 07 01	Junius (Hillegersberg) to Willem Roels [Middelburg]	148
		<i>c</i> : UBA, M 77	
21	17 [07–08 00]	Vossius [Leiden] to Junius [Hillegersberg]	152
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22	18 01 01	Junius [Hillegersberg] to Johan Bosman [Zwijndrecht].....	156
		<i>d</i> : UBA, M 66a	
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27 ₂₉	20 08 13	Junius (Paris) to Vossius [Leiden]	176
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³² 33 ₃₄	21 06 25	Willem de Groot (Paris) to Junius (London)	210
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 82a <i>d</i> : ARA, no. 32, only h-k	
³³ 34 ₃₅	21 07 17	Junius (London) to Willem de Groot (Paris)	220
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³⁴ 35	21 07 28	Willem de Groot (Paris) to Junius (London)	232
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 82b <i>d</i> : ARA, no. 32	
⁰ 36	21 08 28	Junius (London) to Vossius [Leiden]	242
		<i>o</i> : BL, Hl. 7012, f. 23 <i>ca</i> : UBA, M 74b <i>p</i> : Colomesius 2.47	
37 ₃₉	21 10 25	Vossius [Leiden] to Junius (London)	244
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³⁷ 39 ₄₁	21 12 11	Junius (London) to Vossius [Leiden]	256
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³⁸ 40 _[0]	21 12 15	Grotius (Paris) to Junius (London)	260
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⁰ 42	[22 06 10]	Junius (London) to Johanna Junius (Middelburg)	268
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44 ₀	22 [06 FIN]	Junius (Ludham) to Grotius [Paris]	280
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⁰ 45	22 07 11	Junius (Ludham) to Willem de Groot [Delft]	288
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^{43,46} 47	22 09 14	Vossius (Leiden) to Junius (London)	294
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⁰ 49	24 11 06	Junius (Horsley) to Johan de Brune [Middelburg]	302
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50	₅₁ [25 00 00]	Junius (Horsley) to Ralph Goodwyn [-]	306
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⁵⁰ 51	₅₂ 25 11 24	Ralph Goodwyn (Hampton Court) to Junius [Horsley]	308
		<i>o:</i> UBA, M 88	
⁵¹ 52	26 01 11	Junius (Horsley) to Ralph Goodwyn [Hampton Court]	310
		<i>ca:</i> UBA, M 72	
53	26 08 31	Dionysius Vossius [Leiden] to Junius [-]	314
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54	₅₅ [26] 10 23	George Fortescue [-] to Junius [-]	318
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⁵⁴ 55	[26 11–12 00]	Junius [-] to George Fortescue [-]	320
		<i>ca:</i> UBA, M 69b	
56	[27 01 00]	Junius [-] to William Petty [-]	324
		<i>ca:</i> UBA, M 67b	
57	₅₈ 27 08 13	Vossius (Leiden) to Junius [-]	326
		<i>c:</i> BLO, Rawl. 84b, f. 58	
⁵⁷ 58	28 04 29	Junius (London) to Vossius [Leiden]	330
		<i>o:</i> BL, Hl. 7012, f. 32 <i>p1:</i> Colomesius 2.94 <i>p2:</i> <i>Epp.</i> <i>Vossius</i> 121	
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		<i>o:</i> UBA, M 99d <i>c:</i> BLO, Rawl. 84b, f. 99–100 <i>p1:</i> Colomesius 1.93 <i>p2:</i> <i>Epp.</i> <i>Vossius</i> 130	
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⁵⁹ 61	29 03 10	Junius (London) to Vossius [Leiden]	346
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62	29 03 10	Junius (London) to Elizabeth Junius [Leiden]	350
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⁰ 63	29 06 30	Vossius (Leiden) to Junius (London)	352
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	66	[29 11 00]	Vossius [London] to Junius [London]	366
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	67	₇₂ 30 03 10	Junius (London) to Vossius [Leiden]	368
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	68	30 03 10	Junius (London) to Dionysius Vossius [Leiden]	372
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	69	₇₁ 30 03 16	Vossius (Leiden) to Junius (London)	374
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	70	₇₂ 30 04 16	Junius (London) to Vossius (Leiden)	380
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	71	₇₂ 30 04 27	Junius [London] to Vossius (Leiden)	384
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67,70,71	72	30 07 21	Vossius (Leiden) to Junius (London)	386
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	73	30 07 25	Junius (London) to Elizabeth Junius (Leiden)	390
			<i>o</i> : BLO, Rawl. 79, f. 66	
	74	30 08 14	Matthaeus Vossius (Leiden) to Junius (London)	394
			<i>o</i> : UBL, PAP 2	
	75	30 08 26	Junius (London) to Meric Casaubon [Canterbury]	398
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	76	30 10 29	Junius (London) to Elizabeth Junius [Leiden]	398
			<i>o</i> : BLO, Rawl. 79, f. 67	
	77	₈₀ 31 01 01	Dionysius Vossius (Leiden) to Junius [London]	402
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	78	31 01 12	Dionysius Vossius (Leiden) to Junius [London]	406
			<i>o</i> : UBA, M 98c	
	79	₈₁ [31] 01 22	John Rous (Oxford) to Junius (London)	410
			<i>o</i> : UBA, M 96b	
77	80	31 01 23	Junius (London) to Dionysius Vossius [Leiden]	412
			<i>ca</i> : UBA, M 98b verso	
79	81	₈₂ 31 01 30	Junius (London) to John Rous [Oxford]	414
			<i>ca</i> : UBA, M 96b verso	
81	82	31 02 24	John Rous (Oxford) to Junius (London)	416
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⁸³ 84	31 07 25	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius [Paris]	428
		<i>c</i> : BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 46 <i>p</i> : Colomesius 1.146	
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92	[34] 05 16	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius [London]	462
		<i>c</i> : BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 59 <i>p</i> : Colomesius 1.259	
93	⁹⁴ 34 [10 00]	Junius (London) to Vossius [Amsterdam]	464
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⁹³ 94	⁹⁵ 34 11 04	Vossius [Amsterdam] to Junius [London]	466
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⁰ 98	35 01 04	Vossius [Amsterdam] to Junius [London]	482
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99	¹⁰⁰ 35 01 15	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius (London)	484
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¹⁰¹ 102	₁₀₃ 35 06 01	Junius (London) to Vossius [Amsterdam] 522 <i>p</i> : Colomesius 2.219	
¹⁰² 103	₁₀₅ 35 10 15	Vossius [Amsterdam] to Junius [London] 532 <i>o</i> : UBA, M 991 <i>c</i> : Rawl. 84c, f. 60	
⁰ 104	35 12 03	John Francius (Cambridge) to Junius (London) 536 <i>o</i> : UBA, M 86a	
¹⁰³ 105	36 01 10	Junius (London) to Vossius [Amsterdam] 538 <i>d</i> : UBA, M 78b	
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¹⁰⁶ 107	36 05 22	Junius (London) to Vossius [Amsterdam] 554 <i>p</i> : Colomesius 2.231	
108	36 05 24	Junius (London) to Charles I [-] 560 <i>p1</i> : Junius, <i>De pictura</i> (1637:iii–xvi) <i>p2</i> : Junius, <i>De pictura</i> (1694:††3v–†††)	
¹⁰⁷ 109	₁₁₁ 36 07 07	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius [England, countryside] ... 576 <i>o</i> : UBA, M 99m <i>c</i> : BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 62	
110	36 08 24	Anthony van Dyck [Eltham] to Junius (London) 578 <i>o</i> : Hl. 4935, f.45 <i>p</i> : Junius, <i>De pictura</i> (1694:†††3) <i>f</i> : W.H. Carpenter, <i>Pictorial Notices</i> . . . (1844:55–56)	
¹⁰⁹ 111	₁₁₂ 37 02 28	Junius (London) to Vossius [Amsterdam] 580 <i>p</i> : Colomesius 2.248	
¹¹¹ 112	37 04 19	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius [-] 584 <i>o</i> : UBA, M100a <i>c</i> : Rawl. 84c, ff. 63–64 <i>p</i> : Colomesius 1.300	
113	37 07 11	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius [London] 590 <i>c</i> : Rawl. 84c, f. 65	
⁰ 114	37 08 01	Peter Paul Rubens (Antwerp) to Junius (London) 596 <i>o</i> : Hl. 4935, ff. 42–43 <i>p1</i> : Junius, <i>Schilder-konst</i> (1641:***ii1–3) <i>p2</i> : Junius, <i>Catalogus artificum</i> (1694:†††2–3) <i>e</i> : Ruelens and Rooses 6 (1909:179–80)	
115	37 09 21	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius (London) 600 <i>c</i> : Rawl. 84c, f. 66	
116	38 04 07	Junius (London) to Aletheia, Countess of Arundel [London] 604 <i>p</i> : Junius, <i>Painting</i> (1638:A2–A3v <i>e</i> : <i>Literature</i> 1.5–6	

117	¹¹⁹ 38 05 31	Grotius (Paris) to Junius [London] 608 <i>c:</i> RGB, RK Cat. Mss 674 <i>p1:</i> <i>Epp. Grotius</i> 967 <i>p2:</i> Junius, <i>De pictura</i> (1694:†††2) <i>e:</i> <i>BWGrocius</i> 9.3606
118	38 06 29	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius [London] 610 <i>o:</i> UBA, M 100b <i>c:</i> Rawl. 84c, ff. 67–68 <i>p1:</i> Colomesius 1.335 <i>p2:</i> <i>Epp. Vossius</i> 442 <i>p3:</i> Ravius, <i>Prima tredecim</i> [1646]
¹¹⁷ 119	¹²⁰ 38 07 24	Junius (London) to Grotius (Paris) 618 <i>o:</i> BN, NAF 14.823, f. 73 <i>e:</i> <i>BWGrocius</i> 9.3670
¹¹⁹ 120	[38] 09 23	Grotius (Paris) to Junius [London] 622 <i>p1:</i> Junius, <i>De pictura</i> (1694:†††2) <i>p2:</i> <i>Epp. Grotius</i> 1031 <i>e:</i> <i>BWGrocius</i> 9.3772
121	38 09 24	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius [London] 624 <i>ca:</i> Rawl. 84c, f. 40
⁰ 122	¹²³ 39 01 22	Grotius (Paris) to Junius [London] 628 <i>c:</i> RGB, RK Cat. Mss 674 <i>p:</i> <i>Epp. Grotius</i> 1106 <i>e:</i> <i>BWGrocius</i> 10.3940
¹²² 123	¹²⁴ 39 02 09	Junius (London) to Grotius [Paris] 630 <i>o:</i> BN, NAF 14823, f. 75 <i>e:</i> <i>BWGrocius</i> 10.3967
¹²³ 124	¹²⁵ 39 02 19	Grotius (Paris) to Junius [London] 632 <i>o:</i> BLO, Ms Selden supra 108, f. 72 <i>c1:</i> RGB, RK Cat. Mss 674 <i>c2:</i> Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preus. Kult., coll. Spanheimiana 62d <i>c3:</i> Cambridge, UB, ms KK 5.38, pp. 319–320 <i>p:</i> <i>Epp. Grotius</i> 1126 <i>e:</i> <i>BWGrocius</i> 10.3982
¹²⁴ 125	39 02 28	Junius (London) to Grotius (Paris) 634 <i>o:</i> BN, NAF 14823, f. 77 <i>e:</i> <i>BWGrocius</i> 10.3996
126	39 04 11	Isaac Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius (London) 638 <i>o:</i> UBA, M 101
127	¹²⁸ 39 06 19	Johannes F. Gronovius (Oxford) to Junius [London] 642 <i>o:</i> UBA, M 89a <i>e:</i> Dibon and Waquet (1984, no. 14)
¹²⁷ 128	39 06 24	Junius (London) to Johannes F. Gronovius (Oxford) 646 <i>o:</i> UBM, Cod. mix. 617, f. 33 <i>d:</i> UBA, M 73a
129	39 07 02	Junius (London) to Vossius [Amsterdam] 648 <i>ca:</i> UBA, M 78c
⁰ 130	39 07 26	John Francius (Cambridge) to Junius [London] 662 <i>o:</i> UBA, M 86b
131	39 10 05	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius [London] 664 <i>o:</i> UBA, M 100h <i>c:</i> Rawl. 84c, f. 69
132	40 02 07	Junius (London) to Christoph Timpler (Bremen) 670 <i>ca:</i> UBA, M 73b

133	40 [05 00]	Isaac Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius [London]	672
		<i>d:</i> BL, Hl. 7012, f. 458	
134	40 05 15	Matthaeus Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius (London)	674
		<i>d:</i> UBA, D 96d	
135	40 05 23	Junius (London) to John Francius (Cambridge)	676
		<i>ca:</i> UBA, M 70a	
136	40 05 25	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius (London)	678
		<i>c:</i> BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 70	
137	₀ 40 08 13	Junius (Amsterdam) to Christoph Timpler [Bremen]	682
		<i>ca:</i> UBA, M 73c	
138	₀ 40 [10–12 00]	Georg Gentius (Oxford) to Junius (London)	686
		<i>o:</i> UBA, M 87	
139	40 12 24	Johan van Heemskerck (Amsterdam) to Junius [London]	688
		<i>o:</i> UBA, M 90	
140	₁₄₃ 41 02 15	Junius (London) to Elizabeth Junius (Amsterdam)	690
		<i>o:</i> BL, Hl. 7012, f. 97	
141	41 03 29	Junius (London) to Isaac Vossius (Amsterdam)	694
		<i>o:</i> UBA, I 89a <i>d:</i> UBA, M 70b	
142	41 03 30	Joannes Corvinus (Amsterdam) to Junius (London)	696
		<i>o:</i> UBA, M 83	
¹⁴⁰ 143	41 [04 01–10]	Vossius (The Hague) to Junius [London]	700
		<i>o:</i> UBA, M 100d <i>c:</i> BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 121b	
144	41 04 12	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius [London]	710
		<i>c:</i> BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 71	
145	₁₄₇ 41 04 15	George Rataller Doublet (The Hague) to Junius [London]	712
		<i>o:</i> UBA, M 84	
146	41 05 17	Matthew Wren (London) to Junius (London)	714
		<i>o:</i> UBA, M 93	
¹⁴⁵ 147	41 06 21	Junius (London) to George Rataller Doublet (The Hague)	716
		<i>ca:</i> UBA, M 68	
148	41 07 08	Junius (London) to John Francius (Cambridge)	718
		<i>ca:</i> UBA, M 70c	
149	₁₅₀ 41 07 18	Junius (London) to John Rous [Oxford]	720
		<i>ca:</i> UBA, M 70d	
¹⁴⁹ 150	41 08 08	John Rous (Oxford) to Junius (London)	722
		<i>o:</i> UBA, M 96c	

151	41 08 09	Junius [London] to Elizabeth Junius (Amsterdam)	724
		<i>o</i> : BLO, Rawl. 84b, f. 203	
152	41 12 11	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius (London)	726
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 100c <i>c</i> : BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 72 <i>p1</i> : Colomesius 1.433 <i>p2</i> : <i>Epp. Vossius</i> 576	
153	[42] 02 04	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius (London)	734
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 100g <i>c</i> : BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 73	
154	42 04 15	Junius (Utrecht) to Jan de Brune (The Hague)	738
		<i>ca</i> : UBA, M 70e	
155	43 09 22	Junius (Utrecht) to Johannes Smetius (Nijmegen)	740
		<i>ca</i> : UBA, M 70f	
^o 156	44 03 14	Junius (The Hague) to Christian Ravius [Utrecht]	744
		<i>ca</i> : UBA, M 70g	
157	[44–46 00 00]	Isaac Vossius [Amsterdam] to Junius [The Hague]	746
		<i>ca</i> : UBA, VI F 30, 163	
158	₁₅₉ 45 02 26	Franciscus Junius F.N. (Groningen) to Junius [The Hague]	746
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 92a	
¹⁵⁸ 159	45 04 12	Junius (The Hague) to Franciscus Junius F.N. (Groningen)	750
		<i>ca</i> : UBA, M 92a verso	
160	45 [12 22–23]	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius [The Hague]	752
		<i>c</i> : BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 202 <i>p</i> : Colomesius 1.509	
161	46 03 21	Vossius [Amsterdam] to Junius (The Hague)	754
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 100f <i>c</i> : BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 201 <i>p</i> : Colomesius 1.510	
162	46 03 21	Vossius (Amsterdam) to Junius (The Hague)	756
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 100e	
163	46 05 24	Junius (Alkmaar) to N.N. [-]	758
		<i>o</i> : Fondation Custodia, Coll. Frits Lugt	
164	49 01 29	Junius (London) to Isaac Vossius [Amsterdam]	758
		<i>o</i> : UBA, I 89b	
165	₁₆₇ 50 04 01	Franciscus Junius F.N. (Amsterdam) to Junius (London)	766
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 92b and M 75v	
166	₁₆₇ 50 04 22	Franciscus Junius F.N. (Amsterdam) to Junius (London)	770
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 92e	

^{165,166} 167 ₁₆₈ 50 04 29	Junius (London) to Franciscus Junius F.N. [Amsterdam] 772 <i>d/ca</i> : UBA, M 75
¹⁶⁷ 168 ₁₆₉ 50 05 10	Franciscus Junius F.N. (Amsterdam) to Junius (London) 778 <i>o</i> : UBA, M 92c
¹⁶⁸ 169 ₀ 50 [05 00]	Junius (London) to Franciscus Junius F.N. [Amsterdam] 782 <i>ca</i> : UBA, M 92c verso
⁰ 170 _{171,172} 50 08 02	Franciscus Junius F.N. (Amsterdam) to Junius [London] 794 <i>o</i> : UBA, M 92d
¹⁷⁰ 171 50 09 06	Junius (London) to Franciscus Junius F.N. [Amsterdam] 798 <i>ca</i> : UBA, M 92d verso
¹⁷⁰ 172 50 09 16	Junius (London) to Franciscus Junius F.N. [Amsterdam] 800 <i>d</i> : UBA, M 92d verso
173 51 07 13	James Ussher (London) to Junius [London] 802 <i>c</i> : in Junius's hand, Ms Jun. 55, f. 4 <i>p1</i> : Junius, <i>Gothicum glossarium</i> (1665:14–17) <i>p2</i> : Parr (1686, no. 263)
174 ₁₇₅ 51 10 13	Franciscus Junius F.N. (Groningen) to Junius [Amsterdam] 810 <i>o</i> : UBA, M 92f
^{0, 174} 175 51 10 20	Junius (Amsterdam) to Franciscus Junius F.N. [Groningen] 816 <i>ca</i> : UBA, M 92f verso
176 ₁₇₇ 51 11 17	Johannes F. Gronovius (Deventer) to Junius (Amsterdam) 818 <i>o</i> : UBA, M 89b
¹⁷⁶ 177 ₁₈₀ 51 12 07	Junius (Amsterdam) to Johannes F. Gronovius (Deventer) 822 <i>o</i> : UBM, Cod. mix. 617, f. 43 <i>ca</i> : UBA, M 89b verso
178 51 12 17	John Selden (London) to Junius [Amsterdam] 824 <i>o</i> : UBL, PAP 2
179 52 02 09	Bartholdus Nihusius (Amsterdam) to Junius [Amsterdam] 826 <i>o</i> : KB, 121 D 2/24
¹⁷⁷ 180 52 02 22	Johannes F. Gronovius (Deventer) to Junius [Amsterdam] 828 <i>o</i> : UBA, M 89c

⁰ 181	52 05 24	Junius (Amsterdam) to John Greaves [-]	830
		<i>o</i> : BLO, Ms Savile 47, f. 37 <i>p</i> : Birch 2.468–69	
182	52 07 08	Junius (Amsterdam) to John Selden [London]	832
		<i>o</i> : BL, Hl. 7001, f. 232	
183	53 01 04	Christoph Arnold (Nuremberg) to Junius (Amsterdam) ...	836
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 81	
184	[53 00 00]	Hans Hector zum Jungen [Frankfurt] to Junius [Frankfurt]	840
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 91	
⁰ 185	53 09 18	Bartholdus Nihusius (Regensburg) to Junius (Frankfurt)	842
		<i>o</i> : UBA, M 94	
186	53 12 09	Junius (Amsterdam) to Isaac Vossius (Stockholm)	844
		<i>ca</i> : UBA, M 79	
187	54 05 08	Junius (Amsterdam) to John Selden [London]	848
		<i>p</i> : Hickes (1705:xliii–iv)	
188	54 11 12	Junius (Amsterdam) to Isaac Vossius (Antwerp)	852
		<i>o</i> : UBA, I 89c	
189	55 01 30	Junius (Amsterdam) to Trustees Leiden University [Leiden]	854
		<i>p</i> : Junius, <i>Observationes</i> (1655:[iii–ix]) <i>f</i> : Voorwinden (1992:[iii–x])	
⁰ 190 ₀	56 01 28	Junius (The Hague) to William Dugdale [London]	864
		<i>p</i> : Hamper (1827, no. 100)	
⁰ 191 ₀	56 02 25	Junius (The Hague) to William Dugdale [London]	870
		<i>p</i> : Hamper (1827, no. 101)	
⁰ 192 ₀	56 04 21	Junius (The Hague) to William Dugdale [London]	872
		<i>p</i> : Hamper (1827, no. 104)	
⁰ 193	56 05 12	Junius (The Hague) to William Dugdale [London]	874
		<i>p</i> : Hamper (1827, no. 106)	
194	56 00 00	Junius (The Hague) to Fabian Philipps [-]	876
		<i>p</i> : Vossius, <i>Harmoniae evangelicae</i> (1656:*2–*2v)	
⁰ 195	57 03 02	Junius (The Hague) to William Dugdale [London]	878
		<i>p</i> : Hamper (1827, no. 114)	
196	57 05 04	Doeke van Hemmema (Leeuwarden) to Junius (The Hague)	882
		<i>o</i> : Lambeth Palace, Ms 783, ff. 281–282 <i>e</i> : Campbell (1938:31–33)	

197	57 08 27	Johannes F. Gronovius (Deventer) to Junius [The Hague] 884 <i>o</i> : UBA, M 89d
198	[ante 58 02 20]	Gerard Langbaine [-] to Junius [-] 886 <i>c</i> : d , in Junius' hand, Ms Jun. 116c, f. 112, s.v. CIBORIUM <i>p</i> : Junius, <i>Etymologicum anglicanum</i> (1743), s.vv CEEN, CHILD, CHIRRE, CNIGHT, JOLE, LOPSTER, QUEAN, QUICK
⁰ 199	59 07 04	Junius (London) to Isaac Vossius (The Hague) 898 <i>o</i> : UBA, I 89d
200	59 07 18	Junius (London) to Isaac Vossius (The Hague) 906 <i>o</i> : UBA, I 89e
201	[59 07–08 00]	Junius (London) to Isaac Vossius (The Hague) 910 <i>o</i> : UBA, I 89g
202	²⁰³ [60 00 00]	Johann Clauberg [Duisburg] to Junius [The Hague] ... 916 <i>p</i> : Junius, <i>Etymologicum anglicanum</i> (1743), s.v. TOES
^{202/0} 203	60 08 13	Junius (The Hague) to Johann Clauberg [Duisburg] ... 918 <i>o</i> : UBL, BPL 293b, ff. 142–45, 158
^{202/0} 204	[60 08 00]	Junius [The Hague] to Johann Clauberg (Duisburg) ... 930 <i>o</i> : UBL, BPL 293b, ff. 146–57
205	61 05 29	Junius (The Hague) to William Dugdale [-] 980 <i>p</i> : Hamper (1827, no. 131)
⁰ 206	61 09 23	Junius (The Hague) to William Dugdale [-] 984 <i>o</i> : BN, NAF 14823, f. 78 <i>f</i> : Thibaudeau (1885:356)
207	[61 00 00]	Junius [-] to Jan van Vliet [-] 988 <i>o</i> : Lambeth Palace, Ms 783, f. 246a <i>e</i> : Feitsma (1956:109)
208	62 02 15	Junius (The Hague) to Thomas Marshall [Dordrecht] 988 <i>o</i> : BLO, Ms Marshall 134, ff. 3–5v
209	63 01 12	Junius (Dordrecht) to Isaac Vossius (The Hague) 996 <i>o</i> : UBA, I 89f
210	65 03 13	Junius (Dordrecht) to N.N. [Frankfurt] 1000 <i>ca</i> : UBA, M 80
211	65 00 00	Junius [-] to Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie [-] 1006 <i>p</i> : Junius and Marshall, <i>Evangeliorum versiones</i> (1665:*2–**3)
⁰ 212	⁰ 66 04 10	Junius (The Hague) to Thomas Marshall (Dordrecht) 1016 <i>o</i> : BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 6

⁰ 213	66 07 23	Junius (The Hague) to Thomas Marshall [Dordrecht]	1018
		<i>o</i> : BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 7	
⁰ 214	67 06 03–04	Junius (The Hague) to Thomas Marshall (Dordrecht)	1024
		<i>o</i> : BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 8	
⁰ 215	¹¹⁷ 68 01 30	Thomas Marshall (Dordrecht) to Junius [The Hague]	1028
		<i>p</i> : Hamper (1827:384–85)	
⁰ 216	68 02 03	Junius (The Hague) to William Dugdale [-]	1030
		<i>p</i> : Hamper (1827, no. 146)	
²¹⁵ 217	68 02 07	Junius (The Hague) to Thomas Marshall (Dordrecht)	1034
		<i>o</i> : BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 9	
⁰ 218	68 10 16	Junius (The Hague) to Thomas Marshall (Dordrecht)	1036
		<i>o</i> : BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 10	
⁰ 219	69 05 17	Junius (The Hague) to Thomas Marshall [Dordrecht]	1038
		<i>o</i> : BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 11	
220	69 12 31	Junius (The Hague) to Thomas Marshall (Dordrecht)	1040
		<i>o</i> : BLO, Ms Marshall 134, ff. 12–13	
221	70 01 30	Junius (The Hague) to John Cotton [-]	1046
		<i>o</i> : BLO, Ms Smith 25, pp. 37–38 <i>c</i> : BLO, Ms Smith 25, pp. 43–44	
⁰ 222	70 02 11	Junius (The Hague) to Thomas Marshall (Dordrecht) ...	1048
		<i>o</i> : BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 14	
223	71 11 09	Junius (The Hague) to Geeraert Brandt [-]	1050
		<i>o</i> : UBL, PAP 15	
224	74 10 20	Cornelis Booth (Utrecht) to Junius [-]	1052
		<i>o</i> : UBL, BPL 246, f. 2	
[000]	[38–40 00 00]	Matthaeus Vossius [Amsterdam] to Junius [London]	1054
		<i>d</i> : UBA, D 96e	

**TEXTS, TRANSLATIONS
AND COMMENTARY**

1₂ 02 04 23 JUNIUS [DORDRECHT] TO JUNIUS THE ELDER (LEIDEN)¹

A Reverendo et clarissimo viro D. Francisco Iunio, sacrae Theologiae doctori et professori, Patri meo plurimum observando. *Met een kiste.* Leydam.

a Laus Deo Semper.²

Amantissime Pater, facio te certiozem, quod adhuc bene valeam et Die Saturni salvus Dei gratia Dordracum venerim.³ Mitto ad te hanc cistam meam, quemadmodum mihi Mater charissima mandaverat, cum discederem.⁴ °Cognovi ex °cognata mea Aletha Corputia, quod ipsa cum cognatis meis reliquis cogitet ad vos festo Pentecostes °proficisci, quia tunc solent esse dies calidiores, et D. Rector magis domo abesse potest, quia biduo aut triduo non docetur.⁵

a Cognovi: Co[- n]gnovi | cognata: co[+ [- n]gn]ata (*Sheet torn*) | proficisci: profici[*sphi* > *ex* > *sci*]

¹ *o*: UBA, D 33. Dated in old style: its date "13 April" followed both 18 April and a Saturday after Easter, **a**.

² Franciscus Junius, or du Jon, the Elder (1545–1602), Junius' father, son of Guillaume du Jon, Sieur de Boffardinière near Issoudun, France. He had been professor of theology at Leiden University from 1592 and a minister of the Walloon Church. Having studied under the theologians Theodorus Beza (1519–1605) and, probably, John Calvin (1509–1564) in Geneva, and served as a minister of the Walloon Church in Antwerp, Limburg, and the Palatinate, he had earned a reputation for his new Latin translations of the Old and New Testaments, done in cooperation with Emmanuel Tremellius (1510–1580), with the object of providing the Protestant world with its own Bible, in 1575–79. He was appointed professor of Hebrew and theology at Neustadt in 1578, and professor of theology at Heidelberg in 1584, from where he moved to Leiden. At Leiden he taught Hebrew as well, and his Hebrew grammar for students, *Grammatica Hebraeae linguae* . . . (Frankfurt, 1580), dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, **68c**, was considered the best one available. Junius the Elder is especially remembered for his irenicism, as expressed in *Eirenicum de pace ecclesiae Catholicae inter Christianos*, or *Le paisible Chrestien, ou de la paix de l'Eglise catholique* (both Leiden, 1593), a plea for peace and reconciliation among Christians, which urged all Christians to unite in the one body of Christ, the Catholic Church. Cf. Cuno (1891), Venemans (1977, esp. 106–19), de Jonge (1980).

³ Junius had been studying at the Dordrecht Latin School from September 1601, and boarding with the headmaster Gerardus Joannes Vossius and his wife, cf. below. At his father's invitation, he had just spent the Easter holidays in Leiden. He returned with his father's letter to Vossius dated 02 04 18, on Saturday 20 April. These dates imply that the present letter was dated old style. Cf. BL, Hl. 7012, f. 1; UBA, III E 4, no. 8; BLO, Rawl. 79, f. 2, Rademaker (1998:5).

⁴ Maria Glaser (c.1555–1602), daughter of the Antwerp jeweler Johannes Glaser,

1 02 04 23 JUNIUS [DORDRECHT] TO JUNIUS THE ELDER (LEIDEN)

A To the reverend and widely renowned gentleman Mr. Franciscus Junius, doctor and professor of holy theology, my much obliging father. *With a chest.* To Leiden.

a Praise to God forever.

Dearly beloved Father, I inform you that I am still doing well and safely arrived in Dordrecht on Saturday, thank God. I am sending you my chest, just as dearest Mother instructed me to do when I left. I have heard from my aunt Alith van den Corput that she is considering to go to you together with my other relatives at the feast of Whitsun, because the days are usually warmer then, and Sir, the headmaster can be away from home longer, because there is no teaching for two or three days.

Junius' stepmother and Junius the Elder's fourth wife from 1593. She was to die of the plague half a year after the present letter, **3a**. Junius' true mother was Johanna l'Hermite, daughter of the Antwerp nobleman and alderman Simon l'Hermite, lord of Betinsart, and Jehanne de Splijtere, and was related to the humanist Daniel l'Ermite, **7f**. She and Junius the Elder had married in 1587, and had two children, Johanna, **c**, and Junius. Junius' mother died soon after her son's birth. One or both family connections may have facilitated Junius' contacts with Antwerp, for instance with Anthony van Dyck and Peter Paul Rubens, **114**, **110**, **156b**, **203e**. Furthermore, a Denys l'Hermite who lived with his family in St. Saviour's Parish in Norwich, and was a member of the Walloon Church there, was probably also a relative. Junius may have met him when staying near Norwich in the early 1620s. Cf. Venemans (1977:38–39), Moens (1887–88, s.v.), **42b**.

⁵ Alith (Aletta) de Witt, daughter of the Dordrecht burgomaster Jacob de Witt (1548–1621), was the widow of the vice-headmaster of the Latin School Isaac van den Corput (1569–1599). He was a brother of Vossius' wife Elizabeth van den Corput, **c**, and also related to Junius the Elder's second wife Elizabeth van den Corput (1552–1587), the mother of Junius' half-brother Johan Casimir and half-sisters Elizabeth and Maria, **c**. Alith was a niece of Vossius' stepmother Anna de Witt (b. 1572), and in 1603 she was to marry Balthasar Lydius, **29a**. Through her, Junius was related to the Dordrecht magistrate family de Witt, **170c**. Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577–1649), the headmaster of the Dordrecht Latin School from 1600, until his appointment as a regent of the States College in Leiden in 1615, **11d**. A former student of both these institutions, and a former student of Junius the Elder, he had been the first Master of Arts at Leiden. In the course of the present correspondence, Vossius can be seen to turn into an internationally renowned humanist scholar. He was Junius' preceptor and future brother-in-law, as well as his most loyal correspondent. On his life and studies, cf. Rademaker (1981). Junius the Elder invited Junius and the Vossius family for Whitsun, which was on 26 May in 1602, and again for the University holiday during the fair in the neighbouring village of Valkenburg in early September. Cf. Rademaker (1981:12, 57, 443–44), *NNBW* 2.338, Rawl. 79, ff. 3–4, *Bronnen* 1.20, *DZ* 3.26, no. 4097.

- b** Audimus eosdem libros quos praecedenti semestri °didicimus, mempe Syntaxin, et Prosodiam Latinam, *Grammaticam* Graecam, reliquam partem libri primi Ciceronis, Tristium Ovidi, et Phormionis Terenti.⁶ Video mihi operam esse dandam, ne cum iam semiannum hac classe sederim, °vincar ab illis, qui hesterno die in illam classem °ascenderunt, quod mihi esset ingnomiosum et tibi ingratisimum. Potius studebo ut eos superem, qui mecum ante °semestre °classem mutaverunt.
- c** Nihil °aliud mi Pater habeo, quod scribam nisi quod plurimum peto ut Matrem amantissimam, cum fratre, et Sororibus plurimum salutes.⁷ D. Rector quoque °et coniunx plurimum te cum Matre et cum tota familia iusserunt salutari.⁸ Vale Pater Amantissime. Tuus charissimus filius Franciscus Iunius.
Anno 1602 13 April.

¹ 2 02 04 28 JUNIUS THE ELDER (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS [DORDRECHT]¹

A *Francisco* Iunio F.F.

- a** Incolumem te istuc pervenisse, Francisce fili, gaudeo et oro Dominum prout iter secundavit, sic etiam studiorum tuorum secundet cursum.² Cursum dico, non quod te putem currere, qui a tergo multorum subsidis, sed quod velim te id facere, et quod Deo et mihi debeas.³ Nihil a te mihi gratius potest accidere, quam si te studentem

b didicimus: didici\mus/ | vincar: [- ne] vincar | ascenderunt: as[s > c]enderunt | semestre: semestr[i > e] (semestr[i > e]): possibly semestr[e > i] | classem: c[al > la]ssem | **c** aliud: aliu[t > d] | et coniunx[nx]: [cum > et] coniu[- gque]

⁶ These subjects correspond to the curriculum of the fourth form—the first being the highest—in the Holland *Schoolordre* of 1625, to which Vossius significantly contributed. In this school act, the curriculum is as follows: Latin syntax and prosody from L. Lithocomus, *De grammatica Latina*; Greek morphology from Nicolaus Clenardus, *Institutiones in linguam Graecam*; Cicero, *De senectute* or *De amicitia*; Ovid, *Tristia* or *De Ponto*; Terence; Vergil, *Bucolica*, and the Lord's Prayer in Greek. The subjects were current at humanist Latin schools. Vossius had cleansed the worst mistakes from Lithocomus and Clenardus for use at the Dordrecht Latin school. Junius had probably already spent two years at the Leiden Latin School before going to Dordrecht in September 1601. Cf. Jensen (1996), Bot (1955), Kuiper (1958:12–15), Rademaker (1981:65, 188–206; 1998:5).

⁷ Junius the Elder's and Elizabeth van den Corput's three children Johan Casimir, who was studying arts and theology at Leiden, **3**, Maria (1583–1641), who was to

- b** We have heard the same books which we learnt the previous term, that is, Latin syntax and prosody, Greek grammar, the remaining part of the first book of Cicero, Ovid's *Tristia*, and Terence's *Phormio*. I see I must take pains not to be surpassed by those who moved up to this form yesterday, although I have already been in this form for half a year—which would be shameful to me and most unwelcome to you. I will rather try to outstrip those who changed form together with me the previous term.
- c** My father, I have nothing else to write than urgently to ask you warmly to greet dearest Mother and Brother and my sisters. Sir, the headmaster, and his wife also said that you and Mother and the whole family should be warmly greeted. Farewell, dearly beloved Father. In the year 1602, 13 April.
Your dearest son Francis Junius.

2 02 04 28 JUNIUS THE ELDER (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS [DORDRECHT]

A To Fr. Junius F.F.

- a** I am glad, Francis my son, that you arrived there safely, and I pray the Lord to favour the course of your studies, just as He also favoured the trip. A course, I say, not one which I think you run, for you sit down behind many people, but one which I want you to do, and which you owe to God and me. Nothing more welcome can happen to me through you than if I see you studying and progressing in

marry Isaac Diamant in 1606, **6b**, and Elizabeth (1585–1659), who was to marry Vossius in 1607, **4b**, and Junius' full sister Johanna (b. 1588), who was to marry Isaac de Brune in 1613, **7f**.

⁸ Elizabeth van den Corput (1578–1606), daughter of the former Dordrecht predicant and regent of the Latin School Hendrik van den Corput (1536–1601), had married Vossius in February, cf. Rademaker (1981:69–70).

¹ *o*: BL, Hl. 7012, f. 2; *p*: Colomesius 2.455. Presumably written on the verso of the envelope of Junius the Elder's letter to Vossius dated 02 04 28. The address, lost at the left margin, reads, "[.]Doctissimo viro, adfini coniunctissimo [..]D. Gerardo Vossio, Rectori scholae [..]Dordracenae meritissimo. [+ *Aem*] den Rector van den [+ *sch*]ole. Dordraci" [to the most learned gentleman, my dearest kinsman Mr. Gerardus Vossius, most deserved headmaster of the Dordrecht school. *To the headmaster of the school. Dordrecht*].

² Junius had returned from a stay with his family in Leiden to Dordrecht where he went to school, **1a**.

³ Cf. 1 Cor. 9.24, "Nescitis quod ii qui in stadio currunt omnes quidem currunt, sed unus accipit bravium?" ["Know ye not that they which run in a race run all, but one receiveth the prize?" AV].

videro et in iis literis quae te ornare et publicum iuvare possunt provehentem; si feceris, me uteris, dum vivo, bono et favente patre; si non feceris (avertat Deus), meam offensam scito non fore tibi adiumento.

- b** Exsuscita illam tuam animulam, et postpositis nucibus et iocis (quibus adhuc indulxisti plus satis), arripe libros, et ad studia rapere, ut puerum virtutis amantem decet.⁴ Deum time; praeceptores cole; cum bonis versare; abstine °a malorum consuetudine, et in eo totus esto, dum me habes superstitem, ut haec commoda bene occupes; quae, si Deus ex hac vita me evocaverit, essent te in momento fugitura.⁵ Nos tibi omnes salutem dicimus.

Tuus pater Fr. Iunius.

Lugduno Batavorum, die Domenico, XXVIII Aprilis 1602.

- 3** 02 11 24 JOHAN CASIMIR JUNIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (DORDRECHT)¹

- A** Dilectissimo fratri meo Francisco Iunio F.F. litteris operam danti, Dordraci.

- a** *Salutem.*² Nihil unquam adhuc litterarum transmisisti, frater; quae causa, non constat. Sublatus est iam tibi pater, sublata et mater.³

2a a: a[- b]

⁴ Erasmus, *Adage* 435, “nuces relinquere.” The custom of children in classical antiquity to play with nuts had given rise to the proverbial expression “to give up childish games.” Cf. *LS*, s.v.

⁵ Junius the Elder was to die of the plague half a year later, **3a**.

¹ o: UBL, PAP 15.

² Johan Casimir Junius (1582–1624), Junius’ half-brother, the eldest child of Junius the Elder and Elizabeth van den Corput. He had matriculated at Heidelberg, gone to the Dordrecht Latin School, studied at Leiden (matriculation 1595) with Vossius, and studied under Andrew Melville, **30b**, at St. Andrews in Scotland in 1599–1600, when he may have met Willem Teellinck, **8f**. While intended by his father for a professorship in Hebrew, Johan Casimir was more attracted to the military career of his uncle Johan van den Corput, **5c**. He declined an offer to be his uncle’s lieutenant in 1606, but became his reserve officer candidate in March 1609, and was advanced to the lieutenantancy at his uncle’s death in September 1611. His uncle’s executor, he entangled himself in a family row over the inheritance, **6b**. In Groningen, Johan Casimir befriended the Frisian historian Ubbo Emmius (1547–1625), and the Counter-Remonstrant theologian Sibrandus Lubbertus (c.1555–1625). In the religious controversies of the 1610s, he promoted the Counter-Remonstrant views advo-

that scholarship which can equip you and support the public weal. If you do so, you will have in me a good and friendly father as long as I live; if you do not do so (may God prevent that), be aware that my annoyance will not be of assistance to you.

- b** Awaken your little soul and, laying aside trifles and sports (in which you have indulged yourself more than enough now), take hold of books and rush away to your studies, as becomes a boy who loves virtue. Fear God; honour your teachers; reside with rightminded people; avoid the company of bad people, and wholly apply yourself to employing these benefits well while I am still alive for you, for they would flee from you in a moment if God summoned me from this life. We all give you greetings.
Your father Fr. Junius.
Leiden, Sunday 28 April 1602.

3 02 11 24 JOHAN CASIMIR JUNIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (DORDRECHT)

- A** To my dearly beloved brother Francis Junius F.F., who is applying himself to studies, in Dordrecht.
- a** Regards. You have never sent a letter yet, Brother; it is not clear what is the reason. Your father has died now, and so has your mother. From now on, you must embrace me in place of Father, because I

cated by Franciscus Gomarus, **12a**, **57c**. He was to marry Maria Dison, with whom he had Maria, another daughter, who seems to have died young, and Franciscus F.N., **84f**, **113c**. In 1624, he died of the plague. He and Junius published two of Junius the Elder's books, *Opera theologica exegetica* . . . (Geneva, 1607) and *Animadversiones in R. Bellarmini controversiam VII . . . de Ecclesia triumphante . . . ; accedunt orationes de linguae Hebraeae antiquitate . . . de promissione, de foedere, de adiunctis. Item Specularius contra Genebrardum* . . . ([Heidelberg], 1608). Johan Casimir added to these his father's *Commentaria in Jechezkelem Prophetam* (1610) and *Analytica expositio secundum Matthaeum et Marcum evangelistas* (1612), dedicated to the States General. Cf. Toepke and Hintzelmann (1886:146), *ASL* (1875, s.v.), M'Crie (1831, 2.496), Vossius (1625:2), de Crane (1820:25–26, 55–56), Cuno (1891: 269–70, 373–77), Chr. de Jonge (1980:207–08), Rademaker (1981:84–86, 117), Postema (1993:144–47), *BWPGN* 4.615, *BWN* 10.253.

³ Junius the Elder had died of the plague one month earlier, on 23 October 1602, and Maria Glaser two days before him. Franciscus Gomarus, **4b**, had held the funeral oration, *Oratio funebris* . . . (Leiden, 1602); for an abridged version, cf. Kuyper (1882:34–36). In 1602, the plague was severe in the provinces of Holland, from Alkmaar in the north to Vlaardingen in the south. Cf. Cuno (1891:224–26), Venemans (1977:39), de Jonge (1980:32), Noordegraaf and Valk (1988:227).

Posthac te me parentis loco complecti opus est, utpote qui maximus natu sum, et agenda tibi Deo gratiae, quod me ad eam aetatem usque perduxerit, antequam parentibus nos orbaret, ut tibi de rebus et studiis tuis prospicere valeam.⁴ Quare, si quid posthac opus erit, ad me scribas, °et saepe.

- b** Interea luctui tuo moderare, quantum fieri potest; studiis tuis diligenter incumbere; °modestiam, pietatemque ante omne cole, et benedicet Dominus laboribus tuis. Vale in Domino et studia tua diligenter cura. Quod si feceris et tibi ipsi pretium eris, et maximam apud omnes existimationem tibi comparabis, nosque omnes voluptatem summam ex te capiemus.

Datum Lugduno Batavorum, XXIV Novembris 1602.

Tuus frater Ioannes Casimirus Iunius.

4 08 [08–10 00] JUNIUS [LEIDEN] TO VOSSIUS [DORDRECHT]¹

- a** Gerardo Vossio, praeceptori et affini suo, F.F.F. Iunius *salutem dicit*. Neraeus, quo frater iam dudum familiarissime utitur, nuper hunc ad me deferens librum, petiit ut negotium sibi a fratre meo impositum perficerem, et hunc ad te deferri curarem; cumque pluribus, num fratri Casimiro dandus esset, percunctari vellem, festinanter abiit.² Ego, cum haec a fratre non sine causa Neraeo in mandatis data esse putarem, malui potius confestim hunc ad te mittere, quam mora

3a et saepe: \et saepe/ | **b** modestiam: mod[i > e]stiam

⁴ In 1603, Stadholder Prince Maurice of Orange (1567–1625) cared for Junius and his sister Johanna by appointing Vossius, Gomarus, and Isaac Diamant, **6b**, as their guardians. Cf. Rademaker (1981:85, 1998:6).

¹ *p*: Colomesius 2.4. Written not earlier than August, yet before 25 October, because Vossius sent a letter dated 08 10 25 to Johan Casimir Junius with the books accompanied by the present letter, and did not yet refer to the books in his previous correspondence to Johan Casimir, of which the latest retrieved letter prior to 25 October is dated 08 08 00, cf. UBA, III E 4, nos. 36, 35. The letter dated 08 07 19, BL, Hl. 7012, f. 3, is not Junius', which *ICVossius* (1993:11) suggests, but Johan Casimir's to Vossius.

² Richard Jean de Nerée (1579–1628), Walloon minister, and a former student of Junius the Elder and Franciscus Gomarus, **b**. He had been appointed minister of the French troops in Groningen at the instigation of Johan Casimir Junius, but was soon suspended on suspicions of unorthodoxy, induced by his irenic views, in the spring of 1608. At the time of the present letter he tried to acquire a testimony of his orthodoxy from Gomarus. Failing to do so, it was not until 1611 that

am your elder brother, and you must give thanks to God that, before he deprived us of our parents, he has brought me all the way to that age to be capable of taking care of you for your affairs and studies. So, if you need anything from now on, write to me, and do so often.

- b** Meanwhile, check your grief as best you can; diligently apply yourself to your studies; honour modesty and obedience above all else, and the Lord will bless your exertions; fare well in the Lord and diligently see to your studies. If you do so, you will both be a reward to yourself, and acquire the greatest estimation for yourself with everybody, and we all will take intense delight in you. Written in Leiden, 24 November 1602. Your brother Johan Casimir Junius.

4 08 [08–10 00] JUNIUS [LEIDEN] TO VOSSIUS [DORDRECHT]

- a** F.F.F. Junius gives warmest regards to Gerardus Vossius, his teacher and brother. De Nerée, with whom Brother has been close friends for a long time, recently brought me this book, asking me to finish a task my brother had commissioned to him and let it be delivered to you; but when I wanted to inquire in detail whether it must be given to Brother Casimir, he left in haste. Since I thought that Brother had charged de Nerée with this with good reason, I preferred rather to send it to you immediately than to cause any inconvenience by my

he was reappointed a minister, for the Walloon Church in Leiden. His French translations of the Acts of the National Synod of Dordrecht (1618–19) were to give him recognition, **25b, d**. Vossius' letter to Johan Casimir reveals that there were two books, "[m]itto etiam Flavii Illyrici testes veritatis, una cum Willeramii Abbatis in Canticum paraphrasi, quae se frater Franciscus a Domino Naereo accepisse ait, quo ad te transmitteret" [I also send Flavius Illyricus' witnesses of the truth, together with Abbot Williram's paraphrase on the Song of Songs, which Francis said to have received from Mr. de Nerée to send to you], 08 10 25, UBA, III E 4, no. 36; that is, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Otfridi evangeliorum liber* (1571), **203d**, and Paullus Merula, *Willerami Abbatis in Canticum Canticorum paraphrasis gemina* (1598), **188c**, which were both to figure prominently in Junius' future Germanic studies. Rademaker's interpretation (1998:9–10) that Junius had been given these books as presents, but had sent them to his brother because he was not interested in them himself, cannot be supported. De Nerée may have bought them at the auction of Paullus Merula's library in Leiden on 29 May 1608. Cf. Posthumus Meyjes (1975:31–47), de Jonge (1980:170–72), *BWN* 14.128–29, *NNBW* 5.362, van Selm (1987, no. 22)

mea damni aliquid inferre. Potuissem quidem, ulterius quid agendum esset inquirere, sed quoniam me in Gallorum, *hoc est* interpellatorum familiaritatem, ita facile insinuare nolim, ulterius non processi.³ Quod si Casimiro mittendus est, nescio quid obstet quominus hinc eum ad se deferri voluerit; sed forte quippiam est, quod una eademque opera ad eum deferri debet.⁴

b Epistolam hanc clausissem, si animum meum de scribendo aliquid, quod ad studiorum rationem attinet, non subivisset cogitatio; de qua haec habe.⁵ Nos collegio Graeco *Domini* Lonsii nomen dedimus, ex voluntate avunculi Gomari; itaque usque ad proximos Caniculares dies ad Graecas potissimum literas conferemus omne nostrum studium.⁶ Haec ad te scripsi, quod sciam te posse consilio aut re iuvare me, et velle. Sed de his, quoniam brevi forte cum matertera ad vos venturus sum, coram plenius agere poterimus.⁷ Sororibus, si placet, meis verbis salutem plurimam dicito.⁸ Vale.
Anno 1608.

Tuus, Fr. Iunius F.F.

³ No details on this joke on the French or on cocks were identified.

⁴ Vossius sent “libellos super contractu de pace aut induciis” [booklets on the peace contract or truce] to Johan Casimir together with de Nerée’s books. Cf. UBA, III E 4, no 36.

⁵ Junius had matriculated at Leiden University on 23 April 1608. As Gomarus explained to Vossius, “tibi pro fideli nostri Francisci Iunii institutione et educatione gratias habeo et ago. Nam et studiorum illius ratio et commoditas academiae et aetas, et taedium, ex diuturniore mora (quae hactenus tamen utilis) in schola triviali, fecerunt ut hic detinerem exacto semestri. Quare redit Fr. ut sua componat et convaset et amicis valedicat” [I profess and give you thanks for our Francis Junius’ thorough instruction and education. His course of studies, as well as his aptitude for the university, his age, and boredom from a longer stay at a regular school (although it has been useful up to now) have made me keep him here at the end of term. Francis therefore returns to arrange and pack up his stuff, and say farewell to his friends], 08 04 09, quoted after van Itterzon (1929:399, App. 16). Cf. *ASL* (1875, s.v.), Rademaker (1998:7).

⁶ Presumably Johannes Lontius (d. 1621), steward of the Leiden States College from 1607 to 1612, when he became an agent of the Count of East Friesland at the States General. Earlier, he had been headmaster of the Zutphen Latin School, and lecturer of catechism and headmaster of the Utrecht Hieronymus School, which is why he must have been capable of teaching Greek. Junius’ uncle Franciscus Gomarus (1563–1641), professor of theology at Leiden from 1594 until 1611, and a colleague of Junius the Elder, Jacobus Arminius (1560–1609) and Conrad Vorstius, **11d**. He represented orthodox Dutch Calvinism, and his theological controversies with Arminius and Vorstius led to the schism within the Dutch Reformed Church

delay. I could indeed have inquired what else had to be done, but because I did not want to associate myself so easily with the [French/ cocks], that is, with interrupters, I did not continue any further. Yet, if it must be sent to Casimir, I do not know what prevents him from wanting it to be sent to him from here; but there may be something which should be sent to him at one and the same time.

b I would have finished this letter, if the thought of writing something which pertains to the course of my studies had not occurred to my mind—about which the following. We have been enrolled for Mr. Lontius' Greek course at Uncle Gomarus' desire, so we will direct all our attention especially to Greek literature until the coming summer holidays. I have written this to you, because I know you can and will assist me in word or deed. But about this we can talk more thoroughly in person, because I will perhaps come to you soon together with Aunt. Give warmest regards to my sisters on my behalf, if you please. Farewell.

In the year 1608.

Yours Fr. Junius F.F.

between their followers the Remonstrants, and the Counter-Remonstrants, whom he headed, **12a**. For a subsequent phase in his life, cf. **6a**. In January 1609, Gomarus wrote to Vossius, “[Hylander] [i]n Latinis, Graecis, logicis sese exercet gnaviter simul cum condiscipulo Fr. Iunio . . . publice partimque privata industria. Ubi paulo fuerint in Graecis magis exercitati suasero ut collegio logico et physico apud *Dominum Magistrum* Iacchaem sese dedant. Quod futurum aestate arbitror opportunum” [together with his fellow-student Fr. Junius, (Joannes Goswijns Bosman) has diligently exerted himself in Latin, Greek and logics, with partly public and private diligence. Since they have become somewhat more experienced in Greek, I urged them to apply themselves to the course of logics and physics with Master (Gilbertus) Jacchaemus, which I think will be convenient in summer], 09 01 06, quoted after van Itterzon (1929:401, App. 19). For Bosman, cf. **7c**. Cf. *NBW* 2.836, van Itterzon (1929), *NBW* 7.483–86, *BLGNP* 2.220–25, personal communication Robert-Jan van den Hoorn and Ronald Sluijter.

⁷ Maria l’Hermite (c.1559–1621), Gomarus' second wife and a sister of Junius' mother Johanna l’Hermite. Cf. van Itterzon (1929:271–72).

⁸ Elizabeth Junius, who had married Vossius in 1607, and Johanna Junius, who stayed in Dordrecht. By the end of 1610, Johanna seems to have lived in Leiden, though not yet with Gomarus, with whom she moved to Middelburg one year later, cf. Gomarus' correspondence with Vossius concerning Johanna's and Junius' finances in van Itterzon (1929:402–05, App. 22–24), **6a**. Maria Junius had married Isaac Diamant in 1606, **6b**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:68–71), van Itterzon (1929:401, App. 19).

5 [11 03 00] JUNIUS [LEIDEN] TO JOHAN CASIMIR JUNIUS [GRONINGEN]¹

- a** *Franciscus Iunius Iohanni Casimiro Iunio fratri salutem plurimam dicit.* Omnes quotquot te amant (quos exspectatione tua plures invenies) non sine magno dolore admirantur, tacitique mussitantesque improbant adventus tui moram. Ego vero, qui, ut me decet, inter tui amantes non sum postremus inter moram hanc non satis aequo animo ferentes.² Varia varii de te sentiunt, multa multi afferunt adventus tui obstacula. Ego vero qui rumoribus istis ex sola coniectura ortis non tam faciles aures praebere soleo, suspicor morae tam diuturnae (si bene te perspectum habeo) non aliam causam esse praeterquam lentam aliquam festinationem.³
- b** Ratio studiorum meorum immutata vehementer tui desiderium in me accendit, eo quod non parum adiumenti in mathematicis, quibus me iam totum dedi, afferre mihi possis. Rudolphus Snellius, vir candidus et familiae nostrae amantissimus, magnam in me instituendo privatim operam insumit, et maiorem pollicetur.⁴ Arithmeticam hac hieme illo praelucente absolvi.⁵ Geometriam post festum Passchatis mecum aggressurus est.⁶ Ego vero, etiamsi in hoc viro uno praesidii satis ponam, suspicor tamen, vel potius confido, te quam plurimum etiam me docere posse, utpote qui iam ut audio usum harum artium perspectum habeas.⁷

¹ c. PBF, Cod.Gab. 2.345–46. Presumably written in March 1611, because, firstly, Junius had spent his first academic year in Leiden, 1608–09, studying Greek, Latin and logics, and his second year studying logics and physics, 4b; secondly, mathematics was intended to be studied in the third year at the faculty of arts, cf. Dibon (1954:9); thirdly, Junius had already devoted himself to arithmetic during the winter prior to the present letter, and would start with geometry after Easter, b; furthermore, Johan van den Corput, who was to die in September 1611, was still alive, c, 6b; finally, Franciscus Gomarus and his family seem to have been near, and they moved to Middelburg later in the spring of 1611, c, 6a.

² Elliptic sentence.

³ Pun on Erasmus, *Adage* 1001, “festina lente” [hasten slowly].

⁴ Rudolph Snellius, or Snel van Royen (1546–1613), professor of mathematics at Leiden from 1581 (full professor from 1601), and the most important Dutch Ramist. He was rector of the University in 1607 and 1610, and an inspector of the Leiden States College together with Franciscus Gomarus. For his tuition in pure and applied mathematics, Snellius used both classical texts, such as Euclid’s *Elements*, and the work of the French philosopher Petrus Ramus (1515–1572), who had attempted to visualize logics in order to facilitate its practical applicability. Snellius’ private instruction to Junius involved Euclid, judging by the copy of *Euclides elementorum libri XV Graece et Latine* (Paris, 1598), now UBL, 754 G 17 (from Isaac Vossius’ collection), which Junius annotated. Vossius had also attended Snellius’ lectures. Cf. *NNBW* 7.1152–55, van Berkel (1983:271–82), *Literature* 1.xxxx14, Rademaker (1981:31).

5 [11 03 00] JUNIUS [LEIDEN] TO JOHAN CASIMIR JUNIUS [GRONINGEN]

a Francis Junius gives warmest regards to Brother Johan Casimir Junius.

All those who love you (whom you will find to be more numerous than you expect) are wondering about the delay in your coming with deep grief, and are condemning it either in silence or muttering; but I, who—as suits me—am among those who love you not the last among those who are bearing this delay quite impatiently. Various people are thinking various things of you; many are suggesting many obstacles for your coming; but I, who am used to lend ear to those rumours originating from pure conjecture not so easily, suspect there is no other cause to such a long delay (if I know you well), but some slow haste.

b The unchanged course of my studies has kindled a fervent desire for you in me, since you could offer much help in mathematics, to which I am wholly applying myself now. Rudolph Snellius, an honest man who loves our family very much, is giving close attention to my private instruction, and is promising closer attention. I finished arithmetic with his explanations this winter. He will begin geometry with me after Easter. Yet, even if I enjoy enough assistance from this one person, I still guess, or rather trust, that you can also teach me very much, since you already have a profound knowledge of these subjects, as I have heard.

⁵ Junius annotated Euclid, books 7 to 9, which deal with number theory. Snellius may have used his *P. Rami arithmeticae libri II cum explicationibus lectissimis* (Leiden, 1596), and an “Arithmetica” which he had written for his lectures at the States College. Cf. Duker (1897:56n), van Berkel (1983:281–82).

⁶ Junius annotated Euclid, books 1 to 6, on geometry. Euclid’s *Elements* served for centuries as the standard introduction to geometry. Cf. Boyer and Merzbach (1989:115), Heath (1908/1956).

⁷ Johan Casimir had also studied mathematics, as can be seen from Vossius’ description, “iamdiu [I.C.] assiduus fuerat in cognoscendis religionis controversiis; nec pauciora in iis, quam mathesi, et re militari, literis signarat” [already long ago, (Johan Casimir) was proficient in knowing the religious controversies, and he observed as many points in the literature on both mathematics and military science], Vossius (1625:2).

- c Iamdudum ad te literas dedissem de studiorum meorum ratione, si non indies adventum tuum cum taedio exspectassem; taedium quidem hoc devoravi hactenus, quia lenem adventus tui horam mitigaturam illud sperabam, sed nunc ut verum fatear, dolorem vix concoquo, quoniam avunculi in °te detinendo calliditatem, tuam vero in illius imperio ferendo patientiam perspicio.⁸ Respice, quaeso, tandem, si non te ipsum, nos saltem; effice (potes enim) ut nos qui hactenus ducti fuimus vana spe et acri dolore post hac vera laetitia °exsulemus; irritas fac nonnullorum sinistras opiniones in te magis quam in avunculum culpam reiicientium; omnes nostros consanguineos, et me praesertim | cum sororibus et affinibus adventu tuo bea, quorum nemo non ex animo praesentiam tuam exoptat.⁹ Omnium igitur nomine suppliciter a te peto, ut iter quantum ullo modo fieri poterit matures, omniumque te amantium exspectationi satisfacias. Vale, et, si nos amas, propera.
Tuus frater F.F.F. Iunius.

6 12 09 28 VOSSIUS [DORDRECHT] TO JUNIUS [LEIDEN]¹

- a Gerardus Vossius affini meo Francisco Iunio *salutem plurimam dico*. Valere te gaudeo. Ego a corpore valeo, ab animo, ut de se dicebat Augustus, betizo.² Caussas accipe. Uxori valetudo dubia, Francisco non bona, Dionysio omnino adversa, Matthaeo prope desperata.³ Ad prius malum accessit epilepsia, horribile sane malum.⁴ Quid quod neque bonus nobis nuncius ex Zelandia?⁵ Nam sororem Iohannam

c te detinendo: c te detinendi | exsulemus: c exculemus

⁸ Johan van den Corput (1542–1611), distinguished fortress builder and garrison commander, who had been stationed at Groningen from 1605, and earlier at Coevorden, Drenthe. He had acquired fame by his innovative defence of Steenwijk in 1580–81. Johan Casimir had become van den Corput's reserve officer candidate in 1609. Cf. Postema (1993:49–88, 144–47), Koning (1881), de Crane (1821:55).

⁹ Presumably a reference to all Junius' relatives in Holland.

¹ c: UBA, III E 4, no. 95.

² Erasmus, *Adage* 1372, “*Betizare. Lachanizare. Lachanizare*, vulgo dicebant pro languere, teste Suetonio in vita Octavii Caesaris, pro quo Augustus novavit *betizare*” [“*Betizare, lachanizare, lachanizare*” they commonly said for “to be weary,” judging by Suetonius in the life of Caesar Octavianus, for which Augustus has changed *betizare*]. The Roman emperor Augustus, Julius Caesar Octavianus (63 B.C.–A.D. 14).

³ Elizabeth Junius had been ill; four-year-old Franciscus Vossius (1608–1645),

- c I would already long before have written to you a letter about the course of my studies, if I had not daily expected your arrival with weariness; I have indeed swallowed this weariness as yet, because I hoped that the gentle hour of your arrival would calm it, but now, to speak the truth, I am hardly putting up with my grief, because I notice Uncle's skill in delaying you, and your patience in bearing his authority. Finally, I ask you, consider at least us, if not yourself; make (for you can do so) that we, who have as yet been led by idle hope and bitter grief, exult in true happiness after this; nullify the gloomy opinions of some people who are blaming you more than Uncle, and with your arrival gladden all our relatives—and especially me and my sisters and relatives, all of whom wish for your presence from the bottom of our hearts. So, on everybody's behalf I humbly ask you to hasten the journey as much as is possible in any way and to satisfy the expectation of everybody who loves you. Farewell, and make haste, if you love us.
Your brother F.F.F. Junius.

6 12 09 28 VOSSIUS [DORDRECHT] TO JUNIUS [LEIDEN]

- a I, Gerardus Vossius, give warmest regards to my brother Francis Junius.

I am glad that you are well. I am well as for my body, but as for my mind I am languishing, as Augustus said of himself. Hear the reasons why. My wife's health is precarious, Franciscus' not good, Dionysius' absolutely bad, and Matthaëus' almost hopeless. Epilepsy, a truly horrible disease, was added to the previous disease. What to say that we do not have good news from Zeeland either? For we have heard

named after Junius the Elder, had suffered from fever and developed a serious, stubborn cough, and the baby Dionysius Vossius (1612–1633), named after Junius' grandfather Denys du Jon, and one-year-old Matthaëus (1611–1646), named after Vossius' grandfather Mathijs van Buel, were developing it too. Cf. Rademaker (1981:71, 82).

⁴ No further details about Matthaëus' epilepsy were identified.

⁵ In the spring of 1611, Franciscus Gomarus had given up his professorship at Leiden out of discontent with the unorthodox views disseminated by his colleagues, and had moved as a predicant to Middelburg, Zeeland, with his family, hoping to assist in the foundation of a college to prepare orthodox predicants for the ministry. He stayed there until accepting a professorship in Saumur in 1615. Johanna Junius was apparently staying with the Gomarus family. Cf. van Itterzon (1929: 196–208).

graviter aegrotare intelligimus. Morbus est ex liene et hepate.⁶ Si porro ingravescat, scripturam se id ad nos recepit matertera tua.⁷

b Inter haec alia quoque animum turbant. Diamantium in Frisiam cum Bullio abisse, quo inde pecunias ab avunculo relictas, in Bataviam transferret, iam ante a me intellexisse te puto.⁸ Sedulo ille rem omnem curavit. Verum uterque Corputius negat nunc se quicquam alterutri nostri velle ex haereditate annumerare, nisi nos pro fratre oblige-
mus; nam eum longe amplius, quam oportuit, retinuisse; proinde nostrum esse ab eo portionem nostram poscere, aut saltem pro fratre spondere.⁹ Posterius hoc elegimus. Tu tamen nihil hac de re ad fratrem. Caussae sunt graves, quas aliquando coram dicam. Omnino turpissime decepti sumus. Nec leviter iis succenset uxor. Et tamen quantum pote, dissimulandum. Alioqui enim crabrones excitabimus, ac caussam fratris ex non bona, ut illi quidem persuadere nobis conantur, reddemus pessimam.¹⁰ Sed de his satis.

c Catalogum librorum, qui proxima hebdomade venibunt, legit mecum Diamantius et Persinius.¹¹ Rogamus singuli libros, quos linea signavimus, pro nobis emas. Nec est quod de pretio anxie sollicitus sis. Nam raro est, ut id in auctionibus magnopere excedi soleat.¹² Et ut fiat, plurimum id aliorum vilitate compensari solet. Adde quod, siquid peccetur, non istiusmodi esse potest, ut grande id

⁶ Disease unidentified.

⁷ No such letter from Maria l'Hermite was retrieved.

⁸ Maria, Elizabeth and Johan Casimir Junius had become entangled in a family row over the inheritance left by Johan van den Corput, who had died a bachelor in September 1611. The claimants of the inheritance were divided into two factions. One faction included Johan Casimir, who was the executor; Elizabeth and Vossius; Maria and her husband Isaac Diamant, cf. below; van den Corput's niece Anthonina (1564–1640) and her husband Thomas Bull (d. c.1627); van den Corput's nephew Johan van den Corput, **18b**; Hendrik Smetius (1536–1614), who had been married to van den Corput's sister Johanna (1534–1589), and their children, among whom Johanna Smetius, who was married to Janus Gruterus (1560–1627). The other faction comprised Jacob van den Corput, a nephew of van den Corput and the brother of Vossius' first wife Elizabeth van den Corput, and his family. Johan Casimir seems to have raised so many difficulties in dividing the inheritance that Johan and Jacob van den Corput became incensed. Vossius endeavoured to act as mediator in what has been called the "lis Corputiana" [van den Corput strife], and even asked Grotius, **19a**, to write a legal report in 1613. Even so, Johan van den Corput addressed the Supreme Court to involve itself in the affair one year later, while the problems dragged on for several years. The outcome is not known. Thomas Bull was reported to have died two years before 1629, cf. Rawl. 84b, f.138. Isaac Diamant (1578–1617), born in Antwerp but raised in the Palatinate, had studied theology at Heidelberg (1597), Geneva (1599) and, under Junius the Elder, Leiden (1600). He was one of the guardians of Junius and Johanna Junius at their par-

that Sister Johanna is seriously ill. The disease stems from the bile and liver. Your aunt promised to write to us if it grows any worse.

b Besides this, other matters also trouble my mind. I think you already heard from me before that Diamant went to Friesland together with Bull in order to transfer the money left by Uncle from there to Holland. He diligently saw to it all. But both van den Corputs are now refusing to be willing to pay anything from the inheritance to either of us, unless we stand surety for Brother, for that he has kept it much longer than he should have done, and that it is therefore our duty to demand our part from him, or at least stand surety for Brother. We have chosen the latter. But do not say anything about it to Brother. The reasons, which I will tell you in person one day, are serious. We have been deceived absolutely most shamefully. My wife is rather angry with them. Yet it must be kept secret as much as is possible, for otherwise we will wake up hornets, and render Brother's cause from not good—as they are actually trying to make us believe—to most bad. But enough about this.

c Diamant and Persijn went with me over a list of books which will be sold coming week. Each of us asks you to buy for us the books we underlined. There is no need for you to be anxiously concerned about the price. For it seldom happens that it tends to be extremely forced up at auctions. And if it happens, it is usually abundantly compensated by the cheapness of other books. Add, that if anything is done wrong, it cannot be such that it can be considered

ents' death, **3a**. A predicant in Scherpenisse from 1605, he married Maria Junius in January 1606. When he moved to a ministry in Breda in 1609, he was assaulted by Abraham Muysenhol and others for supposedly having Remonstrant sympathies, rumours which greatly weakened him, **14b**. His removal to a ministry in Delft in 1616 temporarily brought relief, but he was to succumb to the accusations in February 1617, **16b**, **17**, **18**, Cf. **18b^a**, **21c**, **47f**, Postema (1993:127, 146–47, 155–60), Rademaker (1981:84–85, 443–44), *NNBW* 3.283, *BWPGN* 2.469–70.

⁹ Out of discontent with the way in which Johan Casimir performed his task as executor, Johan and Jacob van den Corput requested Diamant and Vossius, who acted on behalf of their wives Maria and Elizabeth, to demand their parts of the inheritance from Johan Casimir.

¹⁰ Erasmus, *Adage* 60, "irritare crabrones."

¹¹ The catalogue of this auction is not recorded in Gruys and de Kooker. Leiden had developed into a centre of auctions of scholarly libraries, catering for the needs of an international flock of students and scholars. Franciscus Persijn (d. 1617), physician and a man of letters, was the surgeon of the Vossius family in Dordrecht. Cf. van Selm (1987:40–48), Rademaker (1981:82–83).

¹² Nevertheless, prices paid at auctions appear often to have been higher than in bookshops. Cf. van Selm (1987:47).

damnum ceneri possit. Et habet quisque, quod sibi potius quam tibi succenseat, quandoquidem non adscripto pretio eos a te emi expetat.

- d** Accepi heri literas a Francisco Raphalengio, quibus petit, ut 25 exemplaria Rhetoricorum transmittam.¹³ Ea itaque cistulae inclusa nautae commisi.¹⁴ Tu, ubi acceperis, prima ad eum occasione perferenda curabis, ac eampse cistulam replebis libris, quos in auctione emeris. Sin capax non sit, aut perscribes, aut ages quod ex re putabis.
- e** Vale mi affinis, et porro, paterno excitatus exemplo, magnis passibus grassari perge ad virtutem et solidam gloriam. Ego, uxor, Diamantius, Persinius, Wessemius te plurimum salutamus.¹⁵
IV kalendas Octobris, MDCXII.

7 13 12 09 VOSSIUS [DORDRECHT] TO JUNIUS [MIDDELBURG]¹

- a** *Salutem plurimam.* Onerare te animus, coniunctissime affinis, sed levibus adeo negotiis ut minime ea sis detrectaturus, praesertim quando in iis sunt quae te quoque ac fratrem sororesque tangant. Quamquam ut hoc non esset, vel mei unius causa longe etiam maiora lubentem te subiturum plane habeo persuasum.
- b** Accepi literas ab affine Casimiro, quibus incluserat hasce ad *Dominum* Brussium in Scotiam.² Speraverat autem eas traditum mihi iri,

b eas: [- me] eas

¹³ Vossius, *Commentariorum rhetoricorum, sive oratoriarum institutionum libri sex. Editio secunda ab auctore recognita et altera parte aucta* (Dordrecht, 1609), the second edition of his *Oratoriarum institutionum libri sex* (Leiden, 1606), a systematic introduction to Aristotelian rhetorics, comprising most references to and observations on the art of rhetorics from the Classics. The book was praised by such outstanding scholars as Joseph Scaliger and Isaac Casaubon, **42f**, **200a**. Junius must have used it when going to the Dordrecht Latin School. Franciscus Raphelengius the Younger (1568–1643) conducted the Leiden printing house *Officina Plantiniana*, established in 1583, from 1600 until its liquidation in 1619, and may have intended Vossius' copies for his bookshop. His letter to Vossius is unretrieved. Cf. Rademaker (1981:75–81, 356), *BWN* (16.72–73), Voet (1969, 1.169–178), van Gulik (1975), *ICVossius* (1993).

¹⁴ Parcel-post was sent by barge in the Dutch Republic. Cf. de Vries (1981), Stegeman (1997:145–46).

¹⁵ Godfried van Wessem, teacher of Latin at the Dordrecht Latin School from 1610, under Vossius' headmastership, and vice-headmaster from 1625. Cf. Schotel (1857:67), Rademaker (1981:64–65).

¹ *o*: UBA, M 99a; *c*: UBA, III E 4, no. 104; heading in Vossius' hand, mostly lost, "Franciscus [. . .] Fr.F. affinis [. . .]."

a huge loss. And each of us has reason to be angry with himself rather than with you, since he wants them to be bought by you without setting a price.

d Yesterday I received a letter from Franciscus Raphelengius, in which he asks me to send twenty-five copies of the *Rhetorics*. So I entrusted them to a bargee enclosed in a box. Upon receiving it, let it be delivered to him at the first possible opportunity, and fill the same box with the books you will buy at the auction. But if it is not large enough, you must either write or do as you think fit.

e Farewell, my brother, and, roused by your father's example, continue to march with great strides to virtue and everlasting glory. I, my wife, Diamant, Persijn and van Wessem warmly greet you.
4th Kalends of October, 1612 [29 Sep.].

7 13 12 09 VOSSIUS [DORDRECHT] TO JUNIUS [MIDDELBURG]

a Warmest regards. I intend to burden you, dearest Brother, but with such small duties, that you will not at all refuse them, especially since there are some among them which also concern you and your brother and sisters. Although, even if that were not the case, I am truly convinced you would willingly take upon yourself much greater duties even only for my sake.

b I received a letter from Brother Casimir in which he had enclosed this one to Mr. Bruce in Scotland. He had hoped it would have

² Johan Casimir Junius' letter to Robert Bruce is unretrieved. Robert Bruce (1554–1631), Scottish theologian and a gifted preacher based in Edinburgh, had been the king's extraordinary privy councillor in 1589, and anointed the queen at her coronation in 1590. On opposing the king's intention to introduce episcopal government in the Scottish Church, he was forced to leave Edinburgh in 1596. During the rest of his life he preached at various places in Scotland. Johan Casimir must have met him at St. Andrews in 1599–1600. Cf. *DNB* 7.128–29, M'Crie (1824:299–301).

³ Vossius had attended the wedding of Johanna Junius and Isaac de Brune in Middelburg, f.

⁴ John Forbes (c.1568–1634), an exiled minister of the Scottish Church, had been minister of the English Merchant Adventurers in Middelburg from 1611, and was to be so in Delft from 1621. He attempted to reorganize the English Reformed Churches in the Low Countries in the early 1620s on the basis of the results of the Synod of Dordrecht. Vossius used and annotated Forbes' works, which mostly date from after 1613. Johan Casimir may have met Forbes at St. Andrews. Cf. *DNB* 19.401–02, de Jong (1987), Sprunger (1982, s.v.), Rademaker (1981:385).

antequam proficiscerer Middelburgum.³ Itaque adscripserat ut ipse eas ad *Dominum* Forbesium perferrem, eaque occasione uterer ad conciliandam mihi eius viri, quem mire praedicat, amicitiam.⁴ Sed uti vides, spes haec affinem fefellit. Tu igitur meo nomine id officio fratri tuo praestabis, simulque *Dominum* Forbesium plurimum meo nomine salutabis.

- c Binas quoque literas vides ab Hylandro nostro, earum unae tibi inscriptae, alterae clarissimo avunculo tuo.⁵ Eas igitur illi trades, et simul significabis Hylandri patrem plurimam avunculo salutem dicere, ac maximopere rogare, ut simul ac licebit, respondere filio haut gravetur.⁶ Adde eum statuisse tamdiu responsum ad filium differre, usque dum literas avunculi Middelburgo acceperit.
- d Cum apud vos essem petii a matertera Gomara aliquid pecuniarum.⁷ Illa porrexit ducatos 4, qui valent flor. 16 sest. 4.⁸ Prius me tres tantum ducatos accepisse sum arbitratus, neque aliter abutum a vobis parans retuli avunculo. Quippe tum festinatione nimia, °tum autem quod avide penderem ab ore avunculi de gravibus aliquot ac πολυθρῦλλήτοις controversiis edissantis, factum ut nummos °vix inspectos in marsupium °conicerem.⁹ Quare cum quatuor post ducatos e marsupio eximerem, suspicatus sum °me quartum illum ducatum °domo contulisse. Sed ut Dordrechtum veni, cognovi ex uxore me °deceptum, quippe °cui abiens ducatum illum inter aliam pecuniam tradideram. Quare nihil plane ambigo, quin tantundem, quam mitto, a matertera acceperim. Quamquam si vel ipse dubitarem, absque dubio °de re hac materterae satis constaret.
- e Sponderam *clarissimo* avunculo me simulac Dordrechtum venissem a *Domino* Wessemio petiturum ut °Molinaei adversus Tilenum

d tum: [- *quadam factum erat*] tum | vix: [- *haut*] vix | conicerem: [- *con*] conicerem | me: \me/ | domo: [- *me*] | deceptum: [- *dif*] deceptum | cui: [*cum* > cui] | de re hac: [... > de re hac] | e Molinaei: [*Tilenum* > Molinaei]

⁵ Junius' friend and fellow-student Joannes Goswijns Bosman (d. 1618), who had classicized his surname as Hylander, made a grand tour from the spring of 1611 until at least May 1616, visiting Basle, Geneva and Saumur. At the time of writing, he was studying in Geneva. He had matriculated at Leiden as "Ioannes Goswinus Dordracenus" together with Junius on 23 April 1608, and boarded with Franciscus Gomarus. He was to marry Junius' cousin Maria Gomarus, 22a. In July 1617, he became a predicant in Zwijndrecht. Bosman's letters to Junius and Gomarus are unretrieved. Cf. 22, Rademaker (1981:68), *ICVossius* (1993, s.v.), van Itterzon (1929:272), van Lieburg (1996:31).

been delivered to me before I went to Middelburg, so he added that I must deliver it to Mr. Forbes myself and use this opportunity to gain this gentleman's friendship, whom he praised highly. But as you see, this hope has belied Brother. You must therefore do this small favour for your brother on my behalf, and also give warmest regards to Mr. Forbes on my behalf.

- c You also see two letters from our Hylander, one of which is addressed to you, the other one to your widely renowned uncle. You must accordingly give it to him, and also inform him that Hylander's father is sending warmest regards to Uncle and urgently asks him not at all to object to answering his son as soon as possible. You must add that he has decided to defer a reply to his son as long as until he has received a letter from Uncle from Middelburg.
- d When I was with you, I asked some money of Aunt Gomarus. She gave me 4 ducats, which are worth 16 guilders, 4 stivers. First, I thought I had received three ducats only, and I did not tell Uncle otherwise when I was preparing to leave from you. For, both due to great haste, and because I was eagerly hanging on Uncle's lips, who was speaking of some serious and *much-discussed* controversies, it happened that I hardly paid attention when I threw the coins into my purse. So, when I later took the four ducats out of my purse, I thought I had brought this fourth ducat from home. But when I arrived in Dordrecht, I heard from my wife I was wrong, for I had given that ducat to her among other money on leaving. I therefore truly do not doubt to have received just as much from Aunt as I am sending now. Although, even if I doubted, Aunt would be quite certain about it, no doubt.
- e I promised your widely renowned uncle to ask Mr. van Wessem, as soon as I had arrived in Dordrecht, to transcribe Molinaeus' short

⁶ Goswijn Bosman, Bosman's father, from Dordrecht.

⁷ Maria l'Hermite.

⁸ The sum is considerable. The golden *dukaat* was worth a great deal—4 guilders and 1 stiver according to the present text—as compared with the Dutch *rijksdaalder* (worth 2 guilders and 8 stivers) and the *leeuwendaalder* (worth 1 guilder and 18 stivers). The guilder, a calculation unit, not a coin, contained 20 stivers. Cf. van Gelder (1949:9–12), van Dillen (1970:260–61).

⁹ Vossius and Gomarus no doubt discussed the controversies in the Dutch Reformed Church between the Remonstrants and the Counter-Remonstrants, the latter of whom were championed by Gomarus, 12a.

commentatiunculam describeret, quo avunculo transmitti posset.¹⁰ Dices ei minime id mihi excidisse, sed per *Dominum* Wessemium (qui aliis describendis hactenus fuit occupatus) omnino stetisse, quo minus miserim, ac ne nunc quidem mittam. Interim operam me daturum, ut primo tempore mitti possit.

f | Syngrapham avunculi tui L'hermitei (qua °vobis de quadringentis florenis cavetur) literis his simul inclusi.¹¹ Quaeso simulac literas hasce acceperis avunculo °Gomaro eam aut uxori trade ne forte negligentia aliqua perdat. Recte quoque feceris si ab avunculo aut affine Bruneo, sed °avunculo potius, apocham poscas, qua caveatur mihi de missa hac syngrapha, uti et diplomate tradito materterae, cum istic essem.¹² Denuo exquires ex avunculo, num censeat mercatoribus illis Amstelodamensibus apocham °dandam qualem poscunt, an satis putet vel nihil accipere, vel in ius eos vocare.¹³ Exposces quoque hac de re iudicium sororis una cum marito. A matertera quoque reposces apocham, cui subscribi a nobis mercatores illi postulant. Sed et a sorore apocham posces, qua caveatur mihi de pecuniis quas °paullo ante coniugium °suum a me accepit.¹⁴ Quod nisi propediem sis ad nos reversurus, te quoque idem facere °velim, ne longa mora tibi fortasse oblivio pecuniae obrepat. Adeundus quoque tibi fuerit notarius, quo testimonium impetres quod adhuc vivas. Nam absque eo, uti nosse te arbitror, frustra hic reditus vitales a Quaestore

f vobis: \vobis/ | Gomaro: \Gomaro/ | avunculo: [- ..] avunculo | dandam: [- tam] dandam | paullo: \paullo/ | suum: \suum/ | velim . . . obrepat: [velim > velim . . . obrepat]

¹⁰ Petrus Molinaeus, *Copie de la lettre écrite contre Tiléus, aux ministres de France* (Paris, 1613), a response to Daniel Tilenus, *Examen dogmatis P. Molinaei de duabus in Christo naturarum unionis hypostaticae effectis* (n.p., 1612), in their controversy over the hypostatic union—the union of divine and humane natures in the “person” of Christ, as distinguished from his human and divine natures—which had spread over much of France. Petrus Molinaeus, or Pierre du Moulin, (1568–1658) had been Vossius’ professor of logic at Leiden, until he had returned to France to become minister of Charenton in 1599. He supported the Counter-Remonstrants and tried to implement the decrees of the Synod of Dordrecht in France. Daniel Tilenus (1583–1633), Silesian professor of theology in Sedan from 1599. He initially opposed the Remonstrants, but was turned into an ardent supporter by Joannes Corvinus, **142**. Cf. **27a**, **28c**, *BWN* 8.335–37, Haag 4.420–29, 9.383–87, Rademaker (1981:31).

¹¹ Possibly part of the inheritance of the Roman Catholic humanist Daniel l’Ermite (1584–1613), a relative of Junius’ mother Johanna l’Hermite, and private secretary to Ferdinando I (1549–1609) and Cosimo II (1590–1621) de’ Medici, grand dukes of Tuscany. The sum is considerable, and in view of Vossius’ use of “vobis” instead

treatise against Tilenus, so that it could be sent to Uncle. You must tell him that it has not at all escaped me, but that it is entirely owing to Mr. van Wessem (who has still been engaged in other transcriptions) that I have not sent it, and will not even send it now. However, I will take pains that it can be sent as soon as possible.

f I have enclosed in this letter a bill of exchange from your uncle l'Ermite (in which you are remembered for 400 guilders). I pray, give it to Uncle Gomarus or his wife as soon as you have received this letter, so that it is not accidentally lost due to negligence. You would also do well if you ask from Uncle or Brother de Brune, but preferably from Uncle, a receipt in which I am guaranteed to have sent this bill and also to have given the document to Aunt when I was there. Likewise, you must inquire of Uncle whether he believes those Amsterdam merchants must be given a receipt, just as they are asking, or thinks it better that they either receive nothing, or call us to account. You must also ask Sister's opinion on this, as well as her husband's. You must also ask back from Aunt the receipt which those merchants request us to sign. Also, you must ask from Sister a receipt in which I am guaranteed for the money which she received from me shortly before her wedding. I also want you to do so if you do not return to us soon, so that forgetfulness of the money may not possibly steal upon you due to a long delay. You should also approach a notary to ask for a testimony that you are still alive. For, without it, as I think you know, I would in vain exact payment of

of "te," Junius probably had to share it with his sister Johanna and possibly with Maria l'Hermite. Cf. *Literature* 1.xxviii, Jöcher 2.178–79.

¹² Isaac de Brune (c.1591–1627), from a Middelburg magistrates' family, had married Johanna Junius in November or early December 1613. De Brune had studied arts and theology at Leiden (matriculation March 1612)—where he may have met Junius. Together with Johanna and their daughter Maria (1614), he followed Franciscus Gomarus to Saumur in 1615 in order to study theology, Hebrew and French. They returned again a year later to open a business in textiles, which Johanna actually conducted. Their son Jan de Brune was born when Junius was staying in Middelburg, and their daughter Johanna presumably a little later, **47g**. De Brune, who had thought of quitting the business after half a year, managed to become chief public prosecutor before a court martial for the Dutch East India Company, and left for the Indies in 1621, **37d**. He was unsuccessful at his posts in Amboina and Banda, however, and was to be shipwrecked on his return to the Low Countries in 1627, **49c**. Johanna, meanwhile, continued to run the shop on her own. Cf. Worp (1890:81–86), van Isterzon (1929:408–09, App. no. 31), *ASL* (1875, s.v.), Rademaker (1981:117n).

¹³ Business and Amsterdam merchants unidentified.

¹⁴ Vossius had presumably lent Johanna money for the wedding.

nostro exegero.¹⁵ Est is nunc Alewinus Petri.¹⁶ Quippe °is successit in locum °soceri sui Adriani Ioannis, qui ante octiduum naturae concessit.

g Cum huc usque in scribendo pervenissem a famula, °uxoris iussu, arcessitus descendi, uxoremque °satis graviter febricitantem reperi. Itaque quamquam et alia quaedam erant de quibus scribere antea cogitaram, finem tamen nunc faciam, deque illis, si Deus volet, alias scribam. Etiam cum Middelburgi essem duo ex liberis febricitarunt, alter satis periculose. Sed uterque ante reditum meum convaluerat. Tu mecum Dominum rogabis, ut uxori meae charissimae tuique aman-tissimae sorori valetudinem pristinam restituat, si ita illi et nobis °liberisque salutare. °IX Decembris MDCXIII. Salutem °cum claris-simo avunculo, materterae liberisque, tum °νεογάμοις °meo uxorisque nomine dicito.

Tuus omni officio, G. Vossius.

⁰**8** 14 08 28 VOSSIUS (DORDRECHT) TO JUNIUS [MIDDELBURG]¹

a Paterni nominis ac gloriae aemulo haeredi, Francisco Iunio, affini coniunctissimo, Gerardus Vossius felicem in studiis progressum a Domino precatur. Vetus quoddam somnium meum narrabo tibi, chare adfinis.² Tu togam compone et, si vacat, audi.³ Nec enim omnia Dius Somnus fingit, sed vera saepe falsis imaginibus occultare

f is: \is/ | soceri: [- gen] soceri | **g** uxoris iussu: \uxoris iussu/ | satis graviter: [accessum Eam > satis graviter] | liberisque: \liberisque/ | IX... dicito: c Salutem ... dicito. IX... MDCXIII | νεογάμοις: [- autem] νεογάμοις | meo... dicito: \meo... dicito/

¹⁵ Junius enjoyed an annuity, worth 70 guilders in 1635, from Dordrecht, **26b**, **101i**.

¹⁶ Aelwijn Pietersz was listed as treasurer in Dordrecht only from 1615 in Balen (1677:332). No details on Adriaen Joannes, who evidently died in 1613, were retrieved.

¹ *d*: UBA, III E 4, no. 111bis; source text of this edition. *c*: UBA, III E 4, no. 111. Presumably sent to Middelburg, **f**.

² Vossius' dream-vision is modelled on the topos of "in bivio" [at the crossroads], where, on the transition from boyhood to manhood, Hercules had to choose whether to follow the narrow path of modest and sober Virtue or the broad path of voluptuous Vice for the rest of his life, a story by Prodicus retold in Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.1.21–34, and Cicero, *De Officiis* 1.32.118. In imitation of Prodicus' story, Lucian, *Somnium* 5–18, dreamt as a young man that he had to choose between filthy and

your life income from our treasurer here. He is Aelwijn Pieters now, for he has succeeded to the position of his father-in-law Adriaen Joannes, who died more than a week ago.

g When I had reached this point in writing, I was summoned by the maid by order of my wife; I went downstairs, and found my wife quite seriously feverish. So, although there were also other matters about which I had beforehand intended to write, I will nevertheless bring it to an end now, and write about those matters another time, if God wishes so. When I was in Middelburg, two of my children also had a fever, one quite seriously, but both had recovered before my return. Together with me, you must ask the Lord to restore her former health to my dearest wife and your dearly beloved sister, if it is salutary for her and us and the children. 9 December 1613. Give warmest regards to your widely renowned uncle, aunt and their children, and to the *recently married ones* on my and my wife's behalf.

Obligingly Yours, G. Vossius.

8 14 08 28 VOSSIUS (DORDRECHT) TO JUNIUS TO [MIDDELBURG]

a Gerardus Vossius prays to the Lord for a happy progress in studies for dearest Brother Francis Junius, an heir emulating his father's name and glory.

I will tell you an old dream of mine, sweet Brother. You, straighten your gown and listen, if you have time. God Sleep does not dream up everything, but often tends to conceal the truth by false appearances.

simple Sculpture—and probably craftsmanship in general, and costly and eloquent Education—and probably rhetoric in particular. The motive was a recurrent theme in renaissance painting and literature. Vossius also used elements from the Leiden professor Petrus Cunaeus' *Sardi Venales* (Leiden, 1612), a Menippean satire in dream form, in which the sleeping young man Cunaeus is met by a filthy old man, the Greek philosopher Menippus, and taken to the island of scholars, where he witnesses a meeting presided over by Erasmus, whom he immediately recognizes from paintings. At the meeting, the deceased scholars discuss the problem of the great influx of newcomers from lowly origins, mainly philosophers and theologians who died in the theological controversies of the time. The satire had caused such a row among Cunaeus' students that he had not lectured for a week. Junius had been studying at Leiden at the time. For an edition and introduction of *Sardi Venales*, cf. Matheussen and Heesakkers (1980). Cf. Panovsky (1930), Enenkel (1991), Matheussen and Heesakkers (1980:15–16).

³ Perhaps Vossius used this phrase to open the class.

solet.⁴ Quo tempore prima mihi lanugo vestiebat genas, multum animi incertus eram quem mihi potissimum eligerem ducem in sacris concionibus habendis.⁵ Nam tum me quoque idem qui nunc te ardor agebat; quamquam postea me infelix quaedam scaeva ab sancto illo instituto abstraxit °haut invitum.⁶

b Hoc igitur saepe animo agitantem, circiter nonam diei horam altus oppressit sopor.⁷ Visus sum mihi esse in campis amaenissimis, fere quales Elysios esse fabulantur sacri gentium vates.⁸ Hic per corneam, non eburneam portam accessere viri duo; unus, ore hilari, veste florida, calceis Sicyoniis oculos pascebat; alter ore tristi, veste fusca, et illo calceamenti genere, quod perones multi vocant, leviculum quendam horrorem incutiebat.⁹ Utrumque sequebatur sua caterva; sed in prioris agmine vix alios conspicerere erat quam feminas pueros, aut viros °quidem, sed qui °non saperent supra vulgus; alterius vero vix alii erant asseclae, quam homines philosophi.¹⁰

c Dum rationem eiusce rei sollicite cum animo meo ruspor, intervenit grandaevus senex, quem simulac vidi ex imaginibus, quas aliquando eius viri conspexeram, statim Beatum esse Chrysostomum cognovi.¹¹ Is dextra me apprehendens, “Vide,” inquebat, “adolescens, vide oculis intentis. Multum te scio adficit huius ornatus, et merito sane. Sed tamen si hunc sequeris solum, placere iis non poteris, quibus corculis esse datum est; multum quippe ornatus, roboris ac prudentiae minus.¹² Terret te alter tristi vultus severitate, ac habitus totius

a haut: \haut/ | **b** quidem, sed: \quidem, sed/ | non: [. . . > non]

⁴ For the theme of sleep conjuring up false images, cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* 8.42, “ne vana putes haec fingere somnum;” Silius Italicus, *Punica* 8.178, “ne falsa putes haec fingere somnum.”

⁵ Cf. Hercules’ age at the crossroads.

⁶ A student of theology at the States College in Leiden, Vossius had been called to Dordrecht to become vice-rector at the death of Isaac van den Corput (1569–1599). Cf. Rademaker (1981:56–57).

⁷ Acts 10.3; Cornelius, a devout centurion, “saw in a vision evidently about the ninth hour of the day an angel of God coming in to him,” that is, at *nones*, or in the afternoon.

⁸ The Elysian Fields, the paradisaical place of the privileged dead, as in Homer, *Odysseia* 4.563ff., Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.637ff. Cf. the island of scholars, *Sardi Venales* 22, “Visus mihi sum in iis locis versari, quae longe extra sydera extraque anni et solis vias erant posita.”

⁹ In Greek legend, true dreams came through the horn gate of dreams, and false dreams through the ivory one, as in Homer, *Odysseia* 19.562, Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.894ff. “Perones” are thick boots of raw hide.

At the time when the first down was covering my cheeks, I was most insecure about which guide to delivering sermons best to choose for myself. For, the same passion roused me then as is rousing you now, although an unlucky sign later diverted me from this sacred intention—yet not against my wishes.

b So, frequently thinking this over, I was overcome by a deep sleep around the ninth hour of the day. I seemed to be in most beautiful fields, almost such as the pagans' sacred poets recite the Elysian fields to be. Here, two men were approaching through the horn gate, not the ivory one; the one, with a cheerful face, a flowery costume and Sicyonian slippers, was feasting the eye; the other, with a sad face, a sombre costume, and with that type of shoe which many people call "*perones*," was inducing some fear. Each was followed by his own train, but in the former's company there were to be seen hardly other people than women, boys and, indeed, men, yet who were not wise above average; and in the latter's company there were hardly other followers than philosophers.

c While I was carefully examining the meaning of this in my mind, an old man of great age interrupted, whom I immediately knew to be the blessed Chrysostom, as soon as I saw him, from the images which I had once seen of this man. Taking me by the hand, he said, "Watch, young man, watch with attentive eyes. The splendid dress of the one deeply impresses you, I know, and really deservedly so; yet, if you follow him alone, you will not be able to please those whom it is granted to be wise. There is much splendid dress, but little substance and prudence. The other terrifies you because of the sad severity of his face and the filth of his whole appearance. But yet, he is vigorous in strength, and so is his prudence. Yet meanwhile, if you think you should follow only him, you will displease

¹⁰ The two figures represent two styles in rhetoric, the "*ornatus*" or "*floridus*," ostentatious style, and the "*gravis*," serious and severe style based on the principle of "*brevitas*" [conciseness]. Cf. Jansen (1995, s.vv.).

¹¹ St. John Chrysostom (c.345/54?–407), bishop of Constantinople and an exceptionally eloquent preacher—his nickname means "golden mouthed." Cf. the elderly philosopher Menippus in *Sardi Venales* 4, "Hic, dum tacitus mecum miror quis me deus ex illa hominum frequentia sublatum in tam deviiis spatiis collocasset, ecce e longinquo ad me festinat senex quidam naso adunco, capite calvo, hircuina barba, vultu ad nugas et risum composito," and Cunaeus recognizing Erasmus from paintings in 32, "quem ut conspexi, faciem viri magis ex imagine eius quam ex ipso agnosco."

¹² "*Corculum*" was the nickname of Scipio Nasica, because of his intelligence.

squallore. Sed tamen lacertis valet, nec est prudentia impar. Interea hunc quoque solum si sequendum tibi putes, maximae hominum parti displicebis. Omnes enim natura quaerimus quod oblectet. Quin tu,” inquebat, “alium | tibi quaeris, vel saltem animo fingis, in quo et huius prudentiam cernere sit et validos lacertos, et alterius cum agilitatem tum ornatum; quippe ex quibus iunctis efflorescere possit prudens ac fortis quaedam venustas, vel dignitas potius, quam non minus mirentur venerenturque sapientes, quam iudicio defecti, dum et hi eum reperiunt, quo capiuntur, ornatum, et illi robor aut iudicium minime requirunt.” Vix dixerat ὁ τρισμακάριστος, cum et ille candida quadam nube ex oculis mihi subduci visus, et me gaudii stuporisque plenum deseruit somnus.

- d** Tu quoque, dilecte adfinis, haec tibi a beata illa anima dicta puta; et °cum fama, quae non semper mentitur, alterum °eorum, de quibus consilium meum quaeris, °sic amare dicat simplicitatem, ut omnem pene negligat ornatum, nec satis affectus movere possit; alterum sic eadem depingat, quasi perfunctorie solum sacrum enarret contextum ac mox quasvis e quovis, non vero ex ipsis contextus visceribus doctrinas educat; tu sic sectare τὸ γλυκὸν καὶ τὰ πάθη, ut in contextu enarrando et dogmatis inde eliciendis haut merito iudicium desideretur tuum; sic item textus ὀρθομίαν καὶ τὸ °τοῦ ἠθικοῦ οἰκείου sectare, ut requiri in te haut possit τὸ ἐλκυστικόν.¹³
- e** Haec nunc paucissimis ad te perscribere visum. Ueberiores scio literas expectabas. Sed curate de reliquis coram tecum agere malo, cum omnia literis committi haut tuto possint. Excurret igitur ad nos, simulac poteris; ut autem quam citissime possis, etiam atque etiam operam °dabis.
- f** Interea a me, uxore, Wessemio salve, nostroque nomine plurima salute imperti affinem ac sororem nostram.¹⁴ Sed neque praeterire

d cum . . . alterum: \cum . . . alterum/ | eorum: [eum > eorum] | sic amare dicat: [(si recte illos alterum fama dicat sic amare > sic amare dicat] | τοῦ ἠθικοῦ οἰκείου: \τοῦ/ ἠθικο[v > ū] \οἰκείου/ | e dabis: dabi[t > s]

¹³ Presumably the style of preaching of Junius' host Willem Teellinck, **f**, for whom “docere” [to instruct] was of much greater importance than “delectare” [to delight]; he rejected any ostentation in preaching or writing, promoting a simple style to convey the naked truth instead. Cf. Jansen (1990); for the rhetorical qualities, cf. Lausberg 257.3, 1079.2e, 1131.

the greatest part of the people. For we all seek by nature what delights. Why do you not seek someone else for yourself," he said, "or at least fashion in your mind someone in whom can be seen both the latter's prudence and vigorous strength, and the former's agility and splendid dress; for, out of a combination of these, a prudent and powerful grace—or rather, dignity—can blossom, which the wise will admire and worship no less than people defective in judgement, because both the latter discern this splendid dress, by which they are fascinated, and the former do not at all lack vigour or judgement." Hardly *the thrice blessed man* had spoken, when he also seemed to be drawn away from my sight into a white cloud, and sleep left me full of delight and wonder.

- d Dear Brother, believe that this was said to you too by that blessed apparition. Since rumour, which does not always speak falsely, says that one of those about whom you seek my advice loves simplicity so much that he rejects almost all ostentation and cannot sufficiently move feelings, and the same rumour depicts the other in such a way as if he interprets Holy Scripture only routinely and readily deduces any doctrines from anything, but not from the deepest meanings of the text themselves, you must pursue *sweetness and feelings* in such a way that your judgement is not at all deservedly wanting in the interpretation of the text and derivation of doctrines from it; likewise, you must pursue *the consistency and paraphrase* of a text, and *the characteristic of moral* in such a way that *exegesis* cannot at all be wanting in you.
- e I have intended to write this to you in a few words now. You expected a more copious letter, I know, but I prefer to speak carefully with you about the rest in person, because not everything can be safely committed to a letter at all. You must therefore hasten to us as soon as you can; but again and again you must take pains to be able to do so as quickly as possible.
- f Meanwhile, I, my wife and van Wessem wish you well; and do impart warmest regards to Brother and our sister on our behalf. But you must not neglect Uncle, nor your landlord, nor our sister's mother-in-law, nor Mr. de Brune either.

¹⁴ Isaac de Brune and Johanna Junius.

debes avunculum, vel hospitem tuum, vel sororis nostrae socrum, vel *Dominum* Brunaeum.¹⁵

Dordrecht, °MDCXIV, V kalendas VIIbris, quo olim die in Hippo-
nensi urbe a Vandalis obsessa in Domino obdormivit augustissimus
theologus Augustinus, cuius tibi lectionem una cum Chrysostomiana
maximopere commendo.¹⁶ Uterque utramque, sed ille tamen °scientiam
hic facundiam magis augebit. Iterum vale.

9 [14 12 18] VOSSIUS [DORDRECHT] TO JUNIUS [MIDDELBURG]¹

A Affini meo, *Domino* Iunio.

a Coniunctissime *Domine* affinis Iuni,
Scribo inter alia *Domino* Aurelio, *per* tuos licere, ut vel centum aut
circiter florenos libris impendas, ultra id pretium quod abeunti

f MDCXIV: \MDCXIV/ | scientiam: [- ma] scientiam

¹⁵ Franciscus Gomarus; Willem Teellinck (1579–1629), predicant in Middelburg from November 1613. Inspired by English Puritan circles to devote himself to theology, he had studied at Poitiers, at St. Andrews in 1600—when he may have met Johan Casimir Junius—and Leiden from 1604 to 1606. Although a Counter-Remonstrant on principle, Teellinck was more interested in bringing people to a “praxis pietatis,” a practice of piety in the Puritan manner. In his view, all aspects of personal and public life on every level of society were to be determined by pious contemplation, and all extravagance and lightheartedness were to be shunned. A self-appointed preacher of penitence, he wrote treatises, mainly in the vernacular, bringing charges against the sins of nation and individual, and prescribing in great detail the rules needed for reforming society. He is thus credited with being the father of the religious movement of the *Nadere Reformatie*. He and his wife, the English Martha Greenston (Grijns) from Derby, made their home a haven of “praxis pietatis.” It was characterised by rigorous asceticism and austerity; three times a day, all members of the household, servants included, read and discussed parts of the Bible and then tried to apply the teachings, while conversation was meant to be edifying and point out shortcomings in one’s own and other people’s behaviour. Johanna Junius’ mother-in-law was Francijntgen Labyns. Johan de Brune (1588–1658), Middelburg magistrate and author, the brother of Isaac de Brune. After his studies of law at Leiden from 1606, he made a tour and took his doctoral degree abroad. In 1617, he became lawyer at the Court of Holland, and from 1624 he held several positions in the Middelburg and Zeeland magistracy, becoming pensionary of Zeeland in 1649. A staunch Counter-Remonstrant and pietist, and an elder and dean of his church, he acted in his writings as a preacher of penitence. His publications include translations from Hebrew into Dutch of Proverbs (1619)

Dordrecht, 1614, on the fifth Kalends of September [28 Aug.], on which day in the past in the town Hippo, which was besieged by the Vandals, the deeply venerable theologian Augustine fell asleep [in death], whose reading I greatly recommend to you, as well as Chrysostom. Each will increase both understanding and eloquence, but the former rather understanding and the latter rather eloquence. Again, farewell.

9 [14 12 18] VOSSIUS [DORDRECHT] TO JUNIUS [MIDDELBURG]

A To my brother Mr. Junius.

a Dearest Brother Junius,

Among others, I have written to Mr. Aurelius that your relatives allow you to spend even a hundred guilders or thereabouts on books, on top of the sum paid to you on leaving. And that they advise you, if you want to make those expenses and if you are able to purchase

and Psalms (1644, 1650), the emblem-book *Emblemata of sinne-werck* (1624), *Nieuwe Wijn in oude lederzacken . . .* (1636)—in which he demonstrated the grace of the Dutch language by proverbs, *Bancket-werck van goede gedachten* (1657), and Dutch poetry. He composed a liminary poem for Willem Teellinck's *Balsem Gileads* (1622), and Franciscus Gomarus dedicated *De Evangelio Matthaei* (1627) to him. Johan de Brune was to marry Maria Roels, a sister of Willem Roels, 20, in 1619. Cf. Engelberts (1898), Exalto (1986), Frederiks (1894:142), Verkrujisse (1990), *NNBW* 4.333–34. Junius' stay with Teellinck is not mentioned in *Literature* 1.xxx.

¹⁶ St. Augustine (345–430), bishop of Hippo, died on 28 August 430, when the town was besieged by the Vandals. For the study of different styles of preaching, St. John Chrysostom, *The Homilies on the Statues*, and St. Augustine, *De doctrina Christiana*, would have been particularly useful. Chrysostom's homilies deliberately avoided ostentious language and stylised organisation, seeking simplicity instead. St. Augustine, on the other hand, wrote the first Christian theory of preaching, based on Cicero, which was much concerned with the mode of preaching and the formal organisation of the sermon. Vossius favoured the study of patristic literature for the interpretation of the Bible and doctrine. He also stimulated his students at the States College in Leiden to devote themselves to the works of the first centuries of the Church. Cf. Murphy (1974:269–355), Rademaker (1981:109).

¹ o: UBA, M 100m. Judging by the present tense "scribo Domino Aurelio," a, presumably written on the same day as Vossius' letter to Abraham Aurelius dated 14 12 18, aⁿ. Presumably sent to Middelburg, where Junius was staying with Willem Teellinck, b, 8f.

annumeratum.² Quos sumtus facere si voles, autores esse, ut (quod nec tute cum hic esses improbabas) si quos scriptores nancisci possis apud Ioh. Bille Norton, typographum et bibliopolam Londinensem, eos ab illo potissimum emas.³ Nam cum non omnino ei ignotus sum, putare me haut gravate tantum tibi crediturum, modo quis sis ex *Domino* Aurelio cognorit. Addidi me quos sumtus feceris, velle statim refundere, sive creditor in Anglia, sive hic sibi potius satisfieri velit. Mitto tibi librorum °meorum catalogum, ut si quid boni, quo caream, commodo pretio istic videas venire, id nobis emas.⁴

b Ad °cognatum Bullium non scripsi ob festinationem, uti nec ad *Dominum* Telingium.⁵ Nam tabellarius statim discessurus, ac metuo ne si ulterius differam scriptionem missionemque pecuniae ad te itineri tuo incommodum. Si tamen diutius istic manere cogitas, fiat posthac. Quamquam ad *Dominum* Telingium quod scribam, nihil profecto est, nisi unum hoc, magnopere me optare ut tam praeclarum laborem Herculeo quidem ausu suscipere velit.⁶ Nihil a multis retro annis utilius scriptum fuerit Ecclesiae in hoc misero eius statu.

c Puto etiam Middelburgi te nacturum, qui pro te in Anglia spondeant, si forte maiores opinione tua aut nostra istic sumtus facere

a meorum: \meorum/ | **b** cognatum: \cognatum/

² Abraham Aurelius (1575–1632), English minister of the French Church in London, and one of Vossius' close friends during their joint studies in Dordrecht and Leiden, where he had defended theses under Junius the Elder and Franciscus Gomarus. He was related to Vossius, and hence also to Junius, but probably quite distantly. Inspired by the English- and Puritan-minded Teellinck family, Junius made a journey to England, mainly London and Cambridge, during the first three months of 1615. As Vossius explained in his letter of recommendation to Abraham Aurelius, "inter causas perfectionis has habet, quod in lingua Anglicana melius sese in Anglia ipse exercere possit, et quod bibliothecam suam libris variis augere cupit, imprimis Theologorum qui Anglice scripserint" [among the reasons for his tour he has these, that he can better practise the English language in England itself, and that he wishes to add various books to his library, especially by theologians who wrote in English], 14 12 18, UBA III E4, 117. These English religious books were quite probably Puritan writings. In a letter dated 15 04 12, Aurelius replied to Vossius how pleased he had been to see Junius. Vossius described the reasons of Junius' tour to Johan Casimir Junius as "cum visendi eius regni ergo, tum ut plenius addiscat linguam Anglicanam, qua balbutire iam ante didicerat in aedibus optimi virorum *Domini* Teelingii" [both in order to see his kingdom and in order better to learn the English language, which he had already learnt to stammer in the house of the best man Mr. Teellinck], quoted after Rademaker (1998:11n). For Junius' account of his tour, cf. **10**. Among the acquaintances he made in England were Symeon Ruytinck, the minister of the Dutch Church in London, **10c**, Ralph Goodwyn, a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, **50A**, and Nicolaas Abeel, **23a**. Unexpectedly, the tour was

any authors at John Bill Norton, the London printer and bookseller, to buy them best from him (to which you yourself also agreed when you were here). For, that I believe he will quite willingly lend you so much, because I am well known to him, provided that he has heard from Mr. Aurelius who you are. I added that I want to refund the expenses you make immediately, whether the creditor wants to be contented in England or here instead. I am sending you a list of my books, so that if you see anything good which I lack to be for sale there for a reasonable price, you may buy it for us.

b I have not written to relative Bull due to haste, nor to Mr. Teellinck. For the courier is about to leave presently, and I fear it is inconvenient for your journey if I put off writing to you and sending you the money any longer. But if you decide to stay there longer, it will be done later. Although, it is really nothing that I would write to Mr. Teellinck, except only that I much wish him to be willing to undertake such a splendid task in a truly Herculean venture. For many years past, nothing has been written that is more useful for the Church in its present lamentable condition.

c I think you will also find people in Middelburg to stand surety for you in England, in case you are forced to make greater expenses there than you or we had expected. There is accordingly no reason

also to prepare Junius for his many future years in England, **31a**. He had returned to the Low Countries again and was staying with Vossius by early May, for he copied Vossius' letter to Teellinck dated 15 05 11 for Vossius. Cf. *DNB* 2.258, Rademaker (1981:20), Rawl. 79, f. 91; UBA, III E 4, no. 131.

³ John Bill (d. 1630), London bookseller and later the king's printer. Chosen by Sir Thomas Bodley in 1596 to collect books for his library, he spent most of the following six years on the Continent. On his return, he opened a bookshop, where he counted the classicist Isaac Casaubon, **200a**, among his customers. At the same time, he had practically managed the printing business of his close friend and former master John Norton until 1612. In 1617, Bill became the king's printer, and remained so until his death. Cf. Plomer (1977:31–32).

⁴ No such list of Vossius' books was retrieved.

⁵ Thomas Bull, husband of Anthonina van den Corput, who lived together with Anthonina in England, possibly already in Canterbury, **6b**, **63a**.

⁶ Erasmus, *Adage* 2001, "Herculei labores." Teellinck was presumably preparing his *Eubulus, ofte tractaat, vervattende verscheyden aenmerckingen over de tegenwoordige staat onser Christelicker Gemeynthe . . .* (Middelburg, 1616), an edifying treatise in which he reproved Christians who were only Christians in name but not out of true conviction. Cf. Engelberts (1898:85–86, 212).

cogaris. Quare non est quod multum terrearis, si pecunia forte defuerit ad libros tibi mihive comparandos. Si non statim cogitas abire, nec tamen Middelburgi ob instans hospitaе tuae puerperium remanere malis, potius °ad nos excurrere, ut simul salutes *Dominum* Aemilium, convictorem meum, adolescentem eruditum et suavem congerronem.⁷ Sed adest tabellarius, quare desino.

d Deus tibi in itinere tuo adsit, et nobis incolumen restituat. Saluta *Domino* Telingio et uxori. Salutabis et *Dominum* cognatum Bullium, si accesseris meo uxorisque nomine.

Tuus ut suus, G. Vossius.

e Si forte mutaris consilium de profectioe eamque in aestatem differre malis, potius cum Aemilio apud nos quamdiu voles agere. Sin *perstas* in sententia, fiet id post reditum. Recommendo tibi bibliothecam meam, imprimis in libellis parvi pretii. Sed neque magna volumina negligas, si pretium arriserit; si vel mihi uni pro ducentis florenis libros emeris, non fiet me °invito. Manuscriptos °quoscumque videris, emes, praesertim non editos, nisi pretium immodicum sit. Vale.

10₁₁ 15 02 14 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [DORDRECHT]¹

a Reverende *Domine* affinis,

Si tu, soror dilecta, liberi vestri, reliquique tam sanguinis, quam °familiaritatis necessitudine mihi coniuncti recte valetis, summe gaudeo; sed hoc meum ineffabile gaudium maximum capiet incrementum, si te scribente de vestra valetudine certior factus ero. Inconcussa valetudine mensem unum in regia urbe Londino transegi, iam Cantabrigiam cogito, haesurus ibi similiter mensem aut hebdomadas circiter sex; eo quod ineunte Martio Rex Cantabrigiensem academiam, quam

c ad: [- ..] ad | **e** invito: [*ignotum* > invito] | quoscumque: [- ..] quoscumque
10a familiaritatis: [- *necessit*] familiaritatis

⁷ Martha Greenston, Teellinck's wife, was in labour with either Theodorus (d. 1660), Johannes (d. 1674)—both of whom were to become predicants, or Maria. Antonius Aemilius (1589–1660) had been one of Junius' fellow-students at the Dordrecht Latin school and Leiden, where he had studied theology. He had just returned from a grand tour. On Vossius' move to Leiden, **11d**, Aemilius succeeded him as rector of the Latin school. Later, he was rector of the Latin school in

to be greatly alarmed if you possibly fall short of money for buying books for you or me. If you decide not to leave immediately, yet do not prefer to stay in Middelburg either because of your landlady's present childbed, you may rather decide to hasten to us in order to greet Mr. Aemilius, my boarder, a learned young man and a sweet companion, at the same time. But the courier is here, so I quit.

d May God be with you on your journey, and return you to us unharmed. Greet Mr. Teellinck and his wife. You must also greet Brother Bull on my and my wife's behalf, if you go to see him. Yours, as much as his own, G. Vossius.

e If you perhaps change your mind about your departure and prefer to postpone it until summer, you may rather stay with us together with Aemilius as long as you wish. But if you hold to your resolution, this will happen after your return. I commend my library to you, especially for small books at a low price. But you must not neglect large volumes either, if the price smiles on you; even if you buy books for two hundred guilders only for me, it will not be unwelcome. You must buy any manuscripts you see, especially unprinted ones, if their price is not excessive. Farewell.

10 15 02 14 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [DORDRECHT]

a Reverend Brother,

I am very glad if you, dear Sister, your children, and the others tied to me with the bond of both blood and friendship are doing well, but my unpronounceable happiness will get the largest increase if I am informed of your health by your writing. I spent one month in robust health in the royal town of London; I am now considering to go to Cambridge to stay there a month too, or about six weeks, because the king will pay his respects to Cambridge University, which he has not visited during the whole period of his reign, at the

Utrecht, and in 1634 he became professor of history and eloquence at the Utrecht Illustre School, later Utrecht University. When matriculating at Utrecht, Junius' nephew Junius F.N., **158a**, was recommended to him. Cf. Engelberts (1898:32), *NNBW* 1.38–39, *ICVossius* (1993:337).

¹ *o*: BL, Add. 34727, f. 26.

toto regni sui tempore non vidit, salutaturus est.² Multus et magnus per totam hanc regionem rumor spargitur de magnifico apparatu academicorum Regis adventum exspectantium; et, nisi me fallit ingenium gentis, nihil ad °pompam desiderari poterit.³

b Insignium Anglicorum librorum copiam exspectatione mea maiorem inveni; plurimos emi.⁴ Perreptavi aliquot bibliothecas veteribus libris instructissimas, sed hic in Anglia vix aliud quam Angliam, hoc est Anglicorum librorum maximum numerum invenio.⁵ Rogavi complures bibliopolas an non haberent vetustiores libros Latinos, Graecos Hebraeos, nominatim veteres rhetoras Graecos in folio, commentatores aliquot Graecos veteres in Aristotelem, sed nihil horum ostendere potuerunt. Obtulerunt nonnunquam ingentes Graecorum librorum acervos, situ et squalore in tantum obsitos, ut delicatum politumque emtorem sordibus et pulvere a se arcere potuissent; sed haec me nequaquam terruerunt, imo contra ad maiorem spem erectior totum me dedi perscrutationi, usque dum taedii impatiens totos acervos temporis iacturam aegerrime ferens grollorum nomine ulciscerer.⁶ Interim tamen bibliopolae aliqui spem fecerunt Cantabrigiae plurimas bibliothecas Graecis Latinisque veteribus libris instructissimas inveniri; sed metuo ne et hanc spem irritam reddat collegiorum in istis locis bibliothecas summa cura conquirantium frequentia. Opto falli, si °vane °meticulosum fuisse evincar, alias a me illinc litteras exspecta, quibus certior fies de melioris notae libris eorundemque pretio, °deque modo litteras tuas ad me tuto transmittendi.⁷

c Inveni manuscriptos duos. Guidonis cuiusdam historiam complectentem omnes fabulas poeticas prosa, in pergamum in quarto; huic Guidoni coniuncta sunt aliquot epistolae magorum ad nescio quem

a pompam: [- *festum*] pompam | **b** vane: [- *vane metiu*] vane | meticulosum: meticulosus | deque: [- *sat cito tuae ad me litterae deferri poterunt, quoniam*] deque

² Junius was making a tour of England, **9a**. King James visited Cambridge from 7 to 10 March 1615; he had been in Oxford already in 1605. Cf. Nichols (1828:40–65).

³ The king and his train were welcomed by a speech; plays were staged at night, and the faculties of divinity, law, physics and philosophy staged acts and held disputations. During this period, members of the university were ordered to dress in the gowns appropriate to their rank and to refrain from drinking and smoking. The visit attracted many spectators, including Oxonians. Junius' future patrons, the earl and countess of Arundel, **39d**, were among the king's train. Cf. Nichols (1828:40–65).

⁴ One of the purposes of Junius' journey to England was to buy English theological books, **9a**.

beginning of March. A frequent and widespread rumour about the magnificent splendour of the members of the university awaiting the king's arrival is circulated through this whole country, and, unless the people's nature deceives me, nothing can be lacking in pomp.

- b** I have found an amount of remarkable English books, more than I had expected; I bought many of them. I crawled through some bookshops stocked with old books, but here in England I find hardly anything but England, that is, an enormous number of English books. I asked several booksellers whether they did not have old Latin, Greek or Hebrew books, by name old Greek rhetoricians in folio and some old Greek commentators on Aristotle, but they could not show me any of those. Sometimes they presented enormous piles of Greek books so much covered with dust and dirt that they could have kept a dainty and refined buyer at a distance because of the dust and filth. But this did not frighten me at all; on the contrary, raised to greater expectation, I wholly dedicated myself to rummaging them, until I took vengeance on all piles by the term *grollen*, not enduring the boredom and bearing the waste of time with great difficulty. Meanwhile, some booksellers still roused hopes that there are to be found many bookshops stocked with old Greek and Latin books in Cambridge, but I fear the crowd of fellows who are assiduously collecting a library in such places also renders this hope void. I hope I am mistaken. If I am proven to have been groundlessly fearful, you may expect from there another letter of me, in which you will be informed of books of better quality and their price, and of the way to send your letters safely to me.
- c** I have found two manuscripts. A history of one Guido containing all poetic stories in prose, on parchment in quarto; with this Guido are bound several letters of magicians to the one or other Pharaoh king, and also Alain's lament of nature in prose and verse.

⁵ Vossius had asked Junius to search for books for his library, **9a**. The interpretation in *Literature* 1.xxxin that Junius was "finding plenty of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts" cannot be supported.

⁶ Erasmus, *Adage* 231, "ἀγαθῶν σωρός" or "acervus bonorum," said of enormous riches; Calpurnius Siculus, *Eclogae* 1.43, "squalore situque." *Grollorum* seems to be a Neo-Latinism, a loan from Du *grollen*, with a meaning similar to *nugarum*, **210d**.

⁷ No other letter from Junius in England to Vossius was retrieved.

regem Pharaonem, item Alani planctus naturae prosa et carmine.⁸ Alani titulo adscriptis quispiam haec verba, Ludolphus in vita Christi parte I cap. 34 citat duos versus ex hoc libro Alani, iste Ludolphus claruit anno *Domini* 1330.⁹ Alter est manuscriptus °Terentius in charta, non ita ut videtur antiquus, quia tamen utrumque quatuor solidis Anglicanis pretio non magno emere dabatur, absque ulla offensae suspitione, tibi, homini minime moroso utrumque emere non dubitavi.¹⁰ *Dominus* Ruitinghius minister Ecclesiae Belgicae promisit se deducendum me in unam atque alteram officinam antiquis libris refertissimam, nondum obtulit se occasio exsequendi promissum. Brevi fiet spero; ut ut res cadet, semper tui memor ero.¹¹

d Billius pecuniam ad se transmitti voluisset, si quos in officina ipsius libros emissem; sed cum hoc commode fieri non possit propter moneatae hic et apud vos diversa pretia, cumque ego plerosque libros viliori pretio apud veterarios comparare mihi possim, Billii operam nullam amplius in re desidero.¹² Et mercatoris cuiusdam humanitate utor, qui non tantum petenti promptissime suppeditat nummos, sed insuper saepius me ad prandium coenamve invitat, quocirca maximopere opto ne a mea parte mora sit in restituenda Middelburgi fratribus ipsius pecunia.¹³ Affinis noster Brunaeus utroque fratre familiariter utitur, transmissa itaque pecunia restitui per illum commode poterit; nomen huic meo mercatori est Dierick Hoste.¹⁴ Annumeratae mihi hic ab ipso sunt viginti librae *sterlinghs*, quas precor ut fratribus eius Middelburgi per affinem Brunaeum restitui cures.¹⁵ Me non poenitebit sumtuum, neque te, scio, taedebit.

c Terentius: Te[+ r]entius

⁸ Presumably Guido da Colonna, *Historia Troiana* (c.1287), the *Roman de Troie* retold in prose, and presented as a true historical narrative of the Trojan war. The work was much loved in the Middle Ages and translated into various vernaculars; Chaucer and Shakespeare developed their stories of Troilus and Cressida from Guido's account. Letters to the Pharaoh unidentified. Alanus ab Insulis, or Alain de Lille (c.1114–1203), *Liber de planctu naturae prosa et carmine contra Sodomiae crimen*, a satirical lament of nature on various vices, presenting a distorted world view at the same time. It was first published in Leipzig in 1494. No such manuscript was retrieved. Cf. Jöcher 1.2031, *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 1.268–69, 4.1775, Harvey (1946, s.v.).

⁹ Ludolph of Saxony (c.1295/1300–1378), *Vita Christi*, an interpretation of the life of Christ based on biblical, apocryphal and patristic material. It was very popular, belonging to the most widely read books of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Cf. *Lexikon des Mittelalters* 5.2167.

Someone wrote the following words on Alain's titlepage, "Ludolphus, in his *Life of Christ*, part 1, ch. 34, quotes two verses from Alain's book. This Ludolphus flourished in the year of the Lord 1330." The other is a handwritten Terence, on paper; not so old, so it seems, but because it was granted to buy both of them for four English shillings—not a high price—I did not hesitate to buy both without any feeling of offense to you, a positively cordial gentleman. Mr. Ruytinck, the minister of the Dutch Church, has promised to bring me to one or two shops crammed with old books. The opportunity to fulfil his promise has not offered itself yet. I hope it will happen soon. However it turns out, I will always remember you.

d Bill had wished the money to be sent to him, if I had bought any books in his shop, but since that could not conveniently be done because of the different values of money here and with you, and because I could purchase most books for myself at a lower price at second-hand bookshops, I require Bill's assistance in this respect no further. I am enjoying the favour of a merchant, who not only most readily supplies money when I ask for it, but also rather often invites me to lunch or dinner, so I very much hope that for my part there is no delay in returning the money to his brothers in Middelburg. Our brother de Brune knows both brothers, so when the money has been sent, it can conveniently be returned through him. The name of my merchant is Dirick Host. He has paid me twenty pounds *sterling* here, which I pray you to let be returned to his brothers in Middelburg through Brother de Brune. The expenses will not displease me, nor will they offend you, I know.

¹⁰ The Terence manuscript was not retrieved.

¹¹ Simeon Ruytinck (d. 1621), predicant of the Dutch Reformed Church in London from 1601. He had studied theology at Leiden, when Junius the Elder and Franciscus Gomarus were professors, and Vossius was a student. Cf. *NBW* 4.1181–82, Hessels (1887–97, s.v.), Grell (1989, s.v.), *BLGNP* 1.305–06.

¹² "Veterarios" were presumably second-hand bookshops, **68a**.

¹³ Dirick Host, or van Oosten (b. c.1589), a Dutch merchant who had just moved from Middelburg to London. He became a distinguished elder of the Dutch Church from 1628, and dean in 1627–28, and a member and denizen of the English East India Company in the same year. He lived in Abchurch Lane, Candlewick Street Ward. The Host brothers in Middelburg are unidentified. Cf. Hessels (1887–97, s.v. van Oosten, esp. 3.1, no. 1865), Grell (1989, s.v.).

¹⁴ Isaac de Brune.

¹⁵ The twenty pounds sterling were worth 214 guilders, **11b**.

- e** Quod reliquum est precare mecum Deum ut laboribus meis benedicat. Vale, et me totum a tuo nutu pendere existima. Libere itaque impera quod °videbitur, et me obsequentissimum habebis; si itaque praeter °voluntatem tuam aut incoeptasse quid videor, aut porro aggressurus videbor, *id est* si non iudicas consultum hic tam diu haerere, tantum mone, et parebo.
- f** Si ad *Dominum* Teelinghium nondum °transmissa est pecunia, iam una eademque opera ad affinem Brunaeum transmitti poterit.¹⁶ Oraveram discedens affinem nostrum Brunaeum ut ineunte Februario te de hac re moneret, nescio an steterit promissis. Optarem factum, sin minus, confestim fieri. Litteras quas ad me daturus es commodissime per affinem Brunaeum curaturus es. Non memini ullas unquam a me litteras tam praecipiti festinatione scriptas esse, dabis itaque veniam incomtae et indigestae orationi; sera nox est, nauta cras °proficiscitur summo mane, et duae insuper scribenda sunt, avunculo Gomaro et affini Brunaeo.¹⁷
- g** Iterum vale, cum dilecta sorore, liberisque. *Dominum* Aemilium, Borreum, Wessemium meis verbis saluta.¹⁸ Raptim. Londini, 4 *Februarii* anno 1614, sic enim hic adhuc usque ad mensem Martium scribitur propterea quod cum tempore quo Rex inauguratus est, annum Angli mutant.¹⁹
Tuus, F.F.F. Iunius.

¹⁰ **11** 15 03 15 VOSSIUS (DORDRECHT) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Francisco Iunio F.F., Londinum.

a *Salutem plurimam.* Multum dilecte adfinis *Domine* Iuni, dubitavi non parum, utrum nunc ad te scripturus essem. Nam cum iam Idus sint

e videbitur: [- *vid*] videbitur | voluntatem: v[+ o]luntatem | **f** transmissa: transmi[+ ss]a | proficiscitur: proficiscetur

¹⁶ Willem Teellinck was presumably paid board, of 100 guilders, by Junius, **11b**.

¹⁷ Junius' letters to Franciscus Gomarus and Isaac de Brune are unretrieved.

¹⁸ Antonius Aemilius, Godfried van Wessem and Gerard Borraeus, or Bor (1591?-1626), a teacher at the Dordrecht Latin School. A former pupil of Vossius, he had studied at the States College in Leiden. Seven years later, he succeeded Antonius Aemilius as headmaster. Cf. *NBW* 4.221, Rademaker (1981:64), Schotel (1857:55, 58).

¹⁹ In England, the year officially began on Lady's Day, 25 March, from the

- e** What remains: pray God with me to bless my exertions. Farewell, and believe me to depend wholly on your will. So, freely command me what you wish, and you will have me obedient. If I seem to have undertaken anything contrary to your desire, or further seem to be about to do so, that is, if you do not consider it good that I stay here so long, just warn me, and I will obey.
- f** If the money has not been sent to Mr. Teellinck yet, it can be sent to Brother de Brune at one and the same time now. On leaving, I had asked our brother de Brune to remind you of this at the beginning of February; I do not know whether he has kept his promise. I hope it has happened, but if not, that it will happen immediately. You will conveniently direct the letters you will write to me through Brother de Brune. I do not remember ever to have written any letter in such a hasty hurry, so you must excuse the inelegant and confused discourse; it is late at night; the sailor will leave tomorrow very early in the morning, and two more letters must be written, one to Uncle Gomarus and one to Brother de Brune.
- g** Again farewell, together with dear Sister and your children. Greet Mr. Aemilius, Borraeus and van Wessem with my words. In haste. London, 4 February in the year 1614, for thus they still write here until the month March, because the English change the year at the time when the king was crowned.
Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

11 15 03 15 VOSSIUS (DORDRECHT) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To Francis Junius, London.

- a** Warmest regards. Dearly loved Brother Junius, I have no little doubted whether to write to you now. For, as it is already the Ides of March [15 Mar.], and you left from Zeeland at the beginning of this year, as I have heard, you may be in Zeeland again before this

twelfth century until 1752. In addition, the official mode of dating was in regnal years of the reigning king. King James had ascended the English throne on 24 March 1603; his twelfth regnal year was from 24 March 1614 to 23 March 1615. During James' reign, regnal and regular years almost coincided. Cf. Cheney (1948).

¹ c: UBA, III E 4, no. 118; heading in Vossius' hand, Vossius' signature in the copyist's hand.

Martiae, ac tu ineunte hoc anno e Zelandia, ut audio, discesseris, si trimestri tantum abesse decretum, uti prius inter nos convenerat, iam in Zelandia sis, priusquam haec literae in Angliae sint perlatae.² Sed tamen, quia, quantumcumque parcus sim temporis, tamen, ubi tua res agitur,³ levem duco pusilli temporis iacturam (si modo iactura duci debet, quod tam caro capiti impenditur), malui aliquid ad te literarum scribere licet occupatissimus, quam nihil.

- b** Misi ad sororem Brunaeam tuo nomine fl. 436, quorum 214 debes mercatori.⁴ Tu tantum scripseras 200, vel Anglicanae pecuniae ignarus, vel collybi immemor.⁵ 100 annumerandi *Domino* Telingio.⁶ Reliquum sibi, vestium tibi confectarum nomine, deberi scripsit soror Brunaea. Grandis profecto summa praesertim cum abeunti centum viatici nomine dederim, ac quinquaginta, quos sorori debebas. Vides ut duorum circiter triumve mensium spatio centenas libras Flandricas expenderim, quod de meo, profecto hoc tempore non potuissem.⁷ Nec enim nunc quicquam habeo pecuniae otiosae. Verum cum cognatus meus Geldrus Leodium abiens mihi negotium hoc dedisset, ut ego absente se quaererem aliquem cui pecuniae suae optime crederentur, ego de summa seu sorte capere sum coactus florenos 436, ne creditoribus tuis mora aliqua fraudi essem.⁸ Quaeso quantum potes, pecuniarum parcus esto.
- c** De domuitione, si adhuc in Anglia es, rem tui plane arbitrii facio, utrum adhuc mensem unum, alterum istic commorari, an quamprimum ad nos redire malis. Tu modo non inani voluptate sed studiorum et prudentiae incremento rem omnem metire. Cogitare debes Homerum non contentum dicere de Ulysse suo ἴδεν ἄστεα, addere prudenter καὶ νόον ἔγνω.⁹ Verum haec satis te scire scio, nec dubito quin sponte haec tibi obversentur. Quare nolo γλαυκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας.¹⁰
- d** Ante paucos dies *illustres* Comites Benthemenses obtulere mihi professionem *sacrae* Theologiae in Illustri Schola Steinfurtensi; ac

² Junius was making a tour of England, **9a, 10**.

³ Horace, *Epistulae* 1.18.84, "nam tua res agitur."

⁴ Johanna Junius and, probably, Dirick Host.

⁵ Junius had spent twenty pounds sterling, which were apparently worth 214 guilders, **10d**.

⁶ Willem Teellinck was presumably paid board by Junius, **10f**.

⁷ A hundred Flemish pounds corresponded to six hundred guilders, cf. van Dillen (1970:257).

letter is delivered in England—if you have decided to be away for three months only, as was agreed among us beforehand. Yet, because, much as I am short of time, I still consider it a slight sacrifice of a tiny amount of time when your interest is concerned (if, at least, what is devoted to such a loved one should be considered a sacrifice), I preferred to write you something rather than nothing, although I am very busy.

- b** I sent *f*436 to Sister de Brune on your behalf, of which you owe 214 to a merchant. You had written only 200, either ignorant of English money, or forgetting the rate of exchange. 100 must be paid to Mr. Teellinck. Sister de Brune wrote that the rest was due to herself on account of clothes manufactured for you. A great sum for sure, especially since I gave you a hundred on account of travelling money, and fifty which you owed to Sister. You see how I paid a hundred Flemish pounds in the space of about two or three months, which I could not do from my own money at this moment for sure. For I do not have any spare money now. Truly, when, on leaving for Liège, my relative from Gelre assigned me the task to seek someone to whom his money were best entrusted during his absence, I was forced to take the 436 guilders from the sum or capital in order not to be in debt with your creditors due to a delay. I pray, be thrifty with money as best you can.
- c** Concerning your homeward journey, if you are still in England, I truly leave it up to you whether you prefer to spend another one or two months there, or return to us as soon as possible. Just estimate it all not by hollow pleasure but by the improvement of your studies and prudence. You should consider that Homer was not satisfied to say about his Ulysses “*that he saw cities,*” but to add prudently, “*and learnt manners.*” Truly, I know that you know this well enough, and I do not doubt that it has spontaneously occurred to you. Therefore, I do not want [to carry] *owls to Athens.*
- d** A few days ago the illustrious counts of Bentheim offered me the chair of sacred theology at the Illustrious School of Steinfurt; and

⁸ Presumably a member of the Vossius family who lived in Gelre; unidentified.

⁹ Homer, *Odysseia* 1.3.

¹⁰ Erasmus, *Adage* 211, “*γλαῦκας εἰς Ἀθήνας,*” that is, “*ululas Athenas.*”

amicissime postulant, ut provinciam hanc suscipere velim.¹¹ Ego et uxor longinquitate itineris non nihil deterremur ab hac vocatione.¹² Nondum tamen recusavi. Quid facturus sim, plane in dubio est animus. Magis tamen eo inclino, ut detrectem, praesertim quia aliqui insusurrant nonnihil inter Curatores actum esse de vocando me Lugdunum. Sed de hoc nihil certi scribere possum.¹³ Saltem in hoc munere consenescere non est animus.

e Inserui huic epistolae schedulam, cui inscripti nomina scholiastarum Aristotelis, quos non habes in catalogo meo.¹⁴ Eos, quamquam care satis, emi a Rutgersio nostro.¹⁵ Tu siquos horum nondum emeris, gaudeo. Sin iam emti, non tanti est. Scis enim ut rem gratissimam multis sim facturus, si eopse pretio vendere velim. Fortasse et ipse aliquos eorum expetes. | Omnino mei memor esto in quocunque rariori librorum genere, modo meae sit professionis, *hoc est φιλολογικόν τι ἢ φιλοσοφικόν, ἢ θεολογικόν*. Pecunias refundam, simul ac de expensis cognoro.

f Simul ac redieris in Zelandiam, ad nos excurrere aut saltem de adventu tuo fac certiores. Deus te incolumem domum reducat. Vale, nostri, et paterni imprimis nominis memor. Uxor te et *Dominus* Wessemius plurimum salutant.

Dordrecht, *idibus Martiae* 1615.

Tuus, si cuiusquam, Ger. Vossius.

12 15 10 20 JUNIUS (MIDDELBURG) TO VOSSIUS (LEIDEN)¹

A *Aen den vromen ende wel-gheleerden heere Meester Gerardus Vossius trouwen regent van het duytsche Collegie, op de Broertjens-graght, tot Lejden. loont den brengher.*

¹¹ At the end of February, Vossius had received a formal invitation from Clemens Timpler (1563/4–1624), professor at the Illustrious Gymnasium of Steinfurt and the father of Christoph Timpler, **132a**, to accept a chair in theology there. Conrad Vorstius (1569–1622), the Arminian professor of theology at Leiden, who had previously taught at Steinfurt, had recommended Vossius to Wilhelm Heinrich, Count von Bentheim, rector of the Gymnasium. The latter had secretly had Vossius checked for his orthodoxy from the previous August, before allowing an invitation to be sent. Cf. Rademaker (1981:96–99).

¹² On hearing that Vossius might leave for Steinfurt, Hugo Grotius, **19a**, tried to keep him in Holland by arranging a position for him in Leiden. Vossius was invited to discuss the possibility of becoming regent of the States College the day before the present letter. Pending the final decision, he had been advised by Grotius to excuse himself to Steinfurt by adducing his wife's reluctance to move there. Cf. Rademaker (1981:97–98).

they have most amiably asked me to accept this position. I and my wife are quite discouraged from this invitation by the distance of the journey. Still, I have not declined yet. My mind is truly in doubt what to do. Yet I am more inclined to refuse it, especially because some people are whispering that something is being done among the trustees to call me to Leiden. But I cannot write anything for certain about this. Anyhow, I do not intend to spend my whole life in this position.

e I have added to this letter a list on which I have written the names of the commentators on Aristotle whom you do not have on my list. I bought them from our Rutgers, although they were quite expensive. I am pleased if you have not yet bought any of them. But if they have been bought yet, it is not too serious. For you know I will do something most welcome to many people if I want to sell them for the same price. Perhaps you will desire some of them as well. Wholly remember me for any rarer kind of book, if only it is on my profession, that is, *philology*, or *philosophy* or *theology*. I will refund the money as soon as I hear of the expenses.

f As soon as you have returned to Zeeland, hasten to us or at least inform us of your arrival. May God return you home unharmed. Farewell, remember our and especially your father's name. My wife and Mr. van Wessem warmly greet you.

Dordrecht, on the Ides of March 1615 [15 Mar.].

Yours, if anyone's, Ger. Vossius.

12 15 10 20 JUNIUS (MIDDELBURG) TO VOSSIUS (LEIDEN)

A *To the pious and learned gentleman Master Gerardus Vossius, faithful Regent of the Dutch College at the Broertjensgracht, in Leiden. Pay the courier.*

¹³ Vossius decided to accept the offer of Leiden some days after the present letter. Cf. Rademaker (1981:98–99).

¹⁴ Commentators unidentified.

¹⁵ Either Winand Rutgers, an acquaintance of Vossius who was appointed at Steinfurt instead, or Janus Rutgers (1589–1625), a former student of Vossius and a fellow-student of Junius both in Dordrecht and Leiden, who was to become the ambassador of the United Provinces at the court of Gustav Adolph of Sweden. During his studies in Leiden, he had often bought books at auctions for Vossius. Cf. Rademaker (1981:72–73, 99), *BWN* 16.576–77.

¹ *o*: BL, Add. 34.727, f. 27. *p1*: Colomesius 2.20. *p2*: *Epp*. Vossius 15; not collated.

a F.F.F. Iunius °*magistro* Gerardo Ioanni Vossio, affini coniunctissimo, precatur multiiugas Domini benedictiones. Fama malum, etc.² Habent hoc omnes dissensiones, eodem linguas quo animos succo perfundunt, singuli ita ut °animati sunt loquuntur. Ad nos hic crebriores quam optamus sinistri rumores de Bataviae vestrae turbulento statu deferuntur.³ Nos etsi aures nonnunquam demus, fidem non semper damus, quo imprudentiae notam evitemus. Interim esset pectoris ferrei hac communi Ecclesiarum nostrarum calamitate non tangi, secure quietum quasi e specula procellosos Christianae reipublicae motus inspectare, et non quantum fieri potest votis saltem et suspiriis naufragium facientibus succurrere.⁴ Loquor ex sententia rumorum qui indies ad nos transvolant. Hi enim tales sunt, ac si res vestrae deploratae omnino iacerent, et medicae manus opem admittere amplius non possent.⁵ Unde enim in conciso et penitus comminuto corpore medicinam quis facere incipiat? Graviter vulnerata, corpori tamen adhuc annexa membra, remedium exspectant, non *autem* a reliquo corpore avulsa.⁶ Moeremus, et omnino vix consolabili dolore angimur, cum haec, et his ipsis alia magis tristitia auditione accipimus. Ego ad hanc rem nihil praeter suspiria et ardentem ad Deum preces afferre possum; tu cum aliis divini numinis sacrosanctam maiestatem timentibus viris communicato consilio, periculum facere potes, an ulla per Dei gratiam restorationis spes integra relicta sit.

a *magistro*: *p* clarissimo viro *domino* | animati sunt: *p* sunt animati

² Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.174–75, “Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum;/ mobilitate viget, viresque acquirit eundo,” **44a, 97**.

³ From 1615, the government of the great-pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547–1619), backed by Hugo Grotius, **19a**, gradually weakened in the States of Holland. In an effort to appease the strife between the Counter-Remonstrants, headed by Franciscus Gomarus, and the Remonstrants, which had spread from theology to politics, a resolution of tolerance had been concluded in 1614, which allowed the secular magistracy to exert control over, and if necessary forbid, factions in the church in Holland. Holland had Remonstrant towns, such as Leiden and Rotterdam, and Counter-Remonstrant ones, such as Amsterdam and Dordrecht, while the countryside was generally staunchly Counter-Remonstrant. The resolution, however, was mainly used by Remonstrants to oust Counter-Remonstrant predicants. Amsterdam and some other Counter-Remonstrant towns had even plainly refused to accept the resolution, maintaining that the only way to solve the strife was to hold a National Synod—that is, to leave control over the church with the church itself, not with the secular magistracy. Opposition to the Oldenbarnevelt

a F.F.F. Junius prays for many of the Lord's blessings for Master Gerardus Joannes Vossius, dearest Brother.

"Fame is an evil," etc. All discords have this; they moisten tongues with the same juice as hearts; they each speak just as they are inclined. Unfavourable rumours about the confused state of your Holland are reported to us here more frequently than we wish; although we sometimes lend an ear, we do not always give credence to them in order to prevent a stigma of inconsiderateness. Meanwhile, it would be a sign of a heart of steel not to be touched by this general disaster of our churches, and to watch the tempestuous tumult of the Christian republic safely in peace and quiet from a watch tower, so to speak, and not to assist those who are shipwrecked as much as possible, at least by prayers and sighs. I am speaking on the basis of the meaning of rumours which come flying to us daily, for they are such as if your lamentable cause is lying down completely and as if healing hands are unable to offer assistance any further—for, from where may anyone begin to give medication to a divided and almost crushed body? The severely wounded limbs, though still connected to the body, are awaiting a remedy, but not after they have been separated from the rest of the body. We are mourning and we are tormented by an altogether hardly consolable grief when we give audience to this and other news sadder than this. I can contribute nothing to it besides sighs and ardent prayers to God. After having consulted with other men who fear the sacred majesty of the Divine power, you can make an attempt whether any reasonable hope of restoration through God's grace is left.

regime increased during 1615 due to their failure to restore unity in Holland, due to discrimination against Counter-Remonstrants, and due to economic factors under which the overwhelmingly Counter-Remonstrant working population suffered. Cf. Israel (1995:421–39), den Tex 3.394–411.

⁴ Erasmus, *Adage* 3295, "velut e specula," "similitudo proverbialis, cum quis rem velut oculis subiectam, totam undique contemplatur" [a proverbial simile, when someone contemplates something that is, as it were, brought to the eyes completely and from all angles].

⁵ The image of the king as the physician of his country, "Rex medicus patriae," had also been used by Henry Peacham, **42e**, in his emblem-book *Minerva Britanna* (1612) with reference to King James. Cf. Parry (1981:24).

⁶ Cf. Col. 1.18, "And he is the head of the body, the church;" Rom. 12.4–5, "For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office: So we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another."

- b** Optat hoc mecum *Dominus* Teelinghius, cuius hac de re litteras vides.⁷ Pietas viri non eget de integro me praecone; adhuc probe meministi quid de ipso non exiguae pietatis, eruditionis, et apud vos non minoris auctoritatis vir tibi retulerit.⁸ Crede tantum ex pio peccatore non nisi sancta et sana consilia proficisci posse. Fidem scio in candore, et candorem in pietate non requires; proinde tuto, cum per otium licebit, rescribe. Omnem infidae futilitatis suspicionem vera pietas tollit. En, prior ad communicanda consilia provocaris.
- c** Deum *optimum maximum* precor ut vobis per Spiritum suum adsit, quo Ecclesiae ipsius prodesse possitis, et uno animo, una opera in uniendis distractis partibus versari. Saluta sororem mei amantissimam, cum tota vestra familia, et valetudinem tuam cura diligenter. *Middelburgum*, anno 1615, 20 *Octobris*.
°Tibi multis nominibus devinctissimus, F.F.F. Iunius.
- d** Nihil hic quod aut te aut muneris tui administrationem tangat inaudivi; non est itaque quod te turbent haec quae de sinistris rumoribus scripsi.⁹ Omnia enim quae ad nos hic deferuntur generalia admodum sunt et incertissima.

13 16 03 01 JUNIUS [DORDRECHT] TO ADRIAAN VAN DER LOO
[GRONINGEN]¹

- a** F.F.F. Iunius *Domino* Adriano van der Loo gaudere et bene rem gerere.
Salutem plurimam. Quotiescunque urbem tuam videndi offertur occasio (offertur *autem* ea subinde cum iter aut a Zeelandis ad Batavos, aut a Batavis ad Zeelandos instituo), nihil mihi °molestius tui absentis memoria.² Si praesentem te coram contueri daretur, longiores quam

c Tibi . . . Iunius: in *p* following **d**

13a molestius: mo[-]lestius

⁷ Willem Teelinck's letter to Vossius, not seen, is also dated 15 10 20. After consultation with Hugo Grotius, Vossius replied to Teelinck with a long letter in which he blamed the strife on certain exceptionally rigid predicants. Cf. *ICVossius* (1993:37), Rademaker (1981:118), UBA, III E 5, no. 17.

⁸ Possibly Franciscus Gomarus.

⁹ Vossius was a regent of the States College in Leiden, **11d**, Rademaker (1981:100–25).

¹ *o/ca*: UBA, M 76a. In the margin, in an unidentified hand, "Brantwijck." Brandwijck is a Dordrecht family, cf. Balen (1677; *Register* [1909, s.v.]).

- b** Mr. Teellinck, whose letter about this you see here, wishes so with me. The man's piety does not need me as herald again; you have still remembered well what was told to you about him by a gentleman of considerable piety and erudition, and of as much authority with you. Just believe that only sacred and sound advice can originate from a pious heart; you do not lack faith in integrity and integrity in piety, I know. So, write back safely, when you can do so in your spare time. Genuine piety removes all suspicion of unfaithful vanity. Well, you are challenged to impart your opinions first.
- c** I pray Allgood and Almighty God to be with you through his Spirit, so that you can be useful for his own Church, and be engaged in uniting the divided parts with one intention, with one effort. Greet my dearest sister and your whole family, and attentively care for your health.
Middelburg, in the year 1615, 20 October.
Devotedly yours for many reasons, F.F.F. Junius.
- d** I have heard nothing here that concerns either you or the administration of your position, so there is no reason for you to be troubled by what I wrote about unfavourable rumours. For, everything that is reported to us here is quite general and indefinite.

13 16 03 01 JUNIUS [DORDRECHT] TO ADRIAAN VAN DER LOO
[GRONINGEN]

- a** F.F.F. Junius wishes happiness and prosperity for Mr. Adriaan van der Loo.
Warmest regards. As often as the opportunity to visit your town presents itself (and it presents itself frequently when I make a trip either from Zeeland to Holland or from Holland to Zeeland), nothing is more annoying to me than the recollection that you are not there. If I were granted to see you in person when you are there, I would make longer delays in Dordrecht than I usually do now. I am now forced to stay

² Dordrecht, where the van der Loo family lived. Junius stayed with the Teellinck family in Middelburg, Zeeland, at the time, and the Vossius family lived in Leiden, Holland. Adriaan van der Loo had moved to Groningen to study law several months after the opening of its university (matriculation 16 June 1615 as "Adrianus van der Loo, Dordracensis, Iur."). Cf. Balen (1677; *Register* [1909, s.v. van der Loo]), *ASG* (1915:3).

nunc soleo Durdrehti moras necterem; nunc sesqui diem aut biduum hic haerere cogor, et taedium absentiae tuae quod me non parum urit, licet inopi, debito tamen literarum alloquio restinguo. Tu hoc amoris mutui fomentum pro tua erga me benevolentia non negliges, sed vicissim memor officii, litteras ubi vacabit repones. Nosti tritum istud, “obiecta movent sensus.”

- b** Si | Nordwici essem amoenitatem loci topographice tibi delin-
earem.³ Absens, non sic ut vellem possem; abstineo itaque. Absentem
tamen etiamnum delectat recordatio; nec tu in totum oblivisci potu-
isti quemadmodum Thessala Tempe hunc vicum, ut amoenitatis suae
aemulum recusare minime possint.⁴ Huc e Zelandia migrare statui.
- c** Si tu itaque aut Leidae aut in vicino aliquo mihi loco temporis
quid triveris me insalutato, piaculare indigni sceleris crimen ob
sanctae amicitiae iura violata impingere tibi non dubitabo. Aveo
videre litteras tuas de rebus tuis et Academiae vestrae statu; mecum
nosti quam fideliter eas curaturus sit *Dominus* Wessemius, si ad
eum transmittantur. Non falles, scio, exspectionem meam. Manda
quod lubebit, et me tibi addictissimum nunquam non offendes; |
nimis diu abstinui ab mutuae familiaritatis litterario officio. Quaeso,
da operam ne te quoque haec quaerela tangat. Vale.
Raptim; profunda iam nocte, ex adverso fere aedium paternarum in
Toelastio, ipsis kalendis Martiis anno 1616.⁵
Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

b vellem: [- *vu*] vellem

³ Noordwijk, a village in the dunes on the seacoast close to Leiden, was a place of pilgrimage and inspiration for young Neo-Latinists in memory of the poet Janus Douza (1545–1604), lord of Noordwijk, one of the first three trustees of Leiden University, and a patron of the first generation of student-poets. *Topographia* describes an actual geographical place as excursus in an account, as opposed to *topothesis*, which describes an imaginary place. Cf. Heesakkers and Reinders (1993:89–94), Lausberg 819.

⁴ The Tempe valley, a charming valley in Thessaly through which ran the river

here a day and a half or two days, and quench the loathing at your absence, which considerably inflames me, with the due, though meagre, address of a letter. You must not neglect this nourishment of mutual love in accordance with your kindness for me, but, remembering your duty, you must reply with a letter in turn, when you have the time. You know this commonplace, "objects move the senses."

b If I had been in Noordwijk, I would have described the pleasantness of the place topographically to you. Since I am not there, I could not do as I would wish, so I refrain from it. Though I am not there, the recollection still delights me; nor can you have entirely forgotten how the Thessalian Tempe valley could not at all decline this village as rival of its own pleasantness. I have decided to move there from Zeeland.

c So, if you spend any time either in Leiden or in a place near to me without coming to see me, I will not hesitate to bring a penitential accusation of unseemly wickedness against you because of violation of the obligations of holy friendship. I want to see your letter on your circumstances and the state of your university. You know as well as I how faithfully Mr. van Wessem will handle it, if it is sent to him. You will not fail my expectation, I know. Send what you please, and you will always find me deeply devoted to you. I have refrained too long from the literary obligation of mutual friendship; I pray, take pains that this complaint may not pertain to you too. Farewell.

In haste. Already deep in the night, almost from opposite your parental home in *Toelast*, on the Kalends of March itself in the year 1616 [1 Mar.].

Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

Peneus, was idealized as a *locus amoenus*, an idyllic landscape, the principal topos of descriptions of nature in literature from antiquity onwards. *Vicus* is Dutch *wijk*, "place, village," the second element in *Noordwijk*. Cf. Curtius (1953:195–200).

⁵ *Toelast*, "wine butt," a typical name for an inn, must have been the inn where Junius was lodging in Dordrecht.

14 16 06 07 JUNIUS (BREDa) TO ADRIAAN VAN DER LOO [-]¹

a F.F.F. Iunius *Domino* Adriano van der Loo gaudere et bene rem gerere.

Salutem plurimam. Hominem exuit, qui humanitatem minore quam dignitas eius postulat amore prosequitur.² Licet tuam °erga omnes usitatam °humanitatem semper in te quam maxime dilexerim, tuorum tamen erga me immerentem propter te benevolentiam etiamnum magis amplexus sum. Gratiam, quam re ipsa °rependere non possum, sincero voto tibi tuisque testatam °facio. Precor Deum *optimum maximum* omnis boni fontem, ut °in praesens hoc °coniugandorum amabile par omnes animae et corporis benedictiones per et propter Christi merita cumulare °velit; etc. Scis faustas apprecationes, quas meis verbis ex officio meo et tuo °sponso sponsaeque facturus es.³

b Affinitatis necessitudo °humanitatis vestrae usum mihi eripit. Unius atque alterius cerebrosi hominis malevolentia, cum qua affini meo indies luctandum est, facile animum ipsius frangeret, °nisi quotidiana hilaritate adversus °tristes crudelis melancholiae °torturas praesidium sibi pararet.⁴ Omnes a laboribus studiorum meorum residuas horas in exhilarando affine hactenus collocavi, et porro donec Delphos migraverit, collocaturus sum.⁵ Dabis veniam, confido, aequissimae excusationi. Lubens etiam alio aliquo humanitati vestrae debito officio defungerer, nisi alienissimi temporis locique °importunitas obstaret. Sed de his satis.

c Iam nuper van der Burghii avunculus et tutor Leida veniens

a erga: [- *semper*] erga | humanitatem: [- *faci*] humanitatem | rependere: \rependere/ | facio: faci[*am* > o] | in: \in/ | coniugandorum: [- ..] coniugandorum | velit: [- *dignetur*] velit | sponso: [- *facturus.*] sponso | **b** humanitatis: [- *obstat pati non patitur me*] humanitatis | nisi: [*si non* > nisi] | tristes . . . torturas: [*melancholicos humores* > tristes . . . torturas] | torturas: tortur[+ as] | importunitas: importunita[*te* > s]

¹ *d.* UBA, M 76b.

² For the text of this section, cf. **21d**, **26c**.

³ Couple unidentified; one of them must have been a member of the van der Loo family.

⁴ Isaac Diamant was harrassed with charges of unorthodoxy by a visitor of the sick and the Counter-Remonstrant Breda predicant Abraham Muysenhol, a distant relative of the Junius family, in that he was the brother of Gomarus' first wife, Emerentia Muysenhol (d. 1592). Muysenhol was also to preside over the meeting of the South Holland Synod which pronounced Junius' engagement as a predicant illegal, **25b**. Cf. *BWPGN* 2.469–70, van Iterzon (1929:35, 271).

14 16 06 07 JUNIUS (BREDa) TO ADRIAAN VAN DER LOO [-]

- a F.F.F. Junius wishes happiness and prosperity for Mr. Adriaan van der Loo.

Warmest regards. He who practises humanity with less love than its dignity requires has cast off being human. Although I have always greatly esteemed in you your usual humanity for everybody, I have even more cherished your family's kindness to me because of you now, though I do not deserve it. I make testified my gratitude, which I cannot actually recompense, to you and your family by a sincere wish. I pray Allgood and Almighty God, the source of all good, to be willing to bestow all blessings of soul and body through and because of Christ's merits on this present beloved pair who are going to be married, etc. You know the favourable prayers which you will make in my words to the bridegroom and bride in accordance with my and your duty.

- b The bond of kinship prevents me from enjoying your humanity. The malevolence of the one or other passionate man, with which my brother-in-law must contend daily, would easily break his heart, if he did not give himself assistance by daily merriment against the sad torments of fierce melancholy. I have as yet spent all hours remaining from the exertions of my studies cheering up my brother-in-law, and I will keep doing so until he has moved to Delft. You will accept a reasonable excuse, I trust. I would also gladly have acquitted myself of any due obligation to your humanity, if the unsuitability of the most unusual time and place had not prevented it. But enough about this.

- c Quite recently, van der Burgh's uncle and guardian rode to Bergen op Zoom, coming from Leiden. I went to him; I joined him as a companion until somewhere, and after various discussions I made

⁵ Diamant read his first sermon in Delft on 24 July. Thereupon, Junius moved in with Johanna Junius in Middelburg, 16A, yet returned as a support to the Diamant couple in Delft in the winter, as Vossius told Johan Casimir Junius, "Plurimum autem gaudeo, quod hac hieme affuturus ei frater Franciscus. Nam cum uterque natura sit subtristis, poterit eos homo festivus aliquantum recreare" [But I am very pleased that Brother Francis will be with her (Maria Junius) this winter. For, since both (Maria and Diamant) have slightly pessimistic characters, the lively man could cheer them up somewhat], 16 09 24, UBA, III E 5, p. 45. Although Diamant did recover for some time, he was to succumb to the harassments in February 1617, 15a, 17a. Cf. *BWPGN* 2.469, Rademaker (1981:116n).

Berghopzoomiam °equitabat.⁶ Accessi, comitem me illi aliquo usque adiunxi, et post varios sermones nepotis sui mentionem inieci, et statim animadverti in vultum hominis nescio quas turbati animi notas. Ille primum sermonem meum abrumpens ad alia °accessit, et hac ratione maiorem mihi ingeneravit suspicionem animi non sat bene erga cognatum suum affecti. Cupidus itaque indagandi | simultatis tam apertae caussas, post aliqua rursus ad °van der Burghium accessi, et dixi me cum Leidae essem ex ipso intellexisse, ut assumpto ibi post mensem unum atque alterum doctoratus gradu in animo habeat °trienni peregrinatione Germaniam, Galliam, et Italiam lustrare. His auditis °irae amplius temperare non potuit, et, “mirum,” inquit, “quid non fatui tenent. Puer °iste sibi non sapit; °triennii spatio dilapidatis omnibus suis facultatibus ad miserrimam paupertatem prodigalitate sua devenisset, nisi in tempore huic ipsius stoliditati a nobis obviam itum fuisset. °Tot inutiles hoc anno Leidae sumtus fecit, haeremus omnes; neque satis videmus cui °muneri tandem aliquando habilis futurus sit, ita ineptus est ad omnia. Dispiciendum est an alicubi in familia ministri alicuius vivens una cum modestia novum induere animum possit.” His adhuc acerbiora addebat cum de amoribus ipsius communes quosdam rumores referrem. Longum esset omnia persequi; et verba mea °ad vehementiam loquentis accedere nulla ratione possunt.

- d** Tu, si postquam a te discessi animum mutasti, et ipso itineris tui comite uti statuisti frustra fueris, nam citius ergastulum ipsi °paratum iri °crediderim, quam ut libera peregrinandi licentia concedatur. Haec scripsi, ut rideas; °alios, ne per me famae ipsius quid detractum putet, °ut ut verissima sint, celabis. Vale.
Raptim; Bredae, anno 1616, 7 Iunii.
Tuus omni officio.

c equitabat: [- *pet*] equitabat | accessit: acce[*debat* > *ssit*] | van: [- *d*] van | trienni peregrinatione: trienn[*em* > *i*] peregrinatione[- *m* . . .] | irae: [- [*exerc*]] irae | iste: ist[*i* > *e*] | triennii: [- *tot inutiles hoc anno Leidae sumtus fecit, ut*] triennii | Tot . . . fecit: \Tot . . . fecit/ | muneri: [- [*ne*]] muneri | ad: \ad/ | **d** paratum: [- *p*] paratum | crediderim: crediderim[- ..] | alios: [- ..] alios | ut: [- *celabis*] ut

⁶ Leiden student van der Burgh is unidentified; according to this section, he was a mutual acquaintance, presumably from Dordrecht, who had studied at Leiden for some three years, but *ASL* (1875) lists only Petrus van der Burcht from Middelburg,

mention of his nephew, and immediately noticed some traces of a troubled heart appearing on the gentleman's face. He cut short my first words and switched to other topics, thus raising in me considerable suspicion of someone quite ill-disposed towards his nephew. So, desirous of examining the reasons for such an overt dislike, I returned to van der Burgh again after some other topics, and said I had heard from him when I was in Leiden that he intended to visit Germany, France and Italy during a grand tour of three years, after having taken his doctor's degree there within a month or two. On hearing this, he could no longer restrain his anger and said, "It is amazing what fools may conceive. That boy is out of his mind; having squandered all his means in a period of three years, he would have ended up in miserable poverty due to his lavishness, if we had not opposed his stupidity in time. He has made so many unnecessary expenses in Leiden this year; we are all perplexed. And we do not quite see for what position he will ever be suitable in the end, so inapt he is for everything. It must be seen whether he can assume a new mental attitude, as well as modesty, when he is staying with a predicant's family somewhere." He added even more bitter points to this, when I told some widespread rumours about his amorous affairs—it would be too long to describe everything, and my words cannot resemble the speaker's vehemence in any respect.

d If you changed your mind after I left you, and decided to enjoy him as a companion for your tour, you will be disappointed, for I believe the workhouse will sooner be made ready for him than that he be granted a free licence for travelling. I have written this to make you laugh; you must conceal it from others, so that he does not think anything is detracted from his reputation through me, however true it may be. Farewell.

Written in haste. Breda, in the year 1616, 7 June.

Obligingly Yours.

who had matriculated in 1612, and the Amsterdam Albert Coenraads van den Burch, whom Junius seems not to have met in his younger years, **139a**, **143e**. For the Dordrecht van der Burch family, cf. Balen (1677, 2.1005–7).

15 16 [06–12 00] JUNIUS [BREDA/DELFT] TO VOSSIUS (LEIDEN)¹

A Sincerae pietatis, solidaeque eruditionis nomine spectatissimo viro *Domino Magistro* Gerardo Vossio, Collegii *Illustrium Ordinum* Regenti vigilantissimo, Lugduni *Bataavorum*. Port.

a *Salutem plurimam*. Si tu, soror, liberique vestri, reverende *Domine* affinis, recte valetis, est quod communi omnium nostrum nomine Deo *optimo maximo* gratias agamus. Fidem vix °inveniam, si hisce meis litteris testari coner quantum, dum hic fui, recreatus et refectus sit affinis noster Diamantius.² Integri diei equitationem inconcussa valetudine ferre potest, subinde *enim* vicinos pagos equites bini invisimus. Vescitur lactucis, ovillis *carnibus* salitis, caseo, et aliis durioris concoctionis cibis. Subinde obstupesco videns, ita admiratione tam subitae mutationis abripior. Malui haec paucis ad te perscribere, quia forte metues ne ille, quo animum tibi addat, rei difficultatem aliquantum lenierit. Ego haec ex fide scripsi.

b Accepi litteras a *Domino* Teelinghio, in quibus mentionem facit libelli, cuius titulus est *Philomater*.³ Ait in Zeelandia rumores spargi authorem se esse; avet audire an apud vos similia ipsi affingantur. Interim negat authorem se esse, aut quicquam de authore nosse. °Interim optat aut per me aut per te certior °qualia apud vos de isthoc scripto iudicia proferri soleant. Gratissimum ipsi feceris, si aliorum, aut etiam proprium tuum iudicium ad ipsum perscribas. Si non vacat hac de re litterulas ad ipsum exarare, quaeso, in proximis ad affinem Diamantium, aut ad me, litteris, °quid de isthoc libello sentiendum putes exprome. Unice *enim* hoc a me petiit vir iste, °cui

a inveniam: [- *fecero, si*] inveniam | **b** Interim: Interum | qualia: [- *de iudicia . . . di*] qualia | quid: [- *brevibus . . . aliorum*] quid | cui: [- *. . . ul*] cui

¹ o: BL, HL. 7012, f. 26. Written after the publication of *Philomater* (1616), **b**, when Paul de Seriere was staying with the Vossius family, **b**, and either in June/early July, when Junius was staying with the Diamant couple in Breda, or early in the winter, when he did so in Delft, and Diamant was still in good health, **a**.

² Isaac Diamant suffered from charges of unorthodoxy, and Junius moved in with the couple to relieve them, first in June and July in Breda, and in the winter in Delft, **14b**.

³ Willem Teelinck's letter to Junius is unretrieved. *Philometor* [also *Philomater*] *Ofte Christelicke tsamensprekinghe, van 't recht der Kercke in Kerckelicke saken: waer in ontdeekt wert wat die voor hebben, die sulck recht aende H. Overheden absolutelick opdragen . . .* (Middelburg,

15 16 [06–12 00] JUNIUS [BREDA/DELFT] TO VOSSIUS (LEIDEN)

A To the gentleman deeply respected for his sincere piety and solid learning, Master Gerardus Vossius, the most vigilant Regent of the illustrious States College, Leiden. Postage.

a Warmest regards. Reverend Brother, if you, Sister, and your children are doing well, there is reason to thank Allgood and Almighty God in the joint name of us all. I will hardly find credence, if I try to testify in this letter how much our brother Diamant has been refreshed and revived while I have been here. He can bear a whole day's ride in good health, for we have repeatedly visited neighbouring villages as two horsemen. He eats vegetables, salted mutton, cheese, and other food of harder digestion. I am repeatedly amazed when I see him, so much I am carried away in astonishment at such a sudden change. I preferred to write this to you in short, because you fear perhaps that he has somewhat softened the seriousness of the matter to give you good courage. I have written this in good faith.

b I received a letter from Mr. Teellinck, in which he makes mention of a booklet of which the title is *Mother-Loving*. He says that rumours are being circulated in Zeeland that he is the author; he desires to hear whether similar stories are framed about him with you. Meanwhile, he denies being the author or to know anything about the author. Meanwhile, either by me or by you he wishes to be informed of what kind of opinions are generally formed about this writing with you. You would do something most welcome to him if you write him other people's or even your own opinion. If you do not have time to write him a small letter about this, I pray, state in your next letter to Brother Diamant or to me what you believe must be thought of this booklet. For, that gentleman, to whom I am much

1616), an anonymous pamphlet condemning those who desired the States to have control over the church in the United Provinces. Willem Teellinck had written a pamphlet called *Philopatris* . . . (Middelburg, 1608), urging the States to stimulate the people to attend religious services, which must have induced the identification with the author of *Philomater*. De la Rue (1741:332), listed the pamphlet with Teellinck's brother Ewoud, who had published more such pamphlets under the pseudonym Irenaeus Philalethius. Rogge (1865:227) believed Adriaen vande Vivere, the publisher of *Philomater*, to have been the author. Cf. Knuttel 1.2256–58.

multis nominibus devinctissimus sum. Saluta sororem, totamque tuam familiam. Cognato Sariere, si adhuc vobis adest, dic ut ad nos excurrat.⁴

Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

16 16 08 24 PAUL DE SERIERE (LOUVAIN) TO JUNIUS (MIDDELBURG)¹

A *Eersahmen ende seer discreten heer Mein heer Francois Junius uohnende te Middelborch ten huysen van °Heere Jisack Bruyn op de groenmerckt.² Middelborch. loon.*

a Putavi antehac, mi cognate, eodem tempore, quo has ad te per-venturas spero, meipsum ad vos iturum; verum cum cognatum quen-dam meum in hac universitate degentem inopinato reperissem, non potui quin diutius, quam statueram, hic commorarer, praesertim cum audirem fieri debere promotionem quorundam ad summum *Iuris Utriusque* Doctoratus gradum, peculiari cum apparatu, et sumptibus haud exiguis.³ Fiet autem 29^o huius mensis et diebus sequentibus.⁴ Ea re finita incipiunt xenia, uti ferunt, non contemnenda.⁵ Et cum ista digna visu iudicarem, facile in hanc sententiam labi me passus sum, qui hic commorarer, donec ea vidissem, interim statum uni-versitatis collustrans, et Gallorum studiosorum gaudens °consortii.

A *Heere*: [... > *Heere*] | a consortiis: consortis

⁴ Junius' cousin Paul de Seriere, son of Jehanne du Jon, a sister of Junius the Elder. They lived in Metz. In November 1615, Jehanne had written to Maria and Elizabeth Junius, recollecting "la memoyre heureuse que iay de feu monsieur mon frere" [the happy memory which I have of my deceased Sir, my brother], that "le porteur diselles qui est de metz et qui sen ua demeurer a emstredem ma dict auoir este a midellebours et a parle a mon nepueu francoys qui luy [b'ailla] une lettre pour donner amon fils et dict lauoir perdue nous en sommes fort faches tant y a quil dict que mon nepueu luy auoict donne charge dammener mon dict fils auect luy pour uous aler tous voir se que mintenant ne se peult fere acause de plusieurs raisons, mais nous auons pris resolucion que sur se prain temps il yra par quelque bonne comodite qui se pourra presanter" [the courier of this letter, who is from Metz and will stay at Amsterdam, has told me that he has been in Middelburg and has spoken to my nephew Francis, who gave him a letter to deliver to my son, and he said that he has lost it. We are quite angry about it, especially since he said that my nephew had demanded that he bring my son with him in order to go and see you all, which he cannot do now for various reasons. But we have decided that this spring he will go at a good opportunity which may present itself], 15 11 03, Rawl. 79, f. 5. To this, Paul added a letter, dated 15 11 04, emphasiz-

obliged in many respects, especially asked this of me. Greet Sister and all your family. Tell Cousin de Seriere to hasten to us, if he is still with you.

Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

16 16 08 24 PAUL DE SERIERE (LOUVAIN) TO JUNIUS (MIDDELBURG)

A *To the noble and most prudent gentleman Mr. Francis Junius, residing in Middelburg at Mr. Isaac de Brune's house at the Groenmarkt, Middelburg.*

a At first, my cousin, I had thought to go to you at the same time as this letter will come to you, I hope; but because I unexpectedly met a relative of mine who is staying at this university, I could not help lingering here longer than I had intended, especially because I have heard that the promotion of some people to the highest degree of the doctorate in both laws is due with special pomp and considerable expenses. It will take place on the 29th of this month and the following days. This being finished, the indespicable *xenia*, as they are called, begin. Since I thought this would be worthwhile to see, I easily let myself slide to the resolution of staying here until I have seen it, and meanwhile examining the state of the university and delight in the company of French students.

ing that he intended to make such a journey to them. De Seriere was with Junius in Breda in July, for he wrote a letter dated 16 07 23 from there. Thereupon, he went to Louvain, to return to see Junius in Middelburg in early September, **16**. In February 1617, de Seriere was staying with Vossius, or at least in Leiden, **18b**. He occasionally corresponded with Vossius, and wrote a letter to Elizabeth Junius dated 30 06 15. Cf. Rawl. 79, f. 88; Hl. 7013, f. 189, *ICVossius* (1993:43, and s.v.).

¹ *o*: UBA, M 97. In margin, "Loon 1."

² After Maria Junius and Isaac Diamant had moved to Delft, **14b**, Junius seems to have moved in with Johanna Junius, Isaac de Brune's wife. Apparently, his stay with the Teellinck family in Middelburg, **13a**, had finished, possibly upon his moving to the Diamant couple.

³ De Seriere's relative is unidentified. Louvain (Leuven) was a Roman Catholic university, yet Protestant students attended it. De Seriere did not matriculate there. Cf. *Matricule* (1962); for an account of Louvain student life, cf. *Leuven* (1975:150-64).

⁴ Those who did their doctorate unidentified.

⁵ The festivities connected with the degree ceremonies, cf. the "comitia" in Cambridge and Oxford, **138a**.

b Tuum, Cognate mi dilectissime, unice praeopto; cum mihi in praesentia tua commodius imaginem eximiae virtutis, et singularis eruditionis conspiceri liceat, quam ego soleo semper et mirari et amare, tum propter eius dignitatem, cum tuum in me amorem, in quo (licet in caeteris longe sim inferior) tamen millies mori malim, quam ut in eo me sis superior. Multa equidem quae in te sunt dilexi semper et admiratus sum, pietatem, ingenium, eruditionem, atque illud inprimis quod doctissimis tuis confabulationibus omnes istas animi dotes et doctrinae ornamenta ad verum Dei cultum referenda cognoverim, et a te nunquam non doctior discesserim. Quae res quantum me tibi obstringat, demonstrare re libentius vellem, quam te solum cognoscere, tanto in meipsum amori, etsi animo et benevolentia sim par, verbis tamen et literis satisfacere non posse.

c Unum adhuc a te peto, si quae matris ad vos delatae fuerint litterae, eas ad me quamprimum mittas; aliqua enim de ipsius salute angit animum meum sollicitudo.⁶ Habito apud *Dominum* Suerium advocatum in hac urbe, et habitabo usque ad 5 aut 6 *Septembris* inde vos invisurus.⁷ Multam interim cognato Brunaeo et cognatae salutem meo nomine dicas velim.⁸

Dabam festinanter Lovanii, 9 *calendas Septembris* 1616.

Tui addictissimus cognatus P. Seriere.

17 17 02 19 JUNIUS [DELFT] TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS (LEIDEN)¹

A Aen de vroomen ende eer-baeren joffrouwe Elizabeth du Jon, huysvrouwe van den eer-saemen ende wel-gheleerden heere Mr Gerardus Vossius, Regent van het Theologische Collegie der heeren Staten van Holland en West-Vries-land. op de broertijens graft tot Leiden. *Cito. Cito. Cito.*
den brengher sijnen loon, 4 stuyvers.

a *Mon frere* Diamand op huyden den 9 Febr. in den heere ontslaepen, 's achter-noenens een weynigh nae twee uyren;² de heere geve ons allen een ghetroot herte, ende als 't sijnen goddelicken

⁶ Jehanne du Jon.

⁷ The lawyer Suerius is unidentified.

⁸ Isaac de Brune and Johanna Junius. Johan de Brune had been wondering whether de Seriere and Johan Casimir Junius would come over to see them, in a letter to Vossius written from Amsterdam and dated 16 07 08. Cf. Rawl. 79, f. 105.

- b** Your company, my dearly beloved cousin, I prefer especially, because in your presence I can better perceive an image of extraordinary virtue and singular erudition, which I always used to admire and love both because of its dignity and because of your love for me, in which I would yet prefer to die a thousand times than let you be superior to me in this (although I am much inferior in other matters). I have actually always loved and admired the many qualities which you have, your piety, character, learning, and especially this—what I have come to know from your most learned conversations, that all those gifts of your heart and ornaments of learning must be related to the true worship of God, and that I never left you without having learnt more. I would more gladly wish actually to demonstrate how much this obliges me to you, than only to let you know that I cannot fulfil such a great love for me in words and letters, though I am up to it in inclination and humanity.
- c** One thing I still ask of you: if any letter of Mother's is delivered to you, to send it to me as soon as possible, for some anxiety over her health is vexing my heart. I am staying at Mr. Suerius', a lawyer in this town, and will stay here until 5 or 6 September, after which I will go to see you. Meanwhile, I would wish you to give warmest regards to Brother de Brune and his wife on my behalf. Written in haste. Louvain, 24 August 1616.
Your deeply devoted cousin P. Seriere.

17 17 02 19 JUNIUS [DELFT] TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS (LEIDEN)

- A** To the pious and virtuous Mrs. Elizabeth du Jon, wife of the honourable and most learned gentleman Mr. Gerardus Vossius, Regent of the Theological College of the lords States of Holland and West-Friesland, at the Broertjesgracht in Leiden.
Quick. Quick. Quick.
The courier's wage, 4 stivers.

- a** *Mon frere* Diamant has died in Christ today, 9 February, shortly after two in the afternoon. May the Lord grant us all a comforted

¹ *o*: BLO, Rawl. 79, f. 57. Apparently dated old style, for Isaac Diamant died 19 February, **a**.

² "in den heere ont-slaepen," 1 Cor. 15.18. Isaac Diamant died on 19 February 1617, cf. *BWPGN* 2.470.

wille sal sijn, even al-so oock een vol-standigh Christelick eynd. Ick en twijffele niet of *mon-frere* Vossius sal ons alhier over-komende met raed en daed bijstaen.

Vaert wel, met u huys-ghesin.

Anno 1617, 9 Februarii

V.E. dienst-willighen broeder FFF Junius.

18 17 02 [19–25] JUNIUS [DELFT] TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS (LEIDEN)¹

A Aen de eer-baere ende deughden-rijcke juffrouw Elizabeth du Jon, huys-vrouwe van den god-vruchtighen ende wel-ghelerden heere Mr Gerardus Vossius, Regent van het Theologische Collegie der moghen-der heeren Staten, op de broertijens graft, tot Leiden.
loont den brengher.

a °Vrede in Christo Iesu onsen heyland.

Waerde suster, mijnen brief schrijve ick nu ten tweeden mael aen V.E. over-mids wij t' elcken achter-dencken hebben dat mon frere Vossius wel moght onder weghe sijn om tot ons te komen.² het en is V.E. niet on-bekent dat onsen teghen-wordighen stand ver-eycht, datter ie-man van de naeste vrienden ons met raed ende daed soude bij-staen;³ het be-kommert ons dapper dat D. Wessemius gisteren morghe tot ons seyde dat V.E. lieven man niet te wel hem selven ghevoelde.⁴ De heere, hope ick, sal ons op eene reyse niet so swaer-lick te huys soecken dat V.E. man nu in eenighe krenckten soude ver-vallen.⁵ In-dien hij niet sieck is, laet hem doch met den eersten over-komen.

b Den toe-komenden Son-dagh 's achter-noens nae de predikatie sullen wij mon frere Diamantio al hier het laetste werck der liefde betooghen, naemlick een eerlicke begraeffnisse.⁶ V.E. man, so hij nu al-reede niet op wegh is, magh sick selven wel met den eersten her-waerds maecken; wij hopen het beste van sijne ghesondheyd; wij willen oock Cousijn Seriere ende Cornput vriendelick ghebeden

a Vrede: [+ V]rede

¹ *o*: BLO, Rawl 79, f. 65. Written on the same day as or a few days later than letter **17**, and well before Sunday 26 February, **b**.

heart, and if it be His Divine will, also a steadfast Christian end. I do not doubt that *mon frere* Vossius will come here to assist us by word and deed.

Farewell, with your family.

In the year 1617, 9 February.

Your obliging brother F.F.F. Junius.

18 17 02 [19–25] JUNIUS [DELFT] TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS (LEIDEN)

A To the honourable and virtuous Mrs. Elizabeth du Jon, wife of the pious and most learned gentleman Mr. Gerardus Vossius, Regent of the Theological College of the powerful lords States, at the Broertjesgracht in Leiden.

Pay the courier.

a Peace in Jesus Christ, our Saviour.

Dear Sister, I am writing my letter to you for the second time now, since we are concerned all the time whether *mon frere* Vossius will be on his way to come to us. It will not have escaped you that our present situation requires one of our close family to assist us by word and deed. It deeply vexes us that Mr. van Wessem told us yesterday morning that your dear husband was not feeling too well. The Lord, I hope, will not afflict us so severely on a single occasion that your husband would be falling ill now. If he is not sick, let him come as soon as possible.

b This coming Sunday in the afternoon following the sermon we shall express the final act of love to *mon frere* Diamant here, that is, an honourable funeral. If he is not yet on his way now, your husband should see to coming here as soon as possible; we hope for the best for his health. We also wish to kindly ask Cousin de Seriere and

² The first letter was letter 17.

³ Isaac Diamant died on 19 February, 17a.

⁴ Godfried van Wessem was evidently with Junius and Diamant.

⁵ Vossius did attend the funeral, 19b.

⁶ Sunday 26 February, a week after Diamant's death.

hebben dat sij den aen-staenden Son-dagh voor de noen hier maeken te sijn, om t' saemen met ons het lijck te volgen.⁷ Weten sij gheen row-mantels te bekomen, wij sullen ons beste doen, om haer al hier te gherieven.

met haest.

V.E. dienst-willighen broeder FFF Junius.

19 17 [02–04 00] VOSSIUS [LEIDEN] TO JUNIUS (DELFT)¹

A Affini coniunctissimo *Domino* Francisco F.F. Iunio, Delphos.

a °Charissime adfinis,

ὁ μέγας suadet ut proxima hebdomade se °invisamus, ut autorem se magistratui futurum, ut (quod necesse est fieri) una cum Ecclesiastico presbyterio, in sacello Vitis *sanctae* concionantem te audire velit.² Parabis igitur homiliam, vel aliquam veterum recognes, si opus putabis.³ Ego die Lunae, si uxoris valetudo non obstabit, circa vesperam vobis adero.⁴ Summo mane diei proximique, nos itineri iungemus.

b Mihi valetudo paullo melior, quam cum adessem vobis; uxori si non melior, ac non deterior saltem.⁵ Cave descriptionem testamenti negligas.⁶ Non exemplar τῷ μεγάλῳ me ostensurum iam recepi. Literas

a Charissime: C[l > h]arissime | invisamus: invis[+ a]mus (*Sheet torn*)

⁷ Paul de Seriere; presumably Johan van den Corput (1609–1650), the future Dordrecht alderman and member of the Rotterdam Admiralty. His great-aunt was Junius the Elder's wife Elizabeth van den Corput. In 1636 he married Cornelia Bosman (b. 1617), 22b. He may have been with the Vossius family in connection with the "lis Corputiana," 6b. Cf. Balen (1677:410–11, 1027), Postema (1993:159).

¹ o: UBA, M 100j. Written after Isaac Diamant's death on 19 February, because only Maria Junius is greeted in b, and not long before Junius did his examination on 24 April, a.

² Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), pensionary of Rotterdam, lawyer and eminent humanist scholar. He was a friend of the Junius family since he had boarded with them as a student in Leiden in the 1590s, and an intimate friend of Vossius and Isaac Diamant. Grotius had met Junius with Diamant, and subsequently proposed him, via Vossius, to apply for the ministry of Hilleegersberg in early January. ὁ μέγας is a pun on Grotius' surname in Dutch, de Groot, which means "the great." Aspiring predicants had to pass an examination before the church council in order to be appointed to a ministry. For Grotius and for further references, cf. *BWGrotius*, Nellen (1985) and Nellen and Trapman (1996). Cf. *BWGrotius* 1.496, 497, 498, 501, 504, 564, Rademaker (1998:12–13), van Deursen (1974:39–42).

van den Corput to see to being here coming Sunday before noon in order to follow the body together with us. If they are unable to find mourning gowns, we will try our best to help them here. In haste.

Your obliging brother F.F.F. Junius.

19 17 [02–04 00] VOSSIUS [LEIDEN] TO JUNIUS (DELFT)

A To dearest Brother Mr. Francis F.F. Junius, Delft.

a Dearest Brother,

The Great is urging us to see him next week, so that he may advise the magistracy to be willing to hear you preach together with the church council (which definitely must happen) in the church of the Holy Vine. You must therefore prepare a sermon or revise an old one, if you think it necessary. I will be with you on Monday towards evening, if my wife's health does not prevent it. The next day very early in the morning we will set out on the trip.

b My health is somewhat better than when I was with you; and my wife's, if not better, at least not worse. Mind that you do not forget a copy of the will. I have not yet received a copy to show to *the Great*. You must deliver the enclosed letter to Graswinckel's father.

³ Junius had apparently already acquired some experience in preaching. The propositions on which he had to preach were 2 Cor. 5.20–21, "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God. For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him," and 2 Tim. 3.16, "All scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness." Junius preached first in Rotterdam for the magistracy and church council, then twice in Hillegersberg, before doing the examination on 24 April. Cf. Bouterse (1991:437–38, A 1617 VII Classis [extraordinaris], Rotterdam, 24 April), Brandt 3.349.

⁴ Elizabeth Junius.

⁵ Vossius had been sick, but had obviously managed to come to Delft for Diamant's funeral, 18a.

⁶ The Will, no doubt required in the procedures running up to Junius' appointment to the ministry, is unretrieved.

inclusas parenti Graswinkelio trades.⁷ Sunt eadem quae conferre uterque negleximus. Sorori carissimae salutem plurimam.⁸
Tuus omni adfectu, G. Vossius.

20 17 07 01 JUNIUS (HILLEGERSBERG) TO WILLEM ROELS
[MIDDELBURG]¹

a F.F.F. Iunius *Domino* Guilielmo Roelsio extremi iudicii attentam praemeditationem, beatitatisque aeternae vivum per fidem praelibamentum.²

°Qui monet ut facias, quod iam facis, ille monendo
Laudat, et officio comprobat acta suo.³

Salutem plurimam. Ut iam dudum °mutuae familiaritatis beneficio exploratissimum habui mentem tuam non raro magni illius diei memoria percelli, ita et ex alacriter hilari post talem meditationem animo volupe mihi fuit animadvertere quomodo ex ea ansam capere solitus sis assurgendi porro ad Christi sanguine nobis partum coeleste habitaculum, bona conscientia te in illas beatissimas sedes provehente.⁴ Ineffabili tacitus in sinu meo gavisus sum gaudio, quotiescunque hoc vidi; et merito. Nam quemadmodum °contemplatio prior digne ponderata sensus omnes iusto horrore concutere solet, sic altera deiectam mentem meliore spe denuo erigit, ne in exitialem impiae desperationis abyssum incidat. Prior, sinceritatem cordis erga Deum et proximum, secunda, Christianam gravitatem et modestiam animis nostris ingenerat. Mens extremi iudicii supremam horam sibi proponens, hypocrisin non admittit, ut et evanidarum terrestrium vanitatum inanissimas umbras solidi illius coelestis gaudii consideratio dispellit. Haec tua modesta sinceritas et sincera modestia, ex gemino isthoc fonte divinae gratiae promanans, totum me tibi, per infallibilem infucatae pietatis °coniecturam, conciliavit, et porro dum °vivam

a Qui . . . suo: \Qui . . . suo/ | mutuae: [- *exploratissimum*] mutuae | contemplatio: [*consideratio* > contemplatio] | coniecturam: [- .u] coniecturam | vivam: \vivam/

⁷ Letter to the parent of Dirk Graswinckel, Junius' future boarder, **24c**, is unretrieved. Dirk's father Jan Graswinckel (1600–1636) owned the brewery "Het Dubbeld' Anker" in Delft, and had been a sheriff there from 1613. Cf. **31A**, Graswinckel (1956:90–93).

⁸ Maria Junius.

It is the one which we both had forgotten to take with us. Warmest regards to dearest Sister.

Affectionately Yours, G. Vossius.

20 17 07 01 JUNIUS (HILLEGERSBERG) TO WILLEM ROELS
[MIDDELBURG]

- a** F.F.F. Junius sends Mr. Willem Roels a careful contemplation on the Last Judgement and a vivid foretaste of eternal salvation through faith.

He who exhorts you to do as you are doing already, praises your actions by exhorting you and approves of them by his discharge of duty.

Warmest regards. Just as by the blessing of mutual friendship I have for a long time held it for certain that your heart is often stirred by the thought of that Great Day, so it has also been to my satisfaction to notice from a heart eagerly cheerful after such a meditation how you used to take the opportunity from this to rise further to the heavenly abode acquired for us by Christ's blood, carried by a good conscience into those blessed dwellings. I was silently happy in my heart with unpronounceable happiness whenever I saw it, and deservedly so. For, just as a properly considered first contemplation usually stirs all senses with just fear, so the second one encourages a dispirited heart again with hope for the better, in order for it not to fall into the fatal abyss of impious desperation. The former creates sincerity of the heart towards God and one's neighbour; the latter creates Christian seriousness and modesty in our hearts. The heart which imagines the final hour of the Last Judgement does not allow for hypocrisy, just as a consideration of this solid heavenly bliss also scatters the empty shadows of frail worldly vanities. Your modest sincerity and sincere modesty, emanating from this double source of divine grace, has completely united me with you through the infallible conjecture of unfalsified piety, and it will further hold me strongly

¹ c: UBA, M 77.

² Willem Roels (1595–1666), member of a Middelburg magistrate's family, the future president of the Council of Flanders (1625), and councillor, sheriff and treasurer in Middelburg. Cf. *NNBW* 3.1083–84.

³ Ovid, *Tristia* 5.14.45–46, "Qui monet ut facias, quod iam facis, ille monendo/Laudat, et hortatu comprobat suo," 22d.

⁴ The Day of Judgement.

obstrictissimum habitura est. Tu modo sic persta. Precor Deum optimum maximum ut bonum hoc opus quod in te inchoavit per Spiritus sui gratiam porro continuare dignetur.⁵

b Licet °nullus dubitem, quin perseveraturus sis in usitata tibi sinceritate et modestia, nihilominus tamen non potui non aurem vellere, propter instans illud celebritatum nuptialium festum.⁶ Vix quicquam ibi genuinis coloribus ornatum visurus es, sed fucata omnia; fallaci gaudio fucatos vultus, oculi tui videbunt; fraudulentam humanitatem fucatos sermones, tanquam papavere et sesamo sparsos, non sine oneroso fastidio, aures tuae °ad|mittere cogentur; °passim se manibus tuis contrectandam offeret voluptas adulterina.⁷ Indigna certe sunt omnia ista quae animam humanam ad immortalem haereditatem genitam et regenitam, vel ad momenti unius spatium delinimentis suis detineant; et licet abiecte vilia sint, nunquam tamen destiterunt hominum constantissimos maligno lenocinio ad periculosum infrugiferae vanitatis exercitium sollicitare. Deus in sui timore Sancti Spiritus ductu gressus tuos in rectis semitis dirigat, quo mundanarum cupiditatum spurcitie animose fugata, pleno post hanc vitam nitore inter beatarum animarum iugiter ovantes choros transferaris.

c Hasce tibi quas potui maximas, pro amicissimo hoc indebitae humanitatis officio, ex animo refero. Tu, pro tua erga me benevolentia, si liberior in adhortando fuisse videbor, veniam dabis affectui nimio qui haec mihi dictavit; tu me vicissim similiter ad circumspicere vivendum non sine summa gratiarum actione instigaturus es. Haec tibi; nunc ad Sponsam sororem tuam officiosissimam transeo.

d Hominem exiit, qui humanitatem minore quam dignitas eius postulat amore prosequitur.⁸ Licet tuam erga me usitatam humanitatem, semper in te quam maxime adamaverim, °tuorum tamen erga me immerentem propter te benevolentiam etiamnum magis amplexus sum; gratiam itaque quam re ipsa rependere non possum, sincero

b nullus: [- *dub*] nullus | admittere: *c* ad|admittere | passim: [- *adulte*] passim |
d tuorum: [- *tamen tu*] tuorum

⁵ Cf. Phil. 1.6, “qui coepit in vobis bonum opus, perficiet” [“he which hath begun a good work in you will perform it,” AV], 22d.

⁶ Cathelijken Roels, one of Roels’ sisters, married Adriaan Canoye, administrator of the Middelburg orphanage; banns of the intended marriage were given on 31 May 1617. Junius’ exhortation resembles Willem Teellinck’s charges against weddings expressed in *Noodwendigh Vertoogh* (1647:47). Cf. *NNBW* 3.1083.

⁷ Petronius, *Satyricon* 2.1.8, “sed mellitos verborum globulos et omnia dicta facta/que

bound to you as long as I live. Just persevere like this. I pray Allgood and Almighty God to deem it worthwhile to continue further this good work which He began in you through the grace of His Spirit.

b Although I do not doubt at all that you will persevere in your usual sincerity and modesty, I nevertheless could not refrain from plucking your ear because of this approaching feast of wedding celebrations. You will see hardly anything there adorned with true colours, but everything is beautified; your eyes will see faces beautified by deceptive happiness; with heavy disgust your ears will be forced to admit speeches beautified by deceitful humanity, as if spread with poppy and sesame; everywhere a counterfeit delight will present itself to be touched by your hands. Surely unworthy are all those things which delay the human soul, which is born and reborn for immortal inheritance, by their allurements even for the space of one moment. Although they may be disgustingly vile, they have never yet refrained from inciting the most steadfast of people to dangerous practice of fruitless vanity by malignant enticement. May God direct your footsteps on the straight paths in awe of Him and guided by the Holy Ghost, so that, once the filth of worldly desires has been forcefully chased away, you will be brought over in full splendour among the perpetually exulting choirs of blessed souls after this life.

c These words, the most profound I could think of, I report to you from the bottom of my heart in accordance with this dearly beloved obligation of undeserved humanity. In accordance with your benevolence for me, you must excuse the excessive affection which has dictated this to me, if I appear to have been too free in exhorting you; you in turn will likewise incite me to live cautiously, with the highest demonstration of gratitude. This is for you; now I move to the bride, your most obliging sister.

d He who practises humanity with less love than its dignity requires has cast off being human. Although I have always greatly admired in you your usual humanity for me, I have even more cherished your family's benevolence for me because of you now, though I do not deserve it. I therefore make testified my gratitude, which I cannot actually recompense, to you and your family by a sincere wish. I pray

quasi papavere et sesamo sparsa. qui inter haec/nutriuntur non magis sapere possunt quam bene olere/ qui in culina habitant," 48c.

⁸ For the text of this section, cf. 14a, 26c.

voto tibi tuisque testatam facio. Precor Deum *optimum maximum* omnis boni fontem, ut in praesens hoc coniugandorum amabile par omnes animae et corporis benedictiones per et propter Christi merita cumulare velit, etc. Scis faustas apprecationes, quas meis verbis ex officio meo et tuo sponso sponsaeque factururus. °Saluta et alteram germanam tuam, una cum tota Commeriorum familia.⁹ Vale et me porro amare perge.

Hilleghersberghae, anno 1617, ipsis kalendis Iulii.

Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

21 17 [07–08 00] VOSSIUS [LEIDEN] TO JUNIUS [HILLEGERSBERG]¹

A Francisco Iunio F.F.

a Vivo et valeo affinis coniunctissime. Etiam uxor et liberi.² Sed illa trimestri et amplius gravi cum morbo conflictata est. Vix convaluerat, infantem lentus corripuit morbus, qui et eam abstulit nobis.³ Postea partim ut me et coniugem recrearem, partim crebro amicorum postulato, Aquasgrani, Ruremondae et vicinis locis mensem pene totum apud consanguineos et affines ego, uxor, binique liberi fuimus.⁴ Ita factum ut in rescribendo fuerim negligentior. Domum reversus etiam alteras a te literas reperi.⁵ Ex quibus quod valere te °cognoscerem gavisus sum non mediocriter, et una mecum illi quos salutari iusseras. Sed mirabatur Meursius noster, quod adieceras te ad ipsum scripsisse ante dies XV, negat enim se intra annum quicquam a te literarum accepisse.⁶

20d Saluta: [- . . .] Saluta

21a cognoscerem: cognosc[ens > erem]

⁹ Maria Roels (1598–<1656), the future wife of Johan de Brune. Andries Commersen was Maria Roels' uncle and guardian. Cf. *NNBW* 3.1083, 4.334, Frederiks (1894:141).

¹ ca: UBA, III E 5, p. 63. Written at least one month after little Elizabeth's death on 2 June, a. *ICVossius's* suggestion (1993:48) of the date March 1617 for this letter cannot be supported.

² Elizabeth Junius, and Joannes (1605), Franciscus (1608), Matthaeus (1611), Dionysius (1612), and Cornelia (1613) Vossius.

³ Little Elizabeth Vossius, born 25 December 1615, had died 2 June 1617. Cf. Rademaker (1981:87, 114).

⁴ Vossius kept in touch with his father's relatives in Roermond, especially with his uncle Arend Vossius. Cf. Rademaker (1981:87).

Allgood and Almighty God, the source of all good, to be willing to bestow all blessings of soul and body through and because of Christ's merits on this present beloved pair who are going to be married, etc. You know the favourable prayers which you will make in my words to the bridegroom and bride in accordance with my and your duty. Also greet your other sister, as well as the whole Commer family. Farewell, and continue to love me further.

Hillegersberg, in the year 1617, on the Kalends of July [1 Jul.].

Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

21 17 [07–08 00] VOSSIUS [LEIDEN] TO JUNIUS [HILLEGERSBERG]

A To Francis Junius F.F.

a I am alive and well, dearest Brother, and so are my wife and children. Still, she was afflicted by a serious disease for more than three months. Hardly had she recovered, when an insidious disease seized our toddler, and also snatched her away from us. After that, partly in order to refresh myself and my wife, partly upon our friends' repeated request, I, my wife and two children stayed with kinsmen and relatives in Aachen, Roermond and neighbouring places for almost a whole month. Thus it happened that I was rather negligent in writing back. On my return home, I even found two letters from you. And I, as well as those whom you asked to be greeted, was greatly delighted to understand from them that you are well. But our Meursius was surprised, because you had added you had written him a fortnight before, for he denies having received any letter from you for a year.

⁵ Junius' two letters to Vossius are unretrieved.

⁶ Joannes Meursius (1579–1639), professor of history at Leiden from 1608, and of Greek philology from 1610. He had been appointed by the States General to write a history of the development of the Truce in 1611, but due to Counter-Remonstrant objections, the position was not to be prolonged in 1620. He also wrote many works on Greek philology. In 1625 he became professor of history at Sorø University, Denmark, and historiographer of King Christian IV. He was a good friend of Vossius, and had presumably been one of Junius' professors. Junius' letters to Meursius, one written a fortnight before the present letter, the other in 1616, are unretrieved. Cf. *NNBW* 7.872–73, *Repertorium* (1990, s.v.), Rademaker (1981 s.v.).

- b** Pax Ecclesiae penitus hic turbata est, nec Ecclesiasticum nunc, sed civile etiam discidium est, de quo cum res breviter dici non possit, plane tacere malo; praesertim, cum negotium hoc non parum habeat tenebrarum ob occulta quorundam °consilia, utinam Reipublicae Ecclesiaeque salutaria.⁷ Supremae quidem potestatis multa consilia fuere pacando praesenti statui peridonea. Sed omnia bona interturbant, qui Ecclesiam negant his locis sine °schismate salvam esse posse. Gaudeo plerosque omnes Theologos externos literis suis, sopiendo schismati serio studere.⁸ Quod utinam facere pergant. Nam ab exulceratis animis, quales pene omnium apud nos sunt, quid boni speremus?
- c** In lite Corputiana nihil intra annum actum intelligo.⁹ Chartae tamen illae, quas quia publicum spectare dicuntur, asservarat hactenus Ger. Comes Guilielmus, iam ab affine Casimiro, poscente id Ioanne Corputio, in Bataviam sunt transmissae.¹⁰ Nondum eas inspexit Ioannes, occupationibus variis impeditus; sed tamen sperat se in iis reperimentum aliquid quod suam causam iuuet. Simulac aliquid in hoc negotio actum erit, quod vestra scire intersit, perscribam id ad te.

b consilia: [- *ensi*] consilia | schismate: [- *schs*] schismate

⁷ The strife between Counter-Remonstrants and Remonstrants, **12a**, had hardened in 1616. Every Sunday, thousands of Counter-Remonstrants, so-called “slijkgeuzen,” walked out of town to hear predicants of their liking in the countryside. In July, Counter-Remonstrants had confiscated the Cloister Church in the centre of The Hague. Prince Maurice openly attended their service, instead of the one by the Remonstrant Johannes Uytenbogaert, thus demonstrating his Counter-Remonstrant sympathies. In several Holland towns, such as Amsterdam, Oudewater, Schoonhoven, Brill, and The Hague, Counter-Remonstrant mobs attacked the town councils. In order to regain control, the States passed the so-called “sharp resolution” on 4 August, which enabled Holland towns to raise troops to subdue any unrest, and which placed supreme control with the provincial States rather than with the States General. This resolution affronted Counter-Remonstrants no less than Prince Maurice; “[t]here was talk of civil war,” as Israel (1995:441) summarizes. In Leiden, where Vossius lived, the situation became so tense that the Remonstrant town council bar-

- b** The peace in the church has completely been disturbed here, and there is not only a religious, but also a civil discord, about which I prefer to keep wholly silent, since it cannot be told in short; especially since this affair has many obscurities due to the secret counsels of some people—I hope they are beneficial to the state and church. Many counsels of the supreme government were actually most suitable to pacifying the present state. But all good efforts are thwarted by those who deny that the church can be preserved in these parts without schism. I am glad that almost all foreign theologians seriously endeavour to acquiesce the schism with their letters. I hope they continue to do so. For, what good may we expect from hardened minds, such as almost everyone has here?
- c** I understand that nothing has been done in the van den Corput dispute for a year. Those documents which Count William had still kept, because they are said to concern the public weal, have already been sent to Holland by Brother Casimir at Johan van den Corput's request. Prevented by various occupations, Johan has not examined them yet, but he still hopes to find something in them which may support his cause. As soon as anything will be done in this affair which may be of interest for you to know, I will write it to you.

ricaded the town hall and surrounding area by September 1617. Meanwhile, Counter-Remonstrants had come to speak of Remonstrantism as if it were a separate religion, similar to the heresies of Socinianism and Pelagianism. Grotius and Vossius decided to study these heretic movements in order to show the incorrectness of such allegations towards Remonstrants. Grotius' *Defensio fidei Catholicae de satisfactione Christi adversus Faustum Socinum* (Leiden, 1617), appeared in September. Vossius had written its preface, dated 25 August, and thus openly involved himself in the troubles. Cf. Israel (1995:437–43), Rademaker (1981:121).

⁸ Possibly a reference to theologians who did not live in Holland, rather than to theologians abroad.

⁹ The row over Johan van den Corput the Elder's inheritance, the "lis Corputiana," dragged on for several years, **6b**, below.

¹⁰ Public documents, which may have been those of the Supreme Court, are unretrieved; Count William is unidentified. Johan Casimir Junius had sent them at the request of Johan van den Corput, who was probably with Vossius, **18b**.

22 18 01 01 JUNIUS [HILLEGERSBERG] TO JOHAN BOSMAN
[ZWIJNDRECHT]¹

a F.F.F. Iunius cognato suo dilectissimo *magistro* Ioh. Bosman solatium sancti spiritus.

Pleni fluvii liberio rem impetum incassum ullis obicibus inhibere tentamus; aut enim spem nostram eludens °obiectam molem secum statim abripit, aut tacita indignatione tumescens vires suas recolligit, et obstaculum isthoc quod undarum vi dissiicere non potuit spumanti furore victor transcendit, immani ferocia eo irrupturus quo iam pri dem tacito tantummodo lapsu pervadere solebat. °En tibi caussam cur ad tempus scriptionem distulerim. Postquam semel iusti doloris fraena laxata sunt, °frustra consilium opponas naturae debitum °sibi lachrimarum officium °exposcenti. Expletur lachrimis egeriturque dolor.² Maximam tristitiae nostrae partem tempus digesserit necesse est, priusquam saucia mens ullam amicae consolationis medicinam admittat.

b In summo et vix consolabili dolore aliquamdiu °iacueramus, cum ad nos ex °recenti luctu etiamnum confusos mors coniugis tibi charissimae et cognatae nobis dilectissimae °perlata esset.³ °Ex animo doluimus; utinam nostra afflictio oneris tui °parte aliqua te sublevare potuisset! Tandem recollecto per Dei gratiam spiritu, arc tissimae coniunctionis nostrae memoria ad scribendum impulsus sum, non ut animi tui vulnerati cicatricem etiamnum crudam °immiseri cordi dextra divellerem, sed in testimonium animi condolentis.

c Doles °immatura morte coniugem tibi ereptam. Acquissimus est dolor qui te anxium tenet, modo ne sit nimius. “Obmutui, os meum non aperui, quia tu fecisti,” inquit regius propheta.⁴ Actionum divinarum unica regula est voluntas ipsius; voluntatis vero, bonitas. Res

a obiectam: [- *sp*] obiectam | En . . . distulerim: \En . . . distulerim/ | frustra: [- *in vanum*] frustra | sibi: \sibi/ | exposcenti: [- *exposi*] exposcenti | **b** iacu eramus: iacu[*imus* > eramus] | recenti: [- *pari luctu eti*] recenti | perlata: [*nuntiata* > perlata] | Ex animo doluimus: \Ex animo doluimus/ | parte aliqua: parte[- *m non*] aliqua[- *m*] | immisericordi dextra: \immisericordi dextra/ | **c** immatura: \im/matura

¹ *d.* UBA, M 66a, on the same sheet as letters 25 and 26.

² Ovid, *Tristia* 4.3.38, “expletur lacrimis egeriturque dolor.”

³ Junius presumably mourned over Isaac Diamant’s death, cf. 17a. Bosman, who had boarded with the Gomarus family, had married Junius’ cousin Maria Gomarus

22 18 01 01 JUNIUS [HILLEGERSBERG] TO JOHAN BOSMAN
[ZWIJNDRECHT]

a F.F.F. Junius sends comfort of the Holy Ghost to his dearly beloved relative Master Johan Bosman.

Without effect we try to dam the unrestrained force of a swollen river by means of any barriers, for it either deceives our hope and immediately washes away with itself a rock that had been put in the way, or, swelling with silent indignation, it gathers its strengths and passes as a victor in foaming fury over this obstacle, which it could not scatter by the force of waves, to rush in tremendous fierceness there where for a long time it only used to flow by in silent, smooth flowing; look, the reason for you why I have deferred to write for a while. Once, after the reins of rightful grief have slackened, you will in vain oppose meeting with nature, which demands the duty of tears due to her. Grief is appeased and expelled by tears. It is necessary for time to have dispersed the greatest part of our sadness, before a wounded heart admits any medication of friendly consolation.

b We have been thrown into profound and hardly consolable grief for a considerable time, when the death of your dearest wife and our dearly beloved cousin was reported to us, who were still confused by recent sorrow. We have grieved from the bottom of our heart; if only our suffering were able to alleviate part of your burden somewhat! Having finally recollected my spirit through God's grace, I was impelled to write by the thought of our close friendship, not in order to tear open the still raw cicatrice of your wounded heart with a merciless hand, but as evidence of a compassionate heart.

c You are grieving over your wife, who has been snatched away from you by an untimely death. The grief that holds you distressed is most reasonable, as long as it is not excessive. "I was dumb, I opened not my mouth: because thou didst it," the royal prophet said. The only rule of divine actions is His own will, and of His will His goodness. Events are good for us precisely then, when God wants them; and He wants them, when He foreknows them to be good

(1597–1617). She may have died in childbed with their daughter Cornelia, who was born on 10 April 1617, **18b**^a. Cf. van Itterzon (1929:272), Balen (1677:1027).

⁴ Psalms 39.9.

tum demum bonae nobis sunt, cum Deus eas vult; vult autem, cum sibi et nobis bonas esse praenovit. Tuam praecipue gloriam intendit hac tanta calamitate, imo et propriam, dum potentiam suam per tuam infirmitatem consummari vult. Crede, nunc experimentum capi Christianitatis tuae; praesta te virum; °Christianus es, paraclatum itaque in Sanctuario cordis tui circumgestas, atque omnia | posse debes per illum qui te comfortat Christum.⁵ Inter Christianos locum eminentiorem tenes, ut pote qui a Deo constitutus sis τύπος τοῦ ποιμνίου.⁶ Advoca nunc ad auxilium Christianam illam qua praeditum te esse oportet patientiam et fortitudinem, ne auditoribus tuis, unquam impossibilia inculcasse videaris. Crede oculos totius Ecclesiae a Domino tibi commissae in te infixos haerere. Civitas excelso monti supraedificata occultari non potest, etc.

d Vide quo me °fraterni amoris fervidior affectus abripuerit: licet enim exploratissimum habeam, te omnia haec iuxta mecum nosse, ut pote qui iam dudum ut prudens condus promus °pii pectoris⁷ penum suavissima *Sanctarum* litterarum consolatione instructissimam habueris. Non potui tamen non aurem vellere, nam

Qui monet ut facias, quod iam facis, ille monendo
Laudat, et officio comprobat acta suo.⁸

Si quid ultra desiderabis, praesentem habes Dominum ac Salvatorem nostrum Iesum Christum, huic dedit Deus linguam eruditam, qua °apud defessos ad eorum consolationem opportune uti novit. Pater ille miserationum et Deus omnis consolationis pro ineffabili erga nos immerentes misericordia bonum illud opus quod in nobis inchoavit gratiose expleat sanctissimam fidem nostram porro promovendo, ad sui nominis gloriam et nostram Salutem.⁹ Amen.

c Christianus: [- *memento*] Christianus | d fraterni: [- *fervidior*] fraterni | pii: [- *pector*] pii | apud: [- *defessis ad eorum consolationem*] apud

⁵ John 14.16, "Et ego rogabo Patrem et alium Paraclatum dabit vobis ut maneat" ["And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever," AV]; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 8.26.18, "circumgestantibus/deam."

⁶ Bosman had been predicant in Zwijndrecht from July 1617. He was to die later in 1618. Cf. van Lieburg (1996:31).

⁷ Plautus, *Trinnumus* 81, "ego meo sum promus pectori;" *Pseudolus* 608, "condus promus sum, procurator peni."

for Himself and for us. He has especially intended your glory by such a great loss, and even His own, because He wants His power to be fulfilled through your infirmity. Believe that your Christian faith is taken to the test now; show yourself a man; you are a Christian, so you bear around a Comforter in the sanctuary of your heart, and you must be strong for everything through Him who comforts you, Christ. You hold a prominent position among Christians, in that you are appointed by God *as an example to the flock*. Now call to your assistance this Christian patience and strength with which you should be gifted, so that you do not appear to have ever impressed the impossible on your congregation. Believe that the eyes of the whole church that was entrusted to you by God are fixed on you. "The town built on the lofty mountain cannot be concealed," etc.

d See where my warm affection of brotherly love has carried me; for, although I hold it for certain that you know all this as well as I do, in that you, like a prudent distributing steward, have kept the storehouse of a pious heart stocked with the sweet consolation of Holy Scripture for a long time, I could not refrain from plucking your ear nevertheless, for

He who exhorts you to do as you are doing already, praises your actions by exhorting you and approves of them by his discharge of duty.

If you wish anything else, you have with you the Lord and our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom God has given a learned language, which He conveniently knows to use with the faint for their consolation. May He, the Father of compassions and the God of all consolation, gratuitously fulfil this good work which He began in us by further increasing our holy faith in accordance with His unspeakable mercy for us, though we do not deserve it, for the glory of His name and our salvation. Amen.

⁸ Ovid, *Tristia* 5.14.45–46, **20a**.

⁹ Cf. Phil. 1.6, "qui coepit in vobis bonum opus, perficiet," **20a**.

- e** Patrem tuum, senem religiosissimum, meis verbis quam officiosissime salutabis.¹⁰ Vale.
Raptim; anno 1618, kalendis Ianuarii.

23 18 04 05 ANTHONIUS G. DE JONGHE (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS
(HILLEGERSBERG)¹

A A M fransisquo Junius Dinaer des godelycke woorts staende tot hilgonsberch. Tot Hilgonsberch.

- a** Laus deo ADi 5 april anno 1618 In Amsterdam.²
Eersame *ende* seer lieue broeder Inde heere Jesu Cristi francisquo Junio naer behoorlycke recommandate tuwärts *verhopende* door des heeren genade u e goede dispoisyte *ende* welvaert, alsoot godt Loff met ons alle te samen noch redelyc is de almachtige godt moet daer ouer gedanckt syn, dan met myen Swager mochtet wel beter syn, die zeer naer ue *verlanght* om by uL te syen nochtans wy souden hem seer garen noch wat by ons °tegenhouden, noch tans het seer qualijc compt door dien dat alhier veel gewoels is, *ende* hem dient wel wat stilte om de sinnen wat tot syen seluen te comen,³
- b** Soo is ons vrindelyck *ende* broederlyck begeren aen ul te willen wat ul narsticheyt te gebruycken om hem by ul wat cort te houden dat hy niet naer den haghe ofte Elders en gaet want hy lichtelijc met veel spreckens *ende* Lichtvardicheyt van sinnen hem ofte een ander te corte doen °mochte ter wyl ul heel goede fraters syt *ende* hy ooc alle tyt spreckt van syen vrindt tot hilgonsberghe welck is ul, soo deruen wy hem sulce niet aff raden *ende* weten oock °niet geen beter plats ter weerelt als by ul, wy willen minlyck gaeren syen °coste betaelen, soot ul niet *verdrich* en valt, ul sal belieuen ons somwyl een °briue te schryven hoet met hem al is, salt selffde ooc beant-

a tegenhouden: \tegen/houden | **b** mochte: \mochte/ | niet: n[+ iet] | coste: cost[+ e] | briue: brie[+ ue]

¹⁰ Gosewijn Bosman.

¹ *o*: ARA, Hof 5222, 43, in the same file as letters **24** and **App1**.

² Anthonius Gailliarts de Jonghe, details unidentified, owned the shop “In the Grey Embroidered Hat” near the Amsterdam Exchange, and was a brother-in-law

- e** Greet your father, a most pious elderly gentleman, in my words as humbly as possible. Farewell.
In haste. In the year 1618, on the Kalends of January [1 Jan.].

23 18 04 05 ANTHONIUS G. DE JONGHE (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS
(HILLEGERSBERG)

A To Mr. Francis Junius, Servant of the Divine Word preaching in Hillegersberg, in Hillegersberg.

a *Praise to God.* On the day 5 April in the year 1618, in Amsterdam. Honourable and dearly beloved Brother in the Lord Jesus Christ, Francis Junius,

On proper recommendation towards you, hoping for your good disposition and health through God's mercy, although, praise to God, we all are still doing reasonably—Allgood and Almighty God must be thanked for that—my brother might yet have been doing better. He much longs for you, to be with you. Yet, we would really like to keep him somewhat with us still, but it is most inconvenient because there is much bustle here, and some quiet serves him well in order to let the senses come to themselves somewhat.

b So, our friendly and brotherly wish is for you to be willing to use some of your diligence to keep him somewhat on a tight rein, so that he does not go to The Hague or elsewhere, for he could easily harm himself or someone else by talking much and by rashness of the senses, whereas you are very good brothers, and he also speaks of his friend in Hillegersberg, which is you, all the time; accordingly, we dare not discourage him from it, and we neither know any better place in the world than with you. We kindly readily wish to pay his board, so that it is not unpleasant for you. You must be pleased to write us a letter from time to time on how he is; I will also

of Nicolaas Abeel, **a**, **e**. He seems not to have known Junius, but to have written to him on behalf of Abeel, **b**.

³ Nicolaes Abeel, member of the Dutch merchant family Abeel in London. He may have been the "Nichols Abeels, Dutch merchant in London, residing in St. Niclas Lane" who donated £0.11 in 1615 and £0.5.6 in 1621 to the Dutch Reformed Church there, and the "Nicolais Abeels" who was a member in 1638. Junius must have met him in London in 1615, **10c**, **App1**. Abeel was mentally unstable, and caused a row of problems, **b-d**, **24**, **App1**. Cf. Grell (1989:292), Hessels (1887-97, s.v. Abeel).

woorden datt et ul heymelyc behandicht wort, ul wilt hem soo weyn-ich wyen Laten °drincen ofte tsy brandewyn oft toeback als ick oock wel dencke °dat ul sulcx niet in huys en hebt.

c ul mocht hem wel wat hart toe gaen oft hy wat te veel wilde segghen, *ende* ofte quam datet ul soude moghen te Lastich vallen wilt ons de vrintschap doen *ende* metten eersten Laten weten sal ons vrintschap geschieden *ende* hy is seer veel °schryvens °*ende* sprekens dat heel quaet is, *ende* de sinnen to[eb]eeft, raet hem van sulcx naer te laten sael beter van ul *verstaen* als van ons, als die buyen ouer syen is hy de °freyste Jongman dieder op voeten mach gaen nu die passie *verhope* door des here genade wel beteren sal, hy heeft een seer costelycken °diamant[.] by hem daer hy syen sinnen seer op stelt conde ul die eens met soetichteit van hem becomen *ende* nemen in ul bewaringhe soude goet °syen want wy vreesse lichtelyc mochte verdonckeren alst quam dathy ergens mocht comen,

d soo wilt doch alle neersticheit doen *ende* *vermanen* hem tot alle godt salighe °oeffeninghe *ende* dat hy alle dese quade fantasie mocht °vyten hooffde setten, och ofte de °almachtighe Godt eens door ul wilde wercken, *ende* hem wederom tot syen °behorlycke *verstant* mochte comen wat danckbaerheit souden wy connen doen om de goede godt te Louen *ende* te dancken. broeder ick meyne soewel met hem te comen dan cant soo qualyck ter wege °brenghen door dien soo dicht op paesschen is *ende* een open winkel hebbe daer veel aen gelegen is *ende* als de Mr uyt is wetmen wel dat de Liedens haer Contentement niet en hebben, anders niet voor dese tyt dan wensche ul den almachtighe godt in syen heylighe °bescherminghe die ul *ende* ons allen wil *verlenen* dat ons saliche amen.
°uL goetgunstighe vrintd *ende* broeder Anthoni gailliarts de Jonghe bereyt tot ul dinste.

e | Soo ul my belieft enighe antwoord te schryven, ick woone aen de borse inde grau gebordierde hoet tot Amsterdam.

drincen: drin[+ cen] | dat ul: [+ dat ul] | **c** schryvens: schryve[+ ns] | *ende* sprekens: \ende sprekens/ | freyste: freyst[+ e] | diamant[.]: diamant[+ ..] | syen: s[+ yen] | **d** oeffeninghe: *o* has one minim too many | vyten: *o* has one minim too many | almachtighe: almachtigh[+ e] | behorlycke: behorly[+ cke] | brenghen: brengh[+ en] | bescherminghe: *o* has one minim too many | uL... dinste: \uL... dinste/

answer it, which will be secretly handed to you. You must let him drink as little wine, or either brandy or tobacco, although I think you do not have such at home.

c You can be rather harsh upon him, if he wants to say too much. If it happened that it were too troublesome to you, please do us a friendly service and let us know at the first possible opportunity. It will be a friendly service to us. He tends to write and say very much that is truly bad and horrifies the senses; do advise him to leave such affairs. He will better listen to you than to us. When those moods have passed, he is the freest young man that walks on feet, now that that passion will hopefully improve through God's mercy. He has a really expensive diamond with him, on which he much sets his mind. If you are able to get it from him by friendly means and have it in your keeping, it would be good, for we slightly fear that it could be lost if it happened that he came somewhere.

d So, please do all diligence and admonish him to all pious exercises, and that he should forget all this wicked fantasy. Oh, if Allgood and Almighty God just brought it about through you, and he recovered to his proper senses, how many thanks we could give to praise and thank the Good God! Brother, I intend to come with him as well, but I can so badly bring it about, because it is so close to Easter, and I have open a shop which has great interests, and if the master has left, one just knows that the people are not satisfied. Nothing else at this moment than wishing you to be in the holy protection of Allgood and Almighty God, who will grant you and us all to bless us. Amen.

Your kind friend and brother Anthoni Gailliarts de Jonghe, prepared to your service.

e If it pleases you to write me any answer, I live at the Exchange in the Grey Embroidered Hat in Amsterdam.

24 18 04 09 NICOLAAS ABEEL [THE HAGUE] TO JUNIUS
(HILLEGERSBERG)¹

A fran. Junio. In eyghen handen. In Hellen-burch.² Loont den *besteller*
3 gulden.

a Vrede in Christo

Monsieur Junius weerde vriend UE sal my believen te verobligeren ende senden mij met den Aldereersten mijn kiste ende alle het geene ic tot UL huysse hebbe als oock tgeene mij compt weghen ic boocken voor UE medegebrocht Alsoo ic alhier sonder gelt ben. sult mij t'uwarts op thoochste verobligeren alhoewel het mij met recht toe-compt.³ Den merghen dat ick van UE vertroc wat voor een dagh. was eensdeels uyt spyt om redenen [UL] daags te vooren onder het voetvolc logeerde daar nochtans een gemackelycke coetse ofte eenen goeden Ingelschen *Ambeler* mij beter ware geweest ic was niet van meeninghe naar den haagh te commen. Maar directelyc naar Rotterdam te gaan: maar commende vande *Hoorne brugge* sou dochte mij onder t'Noorden gecommen te sijn alwaar mijn *Con-pas* geen streeck hout ende synde inde nacht conde my met de SON-NE [niet verhelppen] ende soo dat ic mij smergens voor *Delft vont.* ende aldaar synde overdenckende de *destinus haar Periode* begon den te raacken resolveerde mijne lange voorgenomen reyse te volbrenghen ende mijn *Avont-tuur* eens op de leest te slaan alles succedeert wel.

b myn resolutie is *Indien niet verandere* mynen dienst aan *Zyn ALTESE van ORANGIEN te presenteren.* doch ic ben al vrij wat inde saacke begaan. Wy segghen onder ons Lym ofte *eerst daeghesche Aprilse EEdellieden* het is quaat met groote heeren *Kersen eeten Zy schieten te styff met the STEENEN.* | UE helpe my een weynigh Beraden UE *Andwoorde Hebbende* sal myn voornemen *Indient de Heere Belieft.* en galant homme. te werc stellen. myn gemoet getuyght mij, IC-BEN-VERCOCHT. ic wenste all wel geleverd ware *Doch alles moet syn Hebben.* al syn wy wat heet gebakert, wy hebben *god loff* lydsaamsen genoeg om den uytcompste te verwachten. Ic hebbe myn dinghen alhier eenen valschen tytel gegeven, om te *beter* tot het uytvoeren van ons *Heyligh*

¹ o: ARA, Hof 5222, 43. In the same file as letters 23 and App1.

² A pun on Hillegersberg. To the address is added a drawing of the number 666, the number of the Beast, below which is a capital M with a hangman's rope dangling from its middle.

24 18 04 09 NICOLAAS ABEEL [THE HAGUE] TO JUNIUS
(HILLEGERSBERG)

A Fran. Junius, into his own hands, in Hell-burgh. Pay the courier 3 guilders.

a Peace in Christ.

Monsieur Junius, dear friend, you will please to oblige me and send to me my chest and everything I have in your place, as well as what is due to me because I brought books for you, at the first possible opportunity, because I am here without money; you will greatly oblige me towards you, although it is rightfully due to me. The morning that I left you—what a day—was partly out of regret for the fact that I had stayed among the footmen the day before, since a comfortable coach or a good English *Ambler* had nevertheless been better to me; I had not intended to go to The Hague, but to go to Rotterdam immediately; but coming from the *Hoom brug*, I thought to have come in the North, where my compass does not keep its course, and since it was night, I could not assist myself with the sun, so that I found myself before Delft in the morning. And when I was there, I thought my destination began to reach its end, and resolved to finish my long intended trip and to settle my venture according to plan; everything succeeds well.

b My resolution—if it does not change—is to present my service to his Highness of Orange, but I am already quite mixed up with it. We say amongst ourselves, “a song or noblemen of the first of April; it is awful to eat cherries with dignitaries; they throw the stones too hard.” Please, assist me somewhat in taking counsel. When I have your answer, I will put my ideas into action, *en galant homme*, God willing. May my conscience speak in my favour; I have been sold. I would wish everything to be done well, but everything must make sense. Although we are rather hot-tempered, we are patient enough, praise be to God, to await the result. I have done my business here

³ Abeel was imprisoned for misbehaviour when he stayed with Junius, **App1**. He had threatened Prince Maurice of Orange and Johan van Oldebarnevelt as well. Because of Abeel's mental instability, most of the present letter has not been annotated, but cf. c, d. Cf. ARA, Hof 5222, 43.

voornemen Te commen. het luijt somwylen wat Leelyc voor de weeghe maghen. *Die ic over al vinde.* Ic vergrype mij ick legge alle man STOC-VIS de maghen syn te weeck connen geen *Candys* ofte moet verdouwen. dit compt door de quade Educatie ende in somma tcompt op myn segghen uyt *Capitain van Sotten.* als ic een wysman vinde sal myn officie resegnieren ic ben soo moede als *gespoghen spec.* ic sin wat neersticheyt ic doe ic en can als een *hoop bocken daarse syn.* myn soldaten in geen slaghordre bringhen soo dat wanneert aen slaen compt soo en isser niemant te vinden. soo dat ic dicwels alleene moet uijthouden. ic weet niet waart aanschort. of de faucte inde soldaaten. ofte in mij is. *snachts* waacke ic by daghe vaste ic, het is altyt met deen oft dandere syn *Moer te [kuyen].* soo dat ic vreesse indien noch Lange duuren wel. dat ic seer qualyc Daar aan sal syn. ic weet [niet] als vooren segge oft ooc wel aan my schorten soude want geen [.]ataente om myn rapier op zy te binden ende met vuysten teghen. musquet cogels te vichten °heeft ooc niet uwe assurancie, ic weet niet wat mij deert of de *voeten my te warme syn. of dat den bolworm ofte den Keij* vergeselschapt synde met een FURIEUSEN CAERDINAEL MON ROUSSYN. die my dagelix wel quade perten leert Maar hy mij dicwels in geen cleen gebaar, stelt *Doch ic acceptere Het duel met den MA-RE-SCHAL du VI-trii* die syn cause aanneempt int faveur van *Joncvrouw van BERNT-Int Velt anders La Marquise de Vernuell Con-tesse de Mont au valier Dame de la Prade. Baronne dela Chastillonnieve.* ic en can dit *duijfels spel* | anders geenen *Tytel* geven als *Le Decameron De La Princesse DORANGE.* [gemveert] by den 3 hoofdighen helschen *Cerberis* die Tuschen twest en ooste *Hanght.* hy synde vergrampt wanneer het de *Pralighe furjen langs de marckten siet Domineren* doch chacun *A son O. Daar is a misterje voor de geleerhde Borsten La fin Couronne Leowre.* qui cherche de fou *Le trouwe par tout* ic vindet by duysenden. tspel gaat uyt.

- c *Vale.* groet Graswynckel, Vossen UL Maarte ende alle nobele vrienden.⁴ Den voerman die daer my op sondagh te rotterdam was sal hoope ic alles wel beschickt hebben.

b heeft: \heeft/

⁴ Dirk Graswinckel (1600–1666), member of a Delft family of brewers, and currently a boarder with Junius in Hillegersberg. Having studied law at Leiden from 1614, he swore the lawyer's oath in The Hague in 1621. Then he made a grand

upon a false title, in order better to arrive at our holy intention. It sometimes sounds somewhat dirty for the weak stomachs which I find everywhere. I violate; I reduce all people to stockfish. The stomachs are too weak; they cannot digest candies or courage. This is caused by bad education and, in short, as I say, it is caused by Captain Foolish. If I do not find a wise man, I will resign my office. I am as tired as spitted bacon. I consider what diligence I am doing; I fail to draw up my soldiers, a pile of goats as they are, in battle array, so that there is no one to be found when it comes to hitting, so that I often must stand alone. I do not know what is wrong, whether the blame is on the soldiers or on me. By night I watch; by day I fast. One must always chat with the one or other's mother, so that I fear, if it continues long now, that it will take me very ill there. I do not know, as said before, whether I would be to blame, for I have no [. . .] to strap up my rapier on the side, and to fight against musket bullets with a fist does not have your assurance either. I do not know what is the matter with me; whether my feet are too hot, or whether a bear with a sore head or boulder in the company of a furious cardinal *mon Roussyn*, who daily plays me dirty tricks, but he often tells me by no small gesture, "But I accept the duel with Marshal du Vitrii," who accepts his cause in the favour of Lady van Bernt int Velt, otherwise *la Marquise de Verneuil, Comtesse de Mont au Valier, Dame de la Prade, Baronne dela Chastillonnieve*. I can give this devilish game no other title than the *Decameron de la Princesse d'Orange*. [. . .] by the three-headed hellish Cerberus, who hangs between West and East. It is enraged when it sees the flaunting furies parade over the markets, but *chacun A son O*; there is a mystery for the learned brothers; *la fin couronne l'ouvre. Qui cherche de fou le trouve par tout*. I find it by thousands. The game is over.

- c *Farewell*. Greet Graswinckel, the Vos family, your Maarten and all noble friends. The driver who was with me in Rotterdam on Sunday will have arranged everything, I hope.

tour, during which he stayed with Grotius in Paris, and returned in the company of George Rataller Doublet, 36a, in 1625, 45d. In 1647, he became chief public prosecutor before a court martial for counts' domains in Holland, and in 1653 clerk of the Chambre Mipartie in Maudlin. Among other things, he wrote *Maris liberi vindiciae* (The Hague, 1652). Cf. *NBW* 3.489–90, Graswinckel (1956:90–117).

- d** Salomons gebet.⁵
 Overvloedighen Ryedom noch Aarmoede groot
 En wilt my heer op deser eerden niet geven
 ic mochte U versaacken door grooten NOOT
 segghende waar is de Heere gebleven.
 Overvloedicheyt doet den mensche sneven.
 Den Rijcken compt swaarlyc te hemel binnen
 Dus Heer dewyl ic op deser eerden moet leven
 soo laat mij Maatwlycken mynen nootdruft winnen
 ghy kent de Broosheyte van mijnen sinnen
 Ryedom verheft aarm moede maackt droeve
 Dus geef my heer dat ic behoeve

Nicolaes Abeel

In [se]lixedra desen Dynsdaach 1618

- e** groet *Monsieur Monsieur den Capitain* die sondagh ons Bancquet-
 teerde ende sult mij vrientschap doen ende.
 Fyst ic niet ic schijt
 schyt, ic niet ic vyst.
 Etc.

25 20 02 00 JUNIUS (DELFT) TO JAN JANSZ VAN ALPHEN
 [HILLEGERSBERG]¹

A Aen Jan Janssz van Alphen.²

- a** Ghenaede, vrede, barm-hertigheyd, liefde, ende saeligheyd sij U.E.
 met den uwen rijckelick ver-menigh-vuldicht door de kennisse Gods
 ende onses ghetrouwen saeligh-maekers Christi Jesu, die hem selven
 ghegeven heeft voor onse sonden, om ons te ver-lossen van dese
 teghen-wordighe boose wereld, nae den wille onses Gods ende vaders,
 den welken sij prijs van eeuwigheyd tot eeuwigheyd. Amen.
- b** Hoe on-ghaerne, ende met wat bedroeft herte ick so langhen tijd
 van U.E. ende alle de ghene die te ghelijck met u den heere Jesum
 op-rechtelick lief hebben, af-ghescheyden ben gheweest, weet hij, die

⁵ Cf. II Chron 6.12–42. Given his background, his ability to read and write, his knowledge of French, and his puns, Abeel had enjoyed sufficient education to use the Bible, notwithstanding his mental instability. For this reason, he serves less well for van Deursen's observation (1974:181–82) that even fools knew the Bible.

d Salomon's Prayer.
 Lord, do not grant me on this earth
 Abundant riches nor great poverty.
 I might forsake You in great distress,
 Saying "where has the Lord gone."
 Abundance makes people perish.
 The rich man hardly enters heaven.
 So, Lord, as long as I must live on this earth,
 Please let me gain my indigence reasonably.
 You know the frailty of my senses.
 Riches uplift; poverty makes sad,
 So grant me, Lord, what I need.

Nicolaes Abeel

On [. . .] this Tuesday, 1618.

e Please, greet *Monsieur Monsieur* the captain who feasted us Sunday,
 and you will do me a favour and
 If I don't fart, I shit;
 If I don't shit, I fart.
 Etc.

25 20 02 00 JUNIUS (DELFT) TO JAN JANSZ VAN ALPHEN
 [HILLEGERSBERG]

A To Jan Jansz van Alphen.

a May grace, peace, mercy, love and salvation be richly multiplied
 for you and your family through knowledge of God and of our faith-
 ful saviour Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our sins to redeem us
 from this present evil world after the will of our God and Father,
 who may have praise from eternity to eternity. Amen.

b How unwillingly and with what sad heart I have for such a long time
 been separated from you and all those who sincerely love the Lord

¹ *ca*: UBA, M 66b, on the same sheet as letters 22 and 26. Written from Delft,
 where Junius was staying with his sister Maria, **b**.

² Jan Jansz van Alphen, sheriff of Hillegersberg. Cf. ARA, Hof 52222, 43.

de herten kent, ende de nieren doorgrondt;³ dies hebbe ick oock menigh-werven ghewenschd dat mij gheleghenheyd, om U.E. tot onsen onderlinghen troost som-wijlen bij te komen, ghegeven wierd; maer ben tot noch toe ver-hindert gheweest, eens-deels door de swackheyd des lichaems, die mij nae de sieckte wat langhe aen-hanght, ander-deels oock door de sorghe die ick schuldigh ben te draeghen voor het huys mijnes susters al-hier, die nae Leiden ghereyst is met onse Neeltjen, over-mids suster Vossia in 't kinder-bedde liggende niets te wel van kloecke dienst-maeghden voor-sien was.⁴ voor haer ver-treck soude ick wel hebben willen bij U.E. en andere lieve vrienden komen, maer en konde niet, om dat de lucht nae den tijd des jaers seer hard sijnde, ick noch dapper teer was; nae haer ver-treck soude ick nu wel konnen komen (want met de ghesondheyd is het redelick, Gode lof) maer en magh niet, over-mids ons huys, 't welck groot en woest is, dan ofte alleen soude moeten staen, ofte aen vreemde toe-betrowt werden. eens hebbe ick ter loops tot Rotterdam gheweest, maer en quam niet voorder, want de daghen noch niet veel aen hebben, ende ick 's nachts buyten 's huys in dese gheleghenheyd niet ghaerne en blijve.⁵ mijn suster sal so ras van Leiden niet weder-ghekeert sijn, of ick ver-hope, door de ghenaeede onses goeden Gods, U.E. al t' saemen te sien.

c Daer-en-tusschen, op dat het blijcke dat U.E. ons niet t' eene-mael ver-geeten heeft, so laet d' een of d' ander uwer sonen eens over snappen, 't welck van hun op eenen Sondagh lichtelick gheschieden kan, ende ick ben gantsche weken door van den morghen tot den avond, nae ghewoonte, al-tijd bij huys, so dat sij gheen ver-loren reyse sullen doen. ofte, indien sulcks niet en kan gheschieden, so ver-maent dan ten minsten uwen vroomen sone Cornelis, welcken de heere met een leersaem herte begheuedicht heeft, dat hij mij met een letterken schrijvens vrijelick af-voordere al 't ghene daer in

³ Cf. Psalm 26.2, "Examine me, O Lord, and prove me; try my reins and my heart." In expectation of the results of the National Synod of Dordrecht, held from November 1618 until June 1619, the South Holland Synod, presided over by Junius' relative Abraham Muysenhol, had pronounced Junius' appointment as predicant of Hillegersberg illegal on 22 February 1619. Junius had refused to be degraded to the position of a hired predicant, and consequently renounced his office on 9 April, and signed the Act of Silence during the South Holland Synod in Leiden from 23 July to 17 August 1619. Cf. Brandt 3.355-57, Reitsma and van Veen 3.357 (Acts of South Holland Synod, no. 40), *Kercke-boeck*, ff. 33v, 35, Israel (1995:460-65), *Literature* 1.xxx-i, de Crane (1820:27).

⁴ Maria Junius and her maid Neeltjen. Elizabeth Junius must have been in

Jesus with you He understands who knows hearts and reads souls. Thus, I have also often wished to be granted the opportunity to come to you for our mutual consolation sometimes, but I have been prevented as yet, partly by physical infirmity, which is sticking to me quite long after my sickness, partly also by the care which I should take here of my sister's house, who has gone with our Neeltje to Leiden, because Sister Vossius, who is in childbed, was not well enough provided with brisk handmaids. I would have wished to go to you and other dear friends before her departure, but could not, because the air was rather harsh for the time of year, and I was still quite weak. After her departure, I might have come now (for my health is reasonable, thank God), but cannot, because our house, which is large and empty, would have to be either on its own, or entrusted to strangers. One time I promptly went to Rotterdam, but did not go any further, for the days are not very long yet, and I do not like staying out at night in these circumstances. No sooner will my sister have returned from Leiden than I hope to see you all together, through mercy of our good God.

- c Meanwhile, to show that you have not simply forgotten us, let the one or the other of your sons drop by for a chat one time, which they can easily do on a Sunday. Usually, I am always home all week from morning till night, so they will not make a trip in vain. Otherwise,

childbed with Gerardus Vossius, born presumably in July or August 1619, although there are no indications that she was confined exceptionally long; nor are there indications that she had a miscarriage at the time of this letter. Junius was staying with Maria in Delft. In turn, Maria had stayed with Junius during his ministry in Hillegersberg for some time in the summer of 1618, judging by an account signed "bij eijghener handt, Maria Junius" [in my own hand, M.J.]. In it, she professed to have received 7 guilders, 12¹/₂ stivers from the Hillegersberg church master "die ick aen den regenback, en tvermaecken der glaesen te coste geleijt hebbe, te weten inden eersten Augusto verleyt seuen gulden van het dicht maecken des regenbacks, item den 15 October soo de glaesen seer ontloodt waeren van tverstellen derseluer ghegeuen twaelf stuyvers en een halue" [which I spent on the rainwater tank and changing the window-panes, that is, on 1 August paid seven guilders because of repairing the water tank; likewise on 15 October given 12,5 stivers since the window-panes were greatly unleased due to their having been mended]—no doubt for the repair of the rectory where Junius lived. Cf. *Bijlagen bij de Rekeningen* of the Hillegersberg *Kerkoogdij Archief*, 1618, Rademaker (1981:115).

⁵ The trip from Delft to Hillegersberg was usually made by "beurtschip," or barge, first 1³/₄ hrs south on the river Schie to Rotterdam, then north again on the river Rotte to Hillegersberg. Cf. de Vries (1981:13–21).

ick hem behulpsaem wesen kan. dat hij slechts bedencke ende voorstelle eenighe materie dienstigh tot bevestiginghe der waerheyd, tot onder-richtinghe in de god-saeligheyd, ofte oock tot ver-troostinghe in kruys ende ver-driet, ende 't en sal aen mij niet haepren, ofte hij sal in korten ghenoegh te lesen krijghen, want ick nu van tijd over-vloey. ende beneven mijn oude gheneghenheyd tot U.E. familie, so wete ick oock dat een ieder Christen mensch, nae den eysch der h. schriftuyre, schuldigh is tijdelick ende on-tijdelick met aller ernst ende ghetrouwigheyd sijnen even-naesten te ver-maenen ende t' onder-wijsen.⁶

d Den on-sterffelicken, saelighen, ende alleen gheweldighen God, den vader aller barmhertigheden ende den God aller ver-troostinghen, die ons van den beghinne ver-koren heeft tot saeligheyd door de heyligh-maekinghe des gheests ende het gheloove der waerheyd, ver-trooste onser aller herten met eenen eeuwighen troost, ende verstercke ons in allen goeden worde ende wercke.⁷ Onsen God ende onsen heere Jesus Christus schicke mijnen wegh tot u nae sijn wel-behaeghen.

e behalven een hertelicke groetenisse die U.E. van mijnent weggen aen u gantsche huys-ghesin te doen heeft, so groet met eenen oock d' oude Schoutinne, Bastiaen Aertssz, Franc Jaepicksz, Willem Corssz, en alle d' andere goede bekende, die ick eer langhe hope te sien.⁸ wt Delft. met haest. Anno 1620. den Februarii.⁹
U.E. dienst-schuldighen ende dienst-willighen broeder in den heere FFF Junius.

⁶ 2 Timothy 4.2, "Preach the word; be instant in season, out of season; reprove, rebuke, exhort with all long suffering and doctrine."

⁷ The inclusion of the phrase "van den beghinne" [from the beginning] in this wish seems to point to the orthodox supralapsarian view of absolute predestination, that God had predestinated his creation from the very beginning, before the Fall, and had consequently also predestinated the Fall. This was the conviction of Franciscus Gomarus and the Counter-Remonstrants, and had been adopted as the official view of the Dutch Reformed Church at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618. The infralapsarian view that God had predestinated his creation only following the Fall, and consequently allowed human influence over predestination to some extent, by contrast, was held by the Remonstrants and had been condemned at the Synod. The controversy was one of the principal issues in the dispute between Counter-Remonstrants

if that is impossible, at least urge your pious son Cornelis, whom the Lord has blessed with an inquisitive heart, to frankly oblige me in a letter to everything with which I may assist him. Let him just think up and consider any material useful for confirmation of the Truth, for instruction in piety, or also for consolation of trial and sorrow, and as far as I am concerned, he will shortly get enough to read, for I have plenty of time now. Besides my old affection for your family, I also know that every Christian, in accordance with the demand of holy Scripture, should reprove and instruct his neighbours in all gravity and faithfulness in season and out of season.

d May the eternal, blessed and only tremendous God, Father of all mercy and God of all consolation, who has chosen us for salvation from the beginning by grace of the soul and belief of the Truth, comfort all our hearts with eternal consolation, and strengthen us in all good words and works. May our God and our Lord Jesus Christ ordain my way to you after His pleasure.

e Besides warmest regards which you must give to all your family on my behalf, you must also greet the old Sheriffess, Bastiaen Aertsz, Frank Jaepicksz, Willem Corsz, and all other acquaintances, whom I hope to see before long, at one and the same time.

From Delft. In haste. In the year 1620, on February.

Your obliging and obedient brother in the Lord F.F.F. Junius.

and Remonstrants that caused the schism in the Dutch Church. Although he had tried to stay aloof of the controversies, Junius had nevertheless been summoned to the South Holland Synod by some Counter-Remonstrant Hillegersberg families. Cf. Schöffer (1953:4–8), Bangs (1971:67–70, 350–55), Brandt 3.347–57.

⁸ Bastiaen Aertsz, schoolmaster in Hillegersberg. He refused to sign the Heidelberg Catechism and Canons of Dordrecht. Schoolmasters had close contact with the church; they often acted as sexton, precentor and leader in prayer. The others were presumably all inhabitants of Hillegersberg; the old sheriff's wife was possibly the widow of Joris de Gruter, who had been bailiff in 1618. Cf. Bouterse (1991:490, "Acta 1620. I Classis Hillegersberg, 6 June"), van Deursen (1974:164ff.), ARA, Hof 52222, 43.

⁹ Blank space; no date added.

26 [20 05 00] JUNIUS [LEIDEN] TO GODFRIED VAN WESSEM
[DORDRECHT]¹

a F.F.F. Iunius *Domino* Godefrido Wessemio gaudere et bene rem gerere.²

Salutem plurimam. Amicorum candidissime, eoque potissime; vin' scire quem apud me locum teneas?³ Facilius est, ut oculis vultus absentis Wessemii mei, quam ut animo charitas excidat.⁴ Totum me tenes, habes, possidesque.⁵ Amo te (nihil possum ardentius dicere), ut tu me. Vinci in amore turpissimum est; °haec propter et amicitiae nostrae convenientissimum mihi videtur, ut neuter super alterius aequalitatem collocetur.⁶ Si mutuorum inter nos officiorum numerus putetur, promptissime agnosco me tibi inferiorem, ita nunquam tuam in me benevolentiam navare destitisti; at si contra tantum aestimetur amoris igne flagrantium animorum aestus, nunquam tibi primas concesserim; quandoquidem integerrime amat, qui se sic amari putat, ut taedium non pertimescat.⁷ Vide quorsum tendam.

b Antehac quotannis bonam mihi operam in exigendis hisce nummis praestitisti.⁸ Iterum obtundo, nihil metuens ne tibi (cui longum non esset mea caussa orbem terrarum circumire) sim molestus.⁹ Satisfacies, scio, huic meae petitioni non minus diligenter, quam libenter. Reddam vicem, si reposes; reddam, etsi non reposes; faxit modo Deus *optimus maximus* ut solvendi tempora supersint.¹⁰

c Nihil mihi optatius accidere potuisset, quam te Delphis coram intueri et alloqui; magis enim volupe mihi fuisset °te referente intelligere, quod per litteras sororis Diamantiae serius ad me allatum.¹¹

a haec: *ca* hac | c te: [- *ex*] te

¹ *ca*: UBA, M 66c, on the same sheet as letters 22 and 25. Written on the occasion of van Wessem's marriage, which was in May 1620, c. Written from Leiden, where Junius was staying with the Vossius family, e.

² Horace, *Epistolae* 1.8.1, "Celso gaudere et bene rem gerere."

³ Tacitus, *Annales* 11.31.1, "potissimum <quemque> amicorum;" *ibid.* 13.18.1, "potissimos amicorum." Cicero, *Epistolae familiares* 3.6.1.5, "locum apud te is teneret;" Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 1.20.4.2-3, "eum locum amicitiae apud eum teneret;" Cornelius Nepos, *Vitae (vita Eumenes)* 1.6.1, "hunc locum tenuit amicitiae apud Philippum." Cf. especially Pliny the Younger, *Panegyric* 87.5.1, "tenet quisque locum quem semel meruit," which immediately precedes the next quotation. This section is a topical celebration of friendship, *amicitia*, cf. Introduction.

⁴ Pliny the Younger, *Panegyric* 87.5.1-2, "faciliusque est ut oculis eius vultus absentis, quam ut animo caritas excidat."

⁵ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 1.16.1.3-2.1, "totum me tenet, habet, possidet."

26 [20 05 00] JUNIUS [LEIDEN] TO GODFRIED VAN WESSEM
[DORDRECHT]

a F.F.F. Junius wishes happiness and prosperity for Mr. Godfried van Wessem.

Warmest regards. Most sincere, and therefore my best friend, do you want to know which place you hold in me? It is easier that my van Wessem's face draws away from my eyes when he is not here than his love from my heart. You completely hold me, have me, and possess me. I love you (I can say nothing more ardent) just as you love me. It is most disgraceful to be surpassed in love, and because of this, I think it quite suitable for our friendship that neither of us ranks over equality with the other. If the number of our mutual obligations is taken into consideration, I most promptly acknowledge to be inferior to you, for to such an extent you have never refrained from expressing your benevolence towards me; but if, on the contrary, just the ardour of hearts glowing with the fire of love is measured, I would never grant the first place to you, since, indeed, he loves most sincerely who believes to be loved in such a way that he does not greatly fear repulsion. See where I am heading.

b Formerly, you have done me a good favour each year by claiming this money. I am bothering you again, without fearing to annoy you (for whom it were not too long to travel around the world for my sake); you will fulfil my request with as much diligence as pleasure, I know. I will do you a favour in turn if you ask for one; I will even do so if you do not ask for one, if only Allgood and Almighty God makes that there is time left for acquittal.

c Nothing more welcome could have happened to me than to have seen and talked to you in person in Delft, for it would have been more to my satisfaction to hear by your story what was later told to me through Sister Diamant's letter. Meanwhile, now that you are about to enter a hard and difficult phase of your life in these most

⁶ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 4.1.5.2, "vinci in amore turpissimum est."

⁷ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 8.21.5.2-3, "amat enim qui se sic amari putat, ut taedium non pertimescat," a favourite of Junius, 27a, 28a, 34a, 128a, 169h.

⁸ Junius enjoyed a grant from Dordrecht, 7f.

⁹ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 7.16.4.3-5.1, "nihil est quod verearis ne sit hoc illi molestum, cui orbem terrarum circumire non erit longum mea causa," 28a.

¹⁰ "Reddam vicem . . . supersint," 27a.

¹¹ Maria Junius' letter to Junius is unretrieved. Junius had stayed with Maria in Delft, 25b. Van Wessem must have been there to announce his wedding.

Interim, arduum et difficilem vitae statum difficillimis hisce temporibus aggressuro tibi, non possum non in ipso limine debitae gratulationis et faustae apprecationis vocibus obviam ire.¹² Precor itaque omnis boni fomitem et fontem Deum, ut in te tibi que matrimonio iungendam omnigenas animae et corporis benedictiones per et propter Christi merita cumulate conferre dignetur, ad sacrosancti nominis sui gloriam, vestram consolationem, et gaudium nostrum. Amen.¹³

d Haut dubia destinatione Germaniam me cogitare, forte rettulit tibi soror. Omnino immotum fixumque id mihi est, atque adeo iam sarcinulas alligo, °festinaturus quantum itineris ratio permissura est.¹⁴ Sed de his °coram. Tu interim mecum Patrem illum misericordiarum facilem mihi faustumque ad vos excursum rogabis. *Domino* °rectori aliisque longae familiaritatis necessitudine mihi °devinctis, officiosissimam ex me salutem dices.¹⁵

Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

e Postulavit soror Vossia ut sibi °argenti huius usum aliquantum concederem.¹⁶ °Exigit hoc conductarum aedium ratio, °et convictorum aliquis, qui in refundendis sumtibus lentior, sororem frustra habuit. Prima itaque occasione ad eam °hanc pecuniae summam transmittes. Hoc pacto me tibi porro obligabis; obligabis et Vossium nostrum, non minus idoneum debitorem, quam me putas esse.¹⁷

27₂₉ 20 08 13 JUNIUS (PARIS) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

A °Pio iuxta ac docto viro *Magistro* Gerardo Vossio, affini coniunctissimo, Lugduni Batavorum.

d festinaturus: [- *preparaturus*] festinaturus | coram: coram [- *si Deus Deo*] | rectori: rector[em> i] | devinctis: devin[cti.> ctis] | e argenti: [- *numorum*] argenti | Exigit: [- *nunc enim [hoc] conductarum aedium ratio id postulat*] Exigit | et: [- *eo magis quia*] et | hanc: [- *totam*] hanc

27A: *d* *Magistro* Gerardo Vossio; *p* Pio iuxta ac docto viro *Domino* Gerardo Iohanni Vossio, *salutem plurimam*

¹² Van Wesseem and Juliana Bor Cornelisdr van Wtrecht had the banns put up for their intended marriage on 3 May 1620, and married 19 May, cf. *Trouwboek Dordrecht*, f. 37.

¹³ For the words of Junius' benediction, cf. **14a**, **20d**.

¹⁴ No further details on Junius' intention to go to Germany were retrieved. He went to Paris instead, **27a**.

difficult times, I cannot refrain from coming to meet you on this very threshold with words of due congratulation and favourable prayers. So, I pray God, the kindling-wood and source of all good, to deem it worthwhile to abundantly bestow all kinds of blessings of soul and body through and because of Christ's merits on you and the one to be united to you in marriage, to the glory of His inviolable name, to your consolation and to our happiness. Amen.

d Sister may have told you that I intend to go to Germany with absolutely certain determination. It is completely firm and fixed for me, and I am even already packing up my stuff, being about to hurry as soon as the planning of the trip will permit. But about this in person. Meanwhile, together with me you must pray this Father of mercy for an easy and successful trip for me to you. Give the most obliging regards on my behalf to Mr. headmaster and others tied to me with the bond of a long friendship.
Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

e Sister Vossius asked of me to grant her the use of this money somewhat. The rental agreement of the house requires it so, and one of the boarders is rather slow in paying the expenses and has cheated Sister. So you must send this sum of money to her at the first possible opportunity; in this way you will further oblige me to you; you will also oblige our Vossius, an as suitable debtor as you consider me to be.

27 20 08 13 JUNIUS (PARIS) TO VOSSIUS (LEIDEN)

A To the pious as well as learned gentleman Master Gerardus Vossius, dearest Brother, Leiden.

¹⁵ Antonius Aemilius.

¹⁶ Elizabeth Junius. Junius was apparently staying with the Vossius family in Leiden.

¹⁷ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 4.4.2.3–5, "Obligabis me, obligabis Calvisium nostrum, obligabis ipsum, non minus idoneum debitorem quam nos putas."

¹ *σ*: BL, Add. 34727, f. 38. *d*: UBA, M 78a. *p1*: Colomesius 2.41. *p2*: *Epp. Vossius* 35; not collated. Drafted on 11 August, written on 12 August, with **b–d** added on 13 August, **d**.

a *Salutem plurimam.* Coniunctissime °*Domine* affinis, re ipsa aliquoties expertus sum, adesse tibi tantam benefaciendi vim, ut indulgentiam tuam necessitas aemuletur; dum enim summa in me studia officiaque avidissime confers, tantummodo debitum explevisse videri vis. Non feci paria, defuit enim facultas; atque eo magis cupio, ut animum mihi gratum Deus et animo isti tempus quam longissimum tribuat. Supersint modo solvendi tempora. Reddam vicem, si reposces; reddam et si non reposces.² Crebras interea prolixasque litteras, certissima debita benevolentiae pignora, non invitus dabo, nihil metuens ne molestus tibi fuisse videar modum in amore excedendo; neque enim periculum est ne sit nimium, quod esse maximum debet;³ et verissime amat, qui sic se amari putat, ut taedium non pertimescat.⁴ Postularem ut vicissim quid in oppido vestro, quid in finitimis agatur (solent enim notabilia quaedam incidere) perscribas, sed temporum ratio aliud suadet.⁵ Scribes igitur quando et quantum videbitur. Exsolverem nunc promissi fidem, litterasque longiores quam lubentissime ad te mitterem, nisi sollicita commodi hospitii investigatio in tam ingenti urbe me usque adhuc a cognati Iunii, *Domini* Tileni, aliorumque alloquio arcuisset.⁶ Pleniores itaque litteras proxime sequenti

a *Domine.* p -

² "Supersint . . . non reposces," **26b**.

³ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 8.24.10.3-4, "non vereor, in amore ne modum excesserim. Neque enim periculum est ne sit nimium quod esse maximum debet," **52a**.

⁴ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 8.21.5.2, a favourite of Junius, **26a**, which he used again in his next letter to Vossius, **28a**.

⁵ Cf. **29a**, where Vossius described his circumstances.

⁶ Jean du Jon (>1566-?1642), Junius the Elder's nephew. He held several positions at the French royal court, as chief treasurer of the light cavalry, squire of the great stable, and quartermaster of the furniture of the crown. Vossius had written a letter of recommendation for Junius to du Jon, dated 20 07 04, "Est enim ingenio praeclaro, iudicio subacto, fide et industria summa. Et si eruditionem multiugam spectes, linguarum plurium peritus, philologus bonus, mathematicarum scientiarum apprime gnarus, in Scripturis versatissimus. Tanta autem integritate vitae, ut ultra nihil requiri posse videatur. Quare bonis hic supra modum gnarus fuit, atque abiens magnum sui desiderium omnibus reliquit. Sane nihil magis in votis nobis erat, quam ut praesentia eius semper nobis frui liceret . . . Sed in ea tempora incidimus, ut alibi esse malit, usque dum desaevit tempestas" [For he has excellent talents, disciplined judgement, trustworthiness, and the greatest diligence. And if you consider his manifold learning, he is experienced in many languages, a good philologist, particularly expert in mathematical sciences, and well versed in the Scriptures. Yet with so much integrity in way of life, that it seems nothing more

a Warmest regards. Dearest Brother, I have actually experienced several times that you have so much energy to do well, that obligation emulates your kindness; for, while eagerly granting me the greatest favours and services, you only want to appear to have fulfilled a duty. I have not done the same, for I did not have the opportunity. I therefore desire all the more that God grants to me a grateful heart, and to this heart as long a time of life as possible. If only there are opportunities left for acquittal. I will do you a favour in turn if you ask for one; I will even do so if you do not. Meanwhile, I will gladly write frequent and long letters—most certain pledges of due kindness, without fearing to appear annoying to you by going beyond the limit in love, for there is no risk of that being too much which should be the most; he loves most truly who believes to be loved in such a way that he does not greatly fear repulsion. I would ask you in turn to describe what is going on in your town and its vicinity (for noteworthy events use to happen), but the current situation urges for other measures. Therefore, you must write whenever and as much as seems fit. I would fulfil my promise now and most willingly write a longer letter to you, if my anxious search for convenient lodgings in such a big town had not still prevented me from meeting relative du Jon, Mr. Tilenus and others. So, expect a longer

can be required. That is why he was known to right-minded people here beyond measure, and has left a great desire for him with everybody on his departure. We have truly no greater desire than always to be allowed to enjoy his presence. But we have fallen upon such times that he prefers to be elsewhere, until the tempest has ceased raging], UBA, M 99b. A son of du Jon was recommended to Vossius by André Rivet, 127b, in 1641, “has literas trado *Domino* Iunio filio *Domini* Iunii olim Parisiis apud proceres nostros magni nominis . . . [Mater filium suum] misit militatum, iussitque ut occasione data salutaret posteros nostri Iunii τοῦ μακαρίτου. Statuit igitur . . . memoriam renovare stirpis communis” [I am handing this letter by Mr. Junius, a son of Mr. Junius, who formerly had a great reputation in Paris with our magistrates . . . (The mother) has sent (her son) to serve as a soldier and urged him to meet the descendants of our Junius *of blessed memory*. So he has decided to refresh the recollection of the joint lineage], 41 11 10, Colomesius 2.326. This indicates that du Jon had died by November 1641—unless the young man was a nephew and not du Jon’s son. Forced to resign from his professorship at Sedan because of his Remonstrant sympathies in 1619, Daniel Tilenus had moved to Paris, where he had opened his house to Remonstrant refugees from the Low Countries following the Synod of Dordrecht. The present letter was Junius’ first one from Paris, 28a. Before it was actually sent, he had found lodgings, d. Cf. Haag and Haag 5.381–82, Pannier (1922:451–56).

hebdomade exspecta. Vale, et sororem mihi plurimum colendam cum tota vestra familia quam officiosissime saluta.⁷

Raptim; Lutetiae, anno 1620, °12 Augusti.

Tuus omni officio, F. Iunius F.F.

- b** Opportune admodum adolescens, qui hasce meas ad vos defert litteras, per aurigam nectentem moras diem adhuc unum °Lutetiae detentus fuit. °Summo itaque mane cognatum Iunium °visurus, intellexi una cum Rege ad expeditionem profectum.⁸ Varii hic quotidie per urbem incessunt rumores, et pro loquentium indole turbidi aut pacati. Credit optimus quisque labare hostes, petendaeque pacis consilia sumere, et brevi posse bellum patrari. Nuntiant contra alii Reginam Matrem °turbas inexplicabiles minitari, vires regni intimas molemq̄ belli ciere, et neque astu °neque constantia °inter dubia indigere. Existimo tamen, nisi me forte in totum fallit meum de hac gente iudicium, ipsa regiae praesentiae fama bellum omne statim posse profligari. Faxit hoc Deus *optimus maximus* pacemque diu immotam et inconcussam Regi ac regno Galliae largiatur.
- c** Nihil iam mihi accommodatius sit, quam ut nobilissimus °legatus, quem discessurus compellavi, de rebus meis quid scribat cognato reduci.⁹ Poteris ad hoc uti opera °amici alicuius, qui pariter et me norit, et nobilissimo legato familiaris sit. Neque enim cuiquam tam clarum statim ingenium est, ut possit emergere, nisi illi materia, occasio, fautor etiam commendatorque contingat. °Adhaec, ut apud vos, ita et hic malignorum hominum rumoribus laceramur, tanquam pacis

a 12 Augusti: *d* [- 11 Aug.] 12 Augusti. | **b** Lutetiae: *d* [- *detentus*] Lutetiae | Summo itaque: *d* Itaque summo | visurus: *d* invisurus | turbas inexplicabiles: *d* bellum inexplicabile | neque: *d* [- *inter dubia*] neque | inter: *d* inter [- *indigere*] | **c** Legatus: *d* Legatus Maurier | amici alicuius: *d* alicuius amici | Adhaec: *d* \adhaec/

⁷ Elizabeth Junius.

⁸ Young man who delivered the letter is unidentified. King Louis XIII of France (1601–1643) and his mother Marie de Médicis (1573–1642)—who had been regent of France from 1610 to 1617—had been entangled in a second war in their struggle for power from July until 10 August, when they signed a peace treaty in Angers. Marie de Médicis' support having severely been reduced, the king consolidated his power. The news of the peace of Angers had apparently not yet reached Junius. Cf. Pillorget and Pillorget (1995:150–52).

letter next week. Farewell, and greet Sister, whom I must honour highly, together with your whole family as obligingly as possible.

In haste. Paris, in the year 1620, 12 August.

Obligingly Yours, F. Junius F.F.

- b** Quite conveniently, the young man who will deliver this letter to you has still been detained in Paris for one day due to the coachman's delay. So, being about to go and see relative du Jon very early in the morning, I heard he had left on an expedition with the king. Daily, different rumours are going round town here—boisterous or peaceful in accordance with the speakers' nature. All right-minded people believe that the enemies waver and take counsel to demand peace, and that war can soon be over. Others, on the other hand, say that the Queen Mother is threatening to rouse the most secret forces of the kingdom and munition of war by inexplicable turmoil, and lacks neither cunning nor constancy in undecided situations; but I think, unless perhaps my power of judgement on this people completely fails me, that the very rumour of royal presence can immediately overcome any war. May Allgood and Almighty God bring this about and bestow durable and permanent peace to the king and the French kingdom for a long time.
- c** Nothing were more convenient to me than that the most noble ambassador, whom I addressed on leaving, would write something on my circumstances to my relative on his return. To this end, you can use the assistance of a friend who knows me and has an acquaintance with the most noble ambassador at the same time. For sure, no one has such an immediately manifest character that it can appear on the surface, unless an opportunity, occasion, patron, and also recommender fall to its lot. Besides, as is the case with you, we are also afflicted by the rumours of malicious people here, as if we were disturbing the public peace, etc. I therefore wish all the more that

⁹ Benjamin Aubéry du Maurier (d. 1636), French ambassador in The Hague from 1614. He had strongly supported Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and Grotius. Grotius had corresponded with him in the 1610s, and later sent letters to his Dutch friends from Paris through du Maurier. Junius seems to have hoped to acquire a position through du Jon, **aⁿ, 28g, 30g**. Cf. Haag and Haag 1.150–56, *BWN* 12.424–25, *BWGrotius*, s.v. Aubéry du Maurier.

publicae turbatores, °etc.¹⁰ Quo magis opto ut tantae autoritatis et fidei vir animum meum pacificum vero testimonio prosequatur.

d Litterarum mihi reddendarum haec sit inscriptio, “*Chez Mr. Piat, demeurant en la rue St. Estienne °du Grec, vis a vis du College de Montaigu, aupres °St. Geneveve.*”¹¹ Fac et sororem Diamantiam hac de re certiolem.¹² Iterum vale. 13 Augusti.

28 20 09 18 JUNIUS (PARIS) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

A °Magistro Gerardo Vossio.²

a *Salutem plurimam.* Virorum °integerrime, sanctissime, licet crebrioribus litteris otium tuum negotiosum interrumpam, tamen non est quod verear ne molestus °sim tibi, cui °vel orbem terrarum non esset longum circumire mea caussa.³ Hac itaque tui erga me amoris fiducia ductus, hasce ad te secundas do litteras, crebriores daturus, ubi quod scribam offeretur, imo etiamsi nihil offeretur.⁴ Unicum hoc debiti erga te amoris mei pignus absens dare possum.⁵ Amat enim intime et flagrantissime, qui sic se amari putat, ut taedium non pertimescat.⁶ Nuperrime de rebus meis litterarum aliquid ad te dedi. Rex etiamnum abest, et cum Rege nobilitas omnis.⁷ Si brevi revertatur, quod plerique futurum sperant, uberrime °omnia quae me spectabunt ad te perscribam. Non erit difficile, Σχολή δὲ πλείων ἢ θέλω πάρεστί μοι. Interim hic clausus intra domum alto pinguique otio me immergo, atque omne hoc tempus intra libros iucundissima

c etc.: *d* etc. [– *confido aliud s.i. sentiam . . . gratum non me .erit tamen testimonium tanti . . . de animo meo pacific.*]. | **d** du Grec: *p* des Grecs | St Geneveve: *d* S. Geneviefve

28A: *ca* affini Vossio. [– *Καλούμενός τε και ἄκλητος ὁ Θεός παρέσται.*] | **a** integerrime: *ca* integerrime, [–.] | sim tibi: *ca* tibi sim | vel: *ca* – | omnia . . . perscribam: *ca* omnia ad te perscribam quae me spectabunt

¹⁰ On account of the verdict of the South Holland Synod, **25b**, rumours seem to have been spread that Junius cherished Remonstrant sympathies. The attitude towards lenient Protestants was generally inimical among French Protestants at the time; at the National Synod of Alais, held from 1 October to 2 December 1620, the Acts of the Synod of Dordrecht were fully adopted, and Remonstrant sympathies were consequently condemned Cf. Nellen (1985b:149).

¹¹ Mr. Piat unidentified.

¹² Maria Junius.

this gentleman of such full authority and trustworthiness will present my peaceable heart with a genuine testimonial.

- d Let this be the address for letters sent to me, “*At Mr. Piat, residing in the Rue St. Estienne du Grec, opposite the College de Montaigu, near St. Genevieve.*” Also inform Sister Diamant of this. Farewell again. 13 August.

28 20 09 18 JUNIUS (PARIS) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]

A To Master Gerardus Vossius.

- a Warmest regards. Most virtuous, deeply venerable gentleman, although I interrupt your busy spare time with quite frequent letters, I have no reason to fear to annoy you, for whom it were not too long to travel around the world for my sake. So, guided by this confidence in your love for me, I am writing you this second letter, and will write more when food for writing presents itself—well, even if it does not. In my absence, I can give this single token of my due love for you, for he loves intimately and most ardently who believes to be loved in such a way, that he does not greatly fear repulsion. Quite recently, I have written to you a letter on my circumstances. The king is still away, and all the nobility together with him. If he returns soon, which many people hope to happen, I will extensively describe everything that regards me. It will not be difficult, *since I have more spare time than I wish to have*. Meanwhile, confined to the house here, I am plunging myself into a deep and comfortable leisure, and spend all this time among books in most pleasant quiet. For

¹ o: BL, Add. 34727, f. 39. ca: UBA, M 78a verso. p: *Epp. Vossius* 36; not collated.

² Added and deleted in ca: “Καλούμενός τε καὶ ἀκλητός ὁ Θεὸς παρέσται” [God will be present, both when summoned and when not summoned].

³ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 7.16.4.3, **26b**.

⁴ Junius’ first letter from Paris was letter **27**.

⁵ Cf. Martial, *Epigrammata* 9.99.6, “*liber, absentis pignus amicitiae.*”

⁶ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 8.21.5.2, a favourite of Junius, **26a**, which he had also used in his previous letter to Vossius, **27a**.

⁷ Louis XIII and the nobility, including Jean du Jon, had first waged war against Marie de Médicis, and then moved to the Béarn in southern France, where the king reintroduced Roman Catholic worship. They returned to Paris only in early November. Cf. **27b**, **33i**, Pillorget and Pillorget (1995:152–55).

quiete transmitto.⁸ Nam quid agam? Alienissimus sum a consortio °hominum vulgo. Vin' scire quales plerique mihi videantur? κολακευτικώτεροι τῶν πιθήκων, ὀργιλώτεροι τῶν κυνιδίων, φιλονεικώτεροι τῶν ἀλεκτρουων. Nobilitatis, nisi me fallunt plurimorum testimonia, °longe diversum ingenium est.

b τὰ δ' ἄλλα, εὐδαιμονέστατός εἰμι μηδενός μοι πλησιάζοντος. οὐκ ἔτι πιστευτέον τῶν νῦν οὐδενί. πάντες ἀχάριστοι, καὶ πονηροί, οὐδέν μοι μέλει αὐτῶν, κέλομαι δὲ πᾶσιν ἡβηδὸν °οιμώζειν. μισαλαζών εἰμι, καὶ μισογόης, καὶ μισοψευδῆς, καὶ μισότυφος. μισῶ τοὺς φροντιστάς μετεωρολέσχας τοὺς τὰ ψυλλῶν πηδήματα διαμετροῦντας,⁹ καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοιουτῶδες εἶδος τῶν μιαρῶν ἀνθρώπων. τοῦτο δέ μοι τῇ ἐρημίᾳ δοκῶ κερδανεῖν, μηκέτι ὕψεσθαι πολλοὺς παρὰ τὴν ἀξίαν εὖ πράττοντας ἀνιαρότερον γὰρ τοῦτογε. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δὴ ταῦτα. οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνδρὸς σοφοῦ τραύματα πρίασθαι. ὦτα γὰρ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ τῶν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ πολλοὶ, οὐ μόνον τάληθῆ ὀρῶντες, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ τι καὶ προσεπιμετροῦντες, ὡς μὴ νυστάζειν δοκοῖεν.

c Celare te non possum quemadmodum 15° huius mensis °die con-
venerim *Dominum* Tilenum, virum humanissimum et pro veritate firmissimum; cumque ei inter alia tuis verbis plurimam salutem apprecarer, subiungeremque me ignorare an ullam tui notitiam haberet, statim ipsissimis hisce verbis responsum dedit, °“Notissimus mihi est, et quidem merito suo.”¹⁰ His auditis, non erat cur porro ullam *Historiae* tuae *Pelagianae*, °ut discedenti mihi in mandatis dederas, mentionem facerem.¹¹ Et forte adhuc iudicium eius super isthoc tuo scripto exquisivissem, nisi iter sibi ad *Britanniae* Regem habendum significasset, atque adeo se iam °sarcinas alligare affirmasset.¹² Obstupui, percussus novitate rei. Cumque me videret tacite apud animum meum ambigere, quo haec tam insoliti itineris usurpatio °spectaret, addidit, ne sibi quidem caussam eius rei compertam;¹³ tantum evocari se °blande humanis *Regiae* *Maiestatis*, et *Episcopi* *Winchtoniensis* litteris;

a hominum vulgo: *ca* vulgo hominum | longe diversum: *ca* aliud | **b** οἰμώζειν: *ca* οἰμώζειν [- καί] | **c** die: *ca* - | “Notissimus . . . suo:” *o* underlined | ut: *ca* [- quod] ut | sarcinas: *ca* sarcinulas | spectaret: [- *per*]spectaret | blande: *ca* [- *humaniter*] blande

⁸ For an indication of what Junius was studying at the time, cf. **42f-h**.

⁹ Cf. Aristophanes, *Clouds* 144–52, on the measuring of a flea’s leap, esp. 145, “ψυλλαν ὀπόσους ἄλλοιτο τοὺς αὐτῆς πόδας” [how many of its own feet a flea can leap].

¹⁰ Daniel Tilenus.

¹¹ Vossius, *Historiae de controversiis, quas Pelagius eiusque reliquiae moverunt, libri septem*

what can I do? I am most averse to the company of the common people. Would you like to know how many people seem to be to me? *More flattering than monkeys, more hot-tempered than lapdogs, and more quarrelsome than cocks.* The nature of the nobility is different, unless the testimonies of many people deceive me.

b *For the rest, I am quite happy that nobody comes to see me, for none of today's people are to be trusted any more. All are ungrateful and troublesome. In no way do I care for them, so I wish harm to everybody from youth upwards. I am an enemy of bragging and trickery, of lies and conceit. I hate thinkers, those with exalted thoughts, those measuring the leaps of fleas, and all that kind of filthy people. So, this seems to me the profit from my loneliness. I no longer want to see many people who are doing well opposed to dignity, for it is rather agonizing; and that is that. It is not the wise man's to accept defeats, for many ears and eyes of those in power not only see the truth, but also always embellish it, in order not to appear inattentive.*

c I cannot conceal from you how I met Mr. Tilenus, a most kind gentleman who is most steadfast in accordance with the truth, on the 15th day of this month; and when I gave him warmest regards in your words, among others, and added that I did not know whether he knew you at all, he immediately gave an answer in these very words, "I know him very well, and actually owing to his merit." On hearing this, there was no reason why I would make any more mention of your *Pelagian History*, as you had commissioned to me on my departure. I might still have inquired after his opinion on your book, if he had not indicated that he had to go to the king of England, and had not asserted that he was already packing his luggage. I was astounded, upset by its novelty. And when he saw that I was silently wondering in my mind what was the purpose of such an unusual trip, he added that even he himself did not know its reason; just that he had been courteously invited by a kind letter from his Royal Majesty and the bishop of Winchester, and that a royal physician had been sent for this purpose, to enjoy him as a travelling companion.

(Leiden, 1618), a lengthy, scholarly reply to the Counter Remonstrants, who had branded the Remonstrants Pelagians and Socinians, and an effort to remove their prejudices. Grotius had refuted the accusation of Socinianism in his *De satisfactione* (Leiden, 1617), **21b**^a. By the time Vossius' work appeared, however, the gap between the opposing parties could no longer be bridged by rational arguments. Instead, it was used against him during the purge of Leiden University, **29a**. Tilenus appeared not to have the book after all, **30f**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:120–25).

¹² For an account of Tilenus' journey to England, cf. **30a–e**.

¹³ Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 41.23.14.1–2, "usurpatio itineris insoliti."

medicumque regium ad hoc missum, ut eo itineris comite uti posset.¹⁴ Quid opus est in re tam dubia suspicionibus multum indulgere? Sufficere nobis debet quod vir magnus iniquissimam adversae partis in fratres suos crudelitatem detestatur; unde et ipsus ego coram animose satis spondentem audivi, °nunquam se caussae melioris patrocinium perfide deserturum.¹⁵ Proinde totius negotii exitum precibus seriis Deo *optimo maximo* committamus. ἔξεχ' ὦ φιλ' ἥλιε.¹⁶ ἄπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς καὶ ἀναρίθμητος Χρόνος φύει τ' ἄδηλα, καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται.¹⁷

d Interea tuam tuorumque valetudinem summus °idem atque *optimus*, rerum °humanarum arbiter °gratiose promoveat. Ipse valeo; si valere est, suspensum et anxium vivere, exspectantem in horas timentemque pro capite amicissimo quicquid accidere homini potest.¹⁸ Est enim suspensum et anxium, de eo quem °ardentissime diligas interdum nihil scire.¹⁹ Vereor omnia, imaginor omnia; quaeque natura metuentium est, ea maxime mihi, quae maxime abominor, fingo.²⁰ Quo impensius rogo, ut timori meo vel per te, vel (si tutius id iudicabis) per alium consulas.

°Lutetiae, 18 *Septembris*, anno 1620.

Tuus omni officio, °Fr. Iunius F.F.

e Hagae Comitibus vivit quispiam van Santen, collega *Domini* Basii et °Kromvlietii, cuius unicus filius Boekoldus van Santen hic Lutetiae mensem unum mecum vixit.²¹ Adolescens est multis experimentis eruditus °et, quod rarissimum est, videtur amare bonam mentem. Italiam sic satis lustravit, me quoque in Italica lingua fideliter admodum instituere coepit, et lubentissimus in me instituendo porro bonam

c nunquam: *ca* [- *caussae*] nunquam | **d** idem atque *optimus*: *ca* \idem atque *optimus*/ | humanarum: *ca* \humanarum/ | gratiose promoveat: *ca* [*promo* > *gratiose* promo]veat | ardentissime: *ca* [- *diligas*] ardentissime | Lutetiae ... 1620: *ca* - | Fr. Iunius F.F.: *ca* - | **e** Kromvlietii: *ca* Cromvlietii | et ... mentem: *ca* \et ... mentem/

¹⁴ King James I of England (1566–1625); Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626), bishop of Winchester, **32i**; presumably Theodore Turquet de Mayerne (1573–1655), a protestant Frenchman who had been first physician at the English royal court from 1606, and had spent some time in France again from 1618. Invitation is unretrieved. Cf. *DNB* 37.150–52.

¹⁵ A supporter of the Counter-Remonstrants at the Synod of Dordrecht, King James could be expected to be inimical towards Tilenus and the Remonstrant brethren. Cf. Trevor-Roper (1992:55–58), Smith (1997:264).

¹⁶ Aristophanes, *Fragments* 389, ἔξεχ' ὦ φιλ' ἥλιε; a favourite of Junius, **56c**, **155b**, **167b**.

What need is there to yield much to suspicions in such an indefinite affair? It should suffice to us that the great man detests the enemy's most unfair cruelty towards his brothers; thus, also I myself personally heard him promise quite firmly that he will never treacherously desert the defence of a better cause. Therefore, let us entrust the conclusion of the whole affair to Allgood and Almighty God by serious prayers. *Shine out fair sun! Long and immeasurable Time reveals all that is hidden and hides all that is clear.*

- d** Meanwhile, may the highest and also best Judge of human affairs mercifully advance your and your family's health. I myself am well, if it is "to be well" to live in suspense and anxiety, counting the hours and fearing for a dearest person everything that can happen to someone. For it is "in suspense and anxiety" to know nothing for some time about the one you love most ardently. I fear everything; I imagine everything; as is the nature of anxious people, I imagine for myself those matters most which I abhor most. Therefore, I am asking you quite urgently to care for my fear either by yourself, or (if you consider it safer) by someone else.

Paris, 18 September in the year 1620.

Obligingly Yours, Fr. Junius F.F.

- e** In The Hague lives a certain van Santen, a colleague of Mr. Basius and Kromvliet, whose only son Beukold van Santen has stayed with me here in Paris for one month. He is a young man learned by many experiences and, what is most rare, who seems to love a good intellect. He had travelled in Italy so well, that he also began to instruct me quite reliably in the Italian language, and would most willingly have done a good service by instructing me further, if his old father, held by a desire to see his only son, had not summoned

¹⁷ Sophocles, *Aiāx* 646–7, ἄπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς καὶ ἀναρίθμητος Χρόνος φέει τ' ἄδηλα, καὶ φανέντα κρύπτειται.

¹⁸ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 3.17.3.1–3, "ipse valeo . . . homini potest."

¹⁹ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 6.4.3.2–4.1, "est enim . . . scire," **219b**.

²⁰ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 6.4.4.3–5.1, **219b**.

²¹ Johan Basius (1574–1645), member of the Auditor's Office of Holland and a relative of Grotius. Van Santen and Kromvliet, probably members of the Auditor's Office too, unidentified. Beukold was probably the Beukel van Santen who wrote *Generale privilegien ende hantvesten van Kennemer-landt ende Kennemer-ghevolgh: midtsgaders particuliere voor-rechten, octroyen . . . alsmedekorte beschrijvinghe van de dorpen ende ghehuchten van den voorschreven lande* (The Hague, 1652). Cf. Nellen (1998:244).

operam navasset, nisi illum pater senex, videndi unici filii desiderio captus, a septenni peregrinatione revocasset.²² Neque patrem, neque adolescentem hunc antehac datum fuit noscere mihi. Tu, antequam te invisat, ex ingenio parentis, de adolescente ipso coniecturam facies. Temporum ratio suavit, °ut haec scire te voluerim. °Iterum vale.

f Dominus Molanus, tuus quondam discipulus, °spatio tridui eodem hic hospitio mecum usus est, antequam Salmuriam, Bloys, Orleans, et reliquas istius tractus urbes videret.²³ Unice vero a me petiit, ut te primis meis °ad te litteris °quam officiosissime salutarem.

g Dum omnia mihi videor non minus breviter quam diligenter persecutus, succurrit quod praeterieram, et quidem sero; sed quamquam praepostere, reddetur tamen °tribus verbis. Cum °ex Domino Tileno quaesivissem °qualis ipsi videretur °iste, quem nosti, °equitatus regii thesaurarius, °in haec tantummodo verba respondit, “Quantus quantus °est, aulicus est, et °aulicus melior, quam medicus est.”²⁴ Scis quorsum °haec narrem.²⁵ °Tertium vale.

²⁷ 29₃₀ [20] 09 19 VOSSIUS [LEIDEN] TO JUNIUS (PARIS)¹

A *A Monsieur, Monsieur Francois du Jon, Chez Mr. Piat, demeurant en la rue St. Estienne du Grec, vis a vis du College de Montaigu, aupres St. Geneveve. A Paris.*

a Carissime adfinis, ego, uxor, liberi, valemus. Res meae eodem statu sunt, quo erant cum hinc discederes.² Nisi quod ecclesiastae iterum

e ut . . . voluerim: *ca* ut te hac de re certiore facerem | Iterum vale: *ca* - | **f** spatio: *ca* [- *[pentidium]*] spatio | ad te: *ca* - | quam officiosissime: *ca* - | **g** tribus: tri[+ bus] (*Sheet torn*) | ex: [- *Dominum Tilenum*] ex | qualis: [+ qu]alis | iste, quem: i[+ ste, q]uem | equitatus regii: equitatu[+ s regii] | in . . . verba: *ca* [- *nil*] | est, aulicus: [+ est, aulicu]s | aulicus melior: auli[+ cus melior] | haec: *ca* hoc tibi | Tertium: T[+ er]tium

²² No further indications that Junius learnt Italian were identified, except that he wrote the lines “Almo signor ti aspetto, e più non voglio/ Viver senza il tuo amor, e tuo cordoglio// Chi siede solitario, e piensa, e tace,/ S'alza sopra so stesso, e trova pace” on UBL, Cod.Voss.Lat. O.100, f. 1xr.

²³ Lucas Molanus, predicant of Woubrugge from 1618 to 1619, when he was dismissed because his tenure of the ministry was considered illegitimate—just like Junius', **25b**. He sympathised with the Remonstrants. Cf. *BWN* 13.928, Rademaker (1981:108).

him home from a tour of seven years. It was not granted to me beforehand to know either the father or this young man. Before he will come to see you, you must make a guess about this young man on the basis of his father's character. The current situation urged me to want you to know this. Farewell again.

f Mr. Molanus, your former pupil, spent a period of three days here in the same lodgings as I, before visiting Saumur, Blois, Orléans and the other towns of this region. He only asked me to greet you most obligingly in my first letter to you.

g While I seem to have discussed everything no less briefly than diligently, it occurs to me what I have omitted, and actually late; but although in the wrong order, it will be rendered in three words. When I had inquired of Mr. Tilenus how this treasurer of the Royal Cavalry, whom you know, seemed to be to him, he answered, "However great he is, he is a courtier, and he is a better courtier than a physician." You know why I tell you this. For the third time, farewell.

29 [20] 09 19 VOSSIUS [LEIDEN] TO JUNIUS (PARIS)

A *To the gentleman Mr. Francois du Jon, at Mr. Piat, dwelling in the Rue St. Estienne du Grec, opposite the College de Montaigne, near St. Genevieve, in Paris.*

a Dearest Brother, I, my wife and children are doing well. My circumstances are in the same condition as they were when you left from here. Except that the predicants seem to be devising something against me once again. For, at the instigation of Lydius, Dibbetz

²⁴ Jean du Jon.

²⁵ Junius seems to have hoped to acquire a position through du Jon, **27c**.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 1001. Written in 1620, because it is a reply to letter **27**, from which Vossius had learnt Junius' address in Paris.

² Elizabeth Junius. Vossius had been dismissed as regent of the States College in July/August 1619 on suspicions of unorthodoxy, yet had been allowed to remain a member of the university. After hearing him, the South Holland Synod proposed the trustees of the university not to grant him a position until he had become a convicted Counter-Remonstrant. Cf. Rademaker (1981:129–36).

videantur aliquod moliri adversus me. Nam Synodus Goudana, Lydio, Dibbetzio aliis [procurantibus], citavit me; sed publica autoritate procuratum est, ne irem, eo quod senatus academicus ad se putet caussam meam pertinere.³ Hoc ubi minus synodo successit, decrevit ut deputati et presbyterium Leidense mecum agant. Ita mihi nunciat Kuchlinus, qui cum seniore Ecclesiae hac hora mihi adfuit, ut me uxoremque propter instans celebrandae Eucharistiae tempus compellaret.⁴ Quid futurum sit nescio; sed utcumque res cadet, feremus, modo Deus nobis, prout hactenus fecit, animum largiatur fortem, et constantem.

- b** Pluribus vellem, sed nuncius solum *per* urbem transiens moram nullam patitur. Proxima igitur hebdomade fusius, si Deus volet, de omnibus scribemus.⁵ Intellego te aliquid literarum ad sororem dedisse.⁶ Sed eam nundum conveni, ut argumentum scire non possim. Haec causa est, cur iis non respondeam. Salutem cognato Iunio dices, et clarissimo Tileno.⁷

τάχιστα; 19 Septembris.

Tuus omni studio, G. Vossius.

²⁹ 30 20 12 12 JUNIUS (PARIS) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

- a** Praestantissimo viro *Domino* Gerardo Ioanni Vossio, affini coniunctissimo, *salutem plurimam*.

Secundis ad te literis, coniunctissime *Domine* affinis, de Anglicano *Domini* Tileni itinere nonnihil ad te perscripsi; quae si recte, ut spero,

³ Balthasar Lydius (1576/7–1629), predicant in Dordrecht, and a relative of Vossius, who maintained contact with him. He had been married to Alith de Witt, and was married to Anna van der Myle, a daughter of Vossius' stepmother Barbara van der Myle. A year later, he was requested by the South Holland Synod to examine Vossius' theological theses and *Historia Pelagianae* (1618), **28c**, for their orthodoxy. Johannes Dibbetz (1567–1626), Counter-Remonstrant predicant in Dordrecht and moderator of the South Holland Synod in 1620. He was a member of a committee, installed by the Synod of Dordrecht, for the examination of potentially Remonstrant writings. The South Holland Synod had summoned Vossius in 1620 to interrogate him on his orthodoxy. In so doing, they had passed the Leiden consistory and the University Senate, who felt Vossius should first have been consulted by themselves. Vossius profitted from the conflicting interests among the church bodies and university by not appearing before the Synod. During several subsequent meetings, which dragged on until 1628, he had to defend his orthodoxy, and was finally allowed to get away with promising always to adhere openly to ortho-

and others, the Synod of Gouda has summoned me. It was, however, arranged by the authorities that I need not go, because the university Senate believes my cause to be their concern. When this had little success with the Synod, it determined that the deputies and the Leiden consistory speak with me. So Kuchlinus said, who was with me together with an elder of the church this hour to address me and my wife for the present occasion of the celebration of Communion. I do not know what will happen, but however it will fall, we will bear it, if only God grants us a strong and steadfast heart, just as He has done until now.

- b** I would have wished to write more, but the [only] courier who is passing through town endures no delay. So, we will write about everything more fully next week, God willing. I have heard that you wrote a letter to Sister, but I have not seen her yet, so I cannot know the contents. That is the reason why I do not respond to it. You must give warmest regards to relative du Jon and the widely renowned Tilenus. *In haste*. 19 September.
Affectionately Yours, G. Vossius.

30 20 12 12 JUNIUS (PARIS) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]

- a** Warmest regards to the most distinguished gentleman Mr. Gerardus Joannes Vossius, dearest Brother.
In my second letter to you, dearest Brother, I wrote you something about Mr. Tilenus' trip to England. If it has been delivered to you in good order, as I hope, it remains for me to tell you about this

dox Reformed teachings. Cf. Rademaker (1981:53, 143–49), *NNBW* 3.285–87, 8.1085, *BWPGN* 2.474–77.

⁴ Hermannus Kuchlinus (1586–1625), predicant in Leiden from 1615 to 1625. Elder unidentified. The South Holland Synod had given permission to the Leiden consistory to deny Vossius Communion if he proved to be unorthodox. The consistory apparently felt no need to do so. Cf. Rademaker (1981:145), *NNBW* 2.355, *BWPGN* 5.289–96.

⁵ No such letter from Vossius was retrieved.

⁶ Junius' letter to his sister is unretrieved. It had probably been directed to Maria Junius, who lived in Delft, rather than Johanna, who lived in Middelburg, which is quite distant from Leiden.

⁷ Jean du Jon and Daniel Tilenus.

¹ *p1*: Colomesius 2.45. *p2*: *Epp. Vossius* 38; not collated.

ad te sunt delatae, superest ut nunc eundem clarissimum Tilenum reducem tibi narrem.² Ut reversum intellexi, inter gratantes ut debui accessi. Neque gravatus est vir officiosissimus, totam rerum in Anglia gestarum seriem fuse mihi narrare. En tibi itaque omnis negotii summam.

- b** Ad *Dominum* Tilenum, etiam Sedani agentem, impulsu *Domini* Melvini accessere duo ministri Scoti exules.³ Nosti gentem istam Puritanam. Cumque plus iusto eorum in Regem querelae, praesente adhuc Ionstono quopiam ardescerent, existimavit vir magnus salubrium rationum fomentis animos praeferoce et zeli nimietate morbidos potius leniundos, quam porro inflammandos.⁴ Sed auribus eorum ad moderatiora consilia surdis nihil aliud effectum est, quam ut exacerbatiores digrederentur.
- c** Non destitit interim Ionstonus urgere *Dominum* Tilenum, ut praecipua collatiunculae istius argumenta scripto consignata sibi communicaret; quo impetrato, ad Regem apographum transmisit, qui non indelectatus autoritate viri et argumentorum pondere typis scriptum illud vulgari iussit, atque insuper desiderio videndi eius flagrans, *Dominum* Tilenum per literas blande ad se evocavit, praesentemque arctissime amplexatus, gratias ei pro navata opera egit, amplissimumque obtulit stipendium, si in Angliam transmigrare vellet.⁵ Sed is una hac hyeme in deliberandi spatium postulata, a Rege dimissus est, nunquam nisi me ratio prorsus fallit, sedem mutaturus. Promerem nunc huius meae suspicionis causas, nisi temporum ratio obstaret.⁶
- d** Unum hoc tutius addo, virum doctum non vanam spem animo concepisce, brevi futurum, ut non tantum sibi, sed et omnibus aliis

² The second letter was letter **28**; for news on Daniel Tilenus, cf. **28c**.

³ Andrew Melville (1545–1622), Scottish professor of biblical theology at Sedan from 1611. The principal of the College of Glasgow, and of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, and rector of the University of St. Andrews, he had made Scottish universities flourish in the 1570s to the 1590s. But his attempts to secure presbyterianism in the Scottish Church and prevent secular control over the church had brought him and his fellow presbyterians into conflict with King James, who had Melville imprisoned in 1607. A presbyterian meeting, in which Melville had also participated, in Aberdeen in 1605 caused the exile of several ministers, among whom John Forbes and Robert Durie (1555–1616), who subsequently became minister of the Scottish Church in Leiden. His son John Durie, **143f**, and Forbes went to see Melville in Sedan. They were probably the ministers meant here. Cf. *DNB* 16.261–64, 37.230–37, M'Crie (1894; 2.292, 303), Mellon (1913:121–28).

⁴ Arthur Johnston (1587–1641), Scottish Neo-Latin poet and physician. From

most illustrious Tilenus' return. As soon as I heard of his return, I went to him among those who welcomed him, as I should, and the most obliging gentleman did not feel annoyed to tell me at length the whole course of events in England. So, here is a summary of the whole affair for you.

- b** When Mr. Tilenus still lived in Sedan, two exiled Scottish ministers had approached him at the instigation of Mr. Melville. You know those Puritan people. Since their more than just complaints about the king were kindled when one Johnston was still there, the great man felt that their heated feelings, infected by an excess of zeal, should rather be soothed by poultices of salutary reasoning than be inflamed any further; but nothing else was achieved with their ears, deaf to more moderate advice, than that they departed even more embittered.
- c** Meanwhile, Johnston did not refrain from urging Mr. Tilenus to communicate to him on paper the principal topics of this discussion. Having received this, he sent a copy to the king, who, pleased with the gentleman's authority and the weight of the argumentations, ordered this treatise to be distributed in print, and, glowing with a desire to meet him, he also courteously summoned Mr. Tilenus to his presence in a letter, and after welcoming him most heartily when he was there, he thanked him for the service, and offered him a most generous stipend if he was willing to settle in England. The latter asked this single winter as a period to think it over, and was given leave to depart by the king—while he will never change his domicile, unless my reasoning completely deceives me. I would disclose the grounds of my suspicion now, if the current circumstances did not prevent it.
- d** I add only this quite safely, that the learned gentleman has conceived a realistic hope in his heart that here in Paris the freedom to print anything will soon be granted by the authorities not only

Aberdeen he went to the Continent for his medical studies in 1608, and settled in Sedan, where he was on friendly terms with Tilenus and Melville. After his return to Scotland around 1628, he became rector of King's College, Aberdeen in 1637. Cf. *DNB* 30.58–60, Mellon (1913:117–21).

⁵ King James; Daniel Tilenus, *Paraenesis ad Scotos Genevensis disciplinae zelotas* (London, 1620), directed against Scottish presbyterianism. Cf. Haag and Haag 9.385.

⁶ Back in Paris, Tilenus noticed he had been accused of heresy at James' court, and consequently decided to stay in France. Cf. Haag and Haag 9.385.

bonae causae patrocinantibus, publica autoritate libertas quidlibet imprimendi hic Lutetiae concedatur.⁷ Plurima eius opuscula prelum postulant, quorum nonnulla mihi ostendit, animadversiones scilicet in Canones Synodi Dordracenae, Gallicum aliquod scriptum de causa peccati, et plura similis notae.⁸ Scis quam hoc alibi non liceat. Sed ne longius a proposita narratione deflectendum sit, redeo ad incepta.

e Rex nihil aut parum admodum, cum *Domino* Tileno de Remonstrantium rebus egit, contentus de Ecclesiarum suarum hierarchia ulterius quid ex ipso intellexisse.⁹ Episcoporum quoque non obscurum in se favorem narrabat, multaque addebat de singulari affectu, quo abentem prosecuti sunt.¹⁰

f Tum ego, an tui et Historiae tuae nulla unquam a quoquam mentio facta sit, sedulo exquirere coepi, annuit ille, et praeter aliorum magnifica praeconia, a *Domino* Iosepho Hall, non sine summa commendatione, sibi oblatam quominus perlegeret, adversa valetudine fuisse impeditum.¹¹ Intellexi ex his destitui ipsum scripto tuo; utque fidem tibi datam explerem, quid discessuro mihi in mandatis dedisses, significavi, et triduo post tuo nomine non historiam tantum, sed et *Responsionem* ad *Iudicium Ravenspergeri* dono obtuli.¹² Ille utroque scripto gratissime accepto, hospitium meum undecimo post die circa nonam matutinam ingressus, sollicitè admodum coepit interrogare, quemadmodum te ob hoc tuum scribendi genus exceperisset.¹³ Itaque post brevem rei gestae narrationem, literulas tuas, quas solas 19 *Septembris* datas accepi, introspectandas tradidi;¹⁴ quibus ille percursis, post varios sermones abiturus, haec verba protulit, “Utrumque affinis tui scriptum cum maximo fructu et summa voluptate perlegi. Hoc veni tibi significaturus. Et simul ac literarum aliquid ad ipsum

⁷ Paris had both official and royal censure; books required a privilege for publication, but could still be removed from the shops by the Chancellor and placed on the Roman Catholic Index. Royal censure seems to have been intensified rather than waned at the time of the present letter. Since Tilenus’ intended publications concerned the Protestant religion, they would not pass censure. Cf. Barbiche (1982).

⁸ Daniel Tilenus and John Cameron (1579–1625), *Canones Synodi Dordracenae cum notis et animadversionibus* (Paris, 1622), in opposition to the Canons of Dordrecht; *Traité de la cause et de l’origine du péché, où sont examinées les opinions des philosophes payens, des Juifs, des autres hérétiques, des Libertins, Luther, Calvin et autres nouveaux qui ont traité cette matière* (Paris, 1621).

⁹ Junius distinguished himself from the Remonstrants by referring to “suarum Ecclesiarum” [their churches], **25d**, **27c**. King James was opposed to the Remonstrants, **28c**, **32h**.

¹⁰ Tilenus, not King James.

¹¹ Vossius, *Historiae de controversiis* (1618), **28c**. Joseph Hall (1574–1656), dean of

to himself, but to all other supporters of the good cause too. Several works of his are desiring the press, some of which he showed to me, viz. *Commentary on the Canons of the Synod of Dordrecht*, a French treatise on the cause of sin, and more works in a similar vein. You know how this is not allowed elsewhere. But in order not to deviate from the proposed story any longer, I return to what I have begun.

e The king spoke not at all, or quite little, about the Remonstrants' circumstances to Mr. Tilenus, being satisfied to have heard from him something about the hierarchy of their churches. He also told of the evident favour of the bishops towards him, and added much on the particular affection with which they honoured him on his departure.

f When I eagerly began to inquire whether anyone had ever made any mention of you and your *History*, he nodded [and said] that, besides in excellent praises of others, it had been offered to him by Mr. Joseph Hall at the highest recommendation, but that he had been prevented from reading it by ill health. I understood from this that he did not have your book, and in order to fulfil the promise I had given you, I intimated what you had commissioned to me on my departure, and three days later I presented him not only with the *History*, but also with the *Answer to Ravensperger's Judgement* as a gift on your behalf. Having most gratefully accepted both books, he entered my lodgings eleven days later at about nine in the morning and began to inquire quite anxiously in what manner he had received you because of your kind of writing. So, after a brief discussion of the event, I gave him for examination your short letter, the only one I have received, written on 19 September. He glanced down it, and uttered these words, being about to leave after several discussions, "I have read both of your brother-in-law's books with the fullest fruit and the greatest delight. I came to intimate this to you,

Worcester, future bishop of Exeter (1627) and of Norwich (1641). He had been one of the English representatives at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618, where Vossius had met him. Cf. *DNB* 24.75–80, van 't Spijker *et al.* (1987:62), Rademaker (1981:127), who identifies him as Joseph Hales, as does Sellin (1968:32, 88).

¹² Vossius, *Responsio ad iudicium Hermanni Ravenspergeri, de libro, ab Hugone Grotio, v.cl. pro Catholica fide de satisfactione Iesu Christi, scripto adversus Faustum Socinum* (Leiden, 1618), a reply to Ravensperger's *Apologia pro Catholica fide* (Groningen, 1617), a Counter-Remonstrant answer to Grotius' study of Socinianism. Ravensperger's treatise had been badly received by Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants alike. Cf. Rademaker (1981:122).

¹³ Elliptic sentence.

¹⁴ Letter 29.

dabis, non tantum meis verbis plurimam ei salutem dices, sed et spondebis me suo tempore ostensurum, quam non apud ingratum hoc suum munus collocaverit.”

g Digresso *Domino* Tileno, pomeridianum eiusdem diei tempus *Domino* Iunio, tum primum ab expeditione reverso impendi; et post mutuae gratulationis officia, generalioribus, ut primum fieri assolet, et longe accersitis sermonibus diem condidimus, cognato nunc fratris Casimiri mentionem faciente, alias sororum numerum percontante, et priores duas parentis nostri uxores sibi visas referente, quandoque etiam de patriae nostrae statu nonnihilo sciscitante.¹⁵ Septimo post primum congressum die me una cum aliquot Uxellodunensibus ad prandium vocatum, magnifico lautitiarum apparatu humanissime et splendissime excepit.¹⁶ Atque ita ne tunc quidem per importunam illiterati istius consortii praesentiam de rebus meis quicquam egi.¹⁷

h Interim proximae cuique occasione manum iniicere destinatum est, omniaque prout ceciderint, ad te perscribere. Sed iam dudum forte ex me audire desideras, qualis mihi cognatus ille noster videatur. Da veniam, coniunctissime affinis, iam tale quid scripturus eram, cum praeter expectationem a proposito desistere cogor ob praeproperum aurigae Antuerpiani discessum. Itaque hebdomade proxime sequenti nonnihilo de rebus meis et Agmonii nostri, si Deus volet, ad te scribam.¹⁸ Nunc iubeo salvere, etc.

Raptim; Lutetiae, anno 1620, 12 Decembris.

Tuus omni officio, Fr. Iunius F.F.

31 21 05 05 JUNIUS (QUILLEBEUF) TO MARIA JUNIUS (DELFT)¹

A Aen de eerbaere ende deughdenrijcke joffrouwe Maria du Jon, weduwe van wijlen D. Isaacus Diamantius ghetrouwen bedienaer des woords woonende ontrent de Rotterdamsche poort, in de brouwerij

¹⁵ Junius' relative Jean du Jon had been on an expedition with King Louis, **27b**. Johan Casimir Junius, Elizabeth van den Corput, and Junius the Elder's first wife Agnes de Meef (d. 1577), daughter of Guillaume de Meef, or Champion, Liège Clerk of the City and mayor. Cf. Cuno (1891:219–20).

¹⁶ Unidentified; they must have known the du Jon/Junius family, since they were from Issoudun, France, the town where Junius the Elder had come from.

¹⁷ Cf. **27c**.

¹⁸ Jean du Jon. Junius the Elder had made and used the pseudonym Nabadi Agmonii, based on Hebrew “nadib,” F. “franc” [free, noble], and “agmoon,”

and as soon as you will write him a letter, you must not only give him warmest regards on my behalf, but also promise him that I will show in due time how he bestowed his gift on someone most grateful.”

g After Mr. Tilenus had left, I devoted the afternoon of the same day to Mr. du Jon, who had returned from the expedition just then. After obligations of mutual congratulation, we spent the day with rather general conversations about the past, as is customary to do first; our relative now making mention of Brother Casimir, now inquiring after the number of sisters, and saying that he had seen my father's first two wives, and occasionally he even asked something about the state of our fatherland. One week after our first meeting, he invited me to dinner together with some people from Issoudun, and received me most kindly and splendidly with spectacular display of elegance. So, because of the inconvenient presence of this illiterate company, I did not say anything about my circumstances even then.

h Meanwhile, I have decided to seize the first possible opportunity to write to you everything just as it happened. But perhaps you had wished to hear from me already long before what kind of person our relative seems to be to me. Excuse me, dearest Brother, I was about to write such a point now, when, beyond expectation, I am forced to leave my intention due to the Antwerp coachman's sudden departure. So, God willing, I will write you something about my and our Agmonius' circumstances next week. Now I bid you to be well, etc.

In haste. Paris, in the year 1620, 12 December.

Obligingly Yours, Fr. Junius F.F.

31 21 05 05 JUNIUS (QUILLEBEUF) TO MARIA JUNIUS (DELFT)

A To the honourable and virtuous Mrs. Maria du Jon, widow of the late Mr. Isaac Diamant, faithful servant of the Word, residing near the Rotterdam Gate in the brewery The Jar. Otherwise, in case

F. "jonc" [(bul)rush], hence "Nobleman of Bulrush," as is also apparent in the du Jon coat of arms and seal, **46e**. Junius also used this pseudonym for his political satire "Flagitium Batavum," on which he may have been working at this time, **48c**. Much later, he also used it during his stay in Friesland in the late 1640s, **196c**. Cf. Cuno (1891:92).

¹ *o*: BLO, Rawl. 79, f. 60.

van de pot. ofte in haer af-wesen aen den eersaemen ende voorzienighen Heere Jan Abrahamss. Graswinckel, woonende in de brouwerij van 't dubbeld' ancker, tot Delft. Loont den brengher.

a Vrede in Christo.

Hertelick beminde suster, nae dat ick laetst-mael aen V.E. wt Rouen gheschreven hebbe, quam ons de tijdinghe van D. Grotii aerdigh ont-komen ter ooren;² waer op ick, wenshende so grooten wonderwerck des Heeren ontrent so grootelicks °gelieffden man met mijne ooghen teghen-wordigh t' aen °schouwen, weder-om te rugghe nae Parijs ben ghekeert, °ende hebbe nae een weke wachtens mijnes herten wensch °[. . .]en; want ick dien vroomen Heere niet alleen vroolick °ende wel te passe vond, maer oock even seer tot dienst °onser familie vaerdigh, als wel oyt te vooren; oock °hebbe ick met hem van mijne gheleghenheyd so wat °ghesproken, ende voor-naemelick van de redenen waer-om ick °het noodigh achtete van daer te ver-trecken, welcke redenen °bij hem goed ghevonden sijnde mij te vaerdigher hebben tot het wt-voeren mijnes voor-nemens aen-ghe-dreven, te meer om dat ick hem met deselvighe reyse noch so wat diensts konde ghedoen.³ So haest sal ick niet ter ghewenschter plaets ghekomen sijn, of ick sal V.E. van alle mijne gheleghenheyd ten vollen ver-wittighen. Nu moet ick daedelick t' skeep, 't welck mij ver-hindert langher te schrijven.

b Over-mids eenighe on-kosten die in mijne laetste reyse over en weer Parijs ghevallen sijn, hebbe ick van Mr Fijck noch vijftigh guldens ont-fanghen; ick soude tot de reyse met het geld ick noch hadde ghenoegh hebben konnen toe-komen, maer over-mids ick ter plaetse daer ick meyne te komen, aen gheen koop-luyden met allen mij selven van sin ben bekend te maecken, so hebbe ick sulx op voor-raed moeten doen.⁴ V.E. liefde ende hert-grondighe gheneghenheyd t' mij-waerds sal alles ten besten schicken. ende ick ver-hope

a gelieffden: [+ gelief]fden (*Sheet cut off*) | schouwen: [+ schou]wen | ende: [+ ende] | [. . .]en: [+]en | ende wel: [+ ende wel] | onser: [+ onser] | hebbe: [+ hebbe] | ghesproken: ghe[+ sproken] | het: [+ het] | bij: [+ b]ij

² Junius' previous letter to Maria is unretrieved. It may have accompanied a chest of books he sent to Johanna Junius, **42f**. Rouen is on the river Seine, about two-thirds down on the way from Paris to the coast. Grotius had been convicted

of her absence, to the honourable and conscientious Mr. Jan Abrahamszn Graswinckel, residing in the brewery The Double Anchor, in Delft. Pay the courier.

a Peace in Christ.

Dearly beloved Sister, after I had last written to you from Rouen, the news of Mr. Grotius' ingenious escape came to our ears, after which, desirous to [behold] such a great marvel-work of the Lord concerning such a dearly [beloved] person personally with my eyes, I returned to Paris again, [and] [fulfilled] my heart's desire after having waited for a week. For sure, I found that pious gentleman not only merry [and in good condition], but also as ready for favours to [our] family as ever before. I also [talked] to him about my circumstances somewhat, and especially about the reasons why I felt need to leave from there, which reasons, having been agreed to by him, have exhorted me all the more readily to carry out my intention, the more so because I could also do him a favour with this trip. As soon as I have arrived at the desired destination, I will fully inform you of all my circumstances. Now I must embark presently, which prevents me from writing more.

b Due to some expenses which I made during my last trip back and forth to Paris, I received another fifty guilders from Mr. Fijck. I could have managed for the trip with the money I still had, but because I do not have in mind to make myself wholly known to any merchants in the place where I intend to arrive, I had to do so in anticipation. Your love and heartfelt kindness for me will turn

of treason and imprisoned for life at Loevestein castle on 5 June 1619. He had escaped in a book chest, which Vossius used to send to him filled with material for studies, on 22 March 1620, and fled in disguise to Paris, where he arrived on 13 April. Cf. Brandt and van Cattenburgh 1.242ff., Nellen (1985:34–38).

³ Junius was on his way to England, **32b**. His motives for going there seem to have been a feeling of insecurity in Paris, Jean du Jon's failure to find him a position, and some familiarity with England, **10**, **27c**, **30g**. Without an invitation or the prospect of finding a position, Junius did not know whether he would stay long, and still considered himself an involuntary exile, **32e**, **35h**. Grotius had commissioned him to deliver letters in England and to try recover a manuscript copy of *De imperio*, **32c–j**.

⁴ Mr. Fijck, probably a merchant, is unidentified. Junius must have feared being harrassed in England, although no indications that he was sought have been identified.

oock dat mij de Heere t' sijner tijd ghelegghenheyd sal geven om aen V.E. ghelijcke ver-geldinghe te bewijzen. Desen in-ghesloten en wilt doch wel bestellen.⁵ De Heere sij met V.E. groet alle de vrienden. met grooten haest. wt Killjebeuf. Anno 1621. den 5 Maii.⁶
V.E. dienst-schuldighe ende dienst-vaerdighe broeder.

32₃₃ 21 06 05 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO WILLEM DE GROOT (PARIS)¹

A *Domino* Guilielmo Grotio.

a *Salutem plurimam.* Si tu, una cum fratre *claro*, commoda uteris valetudine, est quod vestro et publico potissimum nomine immortalis Deo gratias agamus °immortales.² Ego eiusdem summi Numinis gratuito favore vivo et valeo. Quam aegre a vobis avelli potuerim, non alias magis, quam nunc absens experior.³ Incredibile est quanto vestri desiderio tener; inde est quod magnam partem noctium in imagine vestra vigil exigo; inde, quod interdum, quocumque me contuli, vos animus, vos oculi requirunt.⁴ Non possum dicere, "Angor," neque me tamen sollicitae huius anxietatis pigere potest, quin eam ultro potius, tanquam amoris mei vivam quandam imaginem, foveo atque amplector.⁵ Nolo existimes, me hic auribus tuis quicquam dare. Nihil blandior.⁶ Unde et animum meum indubiae veritatis certissimum testem cieri non dubitarem, nisi praesentes litterae in oculos incurrens eoque inconfutabile testimonium perhiberent. Quid est enim, cur sanctissimis amicitiae legibus tam religiose cautum sit, ne unquam mutua litterarum officia absentibus amicis denegemus? Credo, ut impatientissimum absentiae taedium imaginaria hac praesentia et adumbrato alloquio nonnihil possit mitigari.

a immortales: immor[+ t]ales

⁵ Junius' enclosed letter is unretrieved.

⁶ Quillebeuf, a village on the coast of France at the mouth of the river Seine.

¹ o: ARA, no. 33. On verso in de Groot's hand: "Recepta Parisiis 19^o Iunii 1621." Henk Nellen has brought o to my attention.

² Cf. Cicero, *Pro Milone* 83.5–6, "sed huius beneficii gratiam, iudices, Fortuna populi Romani et vestra felicitas et di immortales sibi debere putant," 169c.

³ Sections a–b are a celebration of friendship, *amicitia*, composed of *topoi* in accordance with epistolary conventions, cf. Introduction.

everything to advantage. I also hope that the Lord will grant me the opportunity to render you alike acquittal in due course. Please deliver this enclosed [letter]. The Lord be with you. Greet all friends. In great haste. From Quillebeuf, in the year 1621, on 5 May. Your obliging and supportive brother.

32 21 06 05 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO WILLEM DE GROOT (PARIS)

A To Mr. Willem de Groot.

a Warmest regards. If you, as well as your renowned brother, are enjoying good health, we have reason to give eternal thanks to the eternal God on behalf of you and the public weal. I am alive and doing well thanks to the gratuitous favour of the same highest Deity. I have never more fully experienced how reluctantly I could be separated from you than now that I am gone. It is unbelievable by how great a desire for you I am held—that is why I am spending a large part of the night awake to an image of you; that is why my heart is missing you and my eyes are missing you wherever I am going by day. I cannot say “I am anxious,” nor yet can I dislike this anxious concern without rather favouring and embracing it spontaneously, just as a living image of my love. I do not want you to think that I am gratifying your ears here; I am not flattering at all. Consequently, I also would not hesitate to call upon my heart as the most certain witness of unquestionable truth, if the present letter had not shown a visible and consequently irrefutable testimonial to the eyes. What is the reason why the holiest laws of friendship have so conscientiously warned us never to deny the mutual obligations of letters for absent friends? I believe that the truly unbearable loathing of absence could be mitigated somewhat by this imaginary presence and substitute conversation.

⁴ Junius composed this sentence from three quotations of Pliny the Younger’s *Epistolae*: 4.1.2.1, “nam invicem nos incredibili quodam desiderio vestri tenemur;” 7.5.1.2–4, “inde est quod magnam noctium partem in imagine tua vigil exigo; inde, quod interdiu;” 6.10.2.1–2, “quocunq̄ me contulisset, illum animus, illum oculi requirebant.”

⁵ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 2.8.2.2, “non possum dicere, ‘Invideo,’ angor tamen non et mihi licere.”

⁶ Quintilian, *Declamationes minores* 349.11.4, “non blandior tibi.”

- b** Ego certe non alio me nunc animo ad scribendum confero. Dumque menti longo desiderii aestu agitatae requiem quaero, me vobis hic sisto, ubi vicissim vos mihi iam quasi in oculis estis; iam effusissimo vos amplexu invado; iam libero egressu Britannici itineris negotia memoro, et vos pro vestro erga me affectu pronis auribus dicta mea accipientes video; iam votis fruor usque ad invidiam felicibus dum utilissimis vestris sermonibus vespera extenditur, et quamquam longissimus dies cito conditur.⁷ Sed quo me nunc abripui? Nimio profecto gaudio pene mihi desipere videor, cum haec animo agito.⁸ Quid enim? Verissimum est quod refero; iam nunc e vestigio meo exilui, neque exiluisse sensi. Fit hoc sponte, fit instinctu quodam et imperio; nam gaudio quoque nescio quae cogendi vis inest.⁹ Omnino tamen impetus hic est cohibendus, ne, ut nunc laetitiae, sic postea moeroris immodicus agam, ubi litteris ad finem perductis vobiscum loqui desiero.¹⁰ Interim bene habet, quod praesentis huius voluptatis dulcedine mihi quiddam quasi animulae restillari sentiam; unde et in spem venio, posthac quomodocunque duraturam patientiam, usque dum tuae mihi litterae, solidum gaudii huius usum reducant.¹¹ Rogo ergo, exigo etiam pro iure amicitiae, quamprimum rupta omni mora litteras tuas, ut laetitia afficiar, mitto.¹²
- c** Non facies, scio, aut si facere tentes, nequicquam tamen meam in scribendo lentitudinem ad exemplum trahas. Non potui festinantius. Vix diei moram perpressus statim de *clari* fratris tui litteris bene curandis cogitavi.¹³ Sed aliquoties in occasionem commodiorem hoc meum officium differre coactus sum, propterea quod durante etiamnum

⁷ Petronius, *Satyricon* 139.4.2, “amplexunque efusissimo.” Tacitus, *Annales* 4.32.7–8, “plebis et optimatum certamina libero egressu memorabant,” *Historiae* 1.1.11, “pronis auribus accipiuntur;” *ibidem* 1.54.5, “pronis auribus accipiebantur.” Petronius, *Satyricon* 11.1.3–2.1, “fruoque votis usque ad invidiam felicibus.” Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 9.36.4.4–5.1, “ita variis sermonibus vespera extenditur, et quamquam longissimus dies bene conditur.” Junius had just sailed from France to England, **31a**. Except for several short breaks, he was to stay there until 1642.

⁸ Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares* 2.9.2.9, “cum obiurgarer quod nimio gaudio paene desiperem.”

⁹ Pliny the Younger, *Panegyric* 73.2.1–3.1, “quis tunc non e vestigio suo exsiluit? Quis exsiluisse sensit? Multa fecimus sponte, plura instinctu quodam et imperio; nam gaudio quoque cogendi vis inest.”

¹⁰ Tacitus, *Annales* 15.23.14–15, “atque ipse ut laetitiae, ita maeroris immodicus egit.”

¹¹ Cicero, *Epistolae ad Atticum* 9.7.1.3–4, “mihi quiddam quasi animulae restillarunt.” Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 7.7.6, “durata patientia.”

- b** I, at least, have now devoted myself to writing with no other intention. Since I am seeking rest for a heart excited by the long ardour of desire, I present myself to you here, where I have you in turn in sight now, so to speak; I seize you in a truly immoderate embrace now; I now recount the events of my trip to England in an unrestrained discursion, and see you listening to my words with attentive ears in accordance with your affection for me; I now delight in wishes that are happy even up to envy, while the evening is lengthened by your most enjoyable words, and the day, long as it may be, is spent swiftly. But where have I carried myself off now? I appear almost silly to myself because of this altogether excessive happiness, when I consider it in my heart. What is it? It is most true what I say; I leapt out of my track and did not notice I leapt; it happens spontaneously, it happens by instinct and order—for some kind of drive to urge affairs is also comprised in happiness. Still, this impulse must altogether be restrained, so that afterwards, when I have ceased to talk to you upon finishing the letter, I will not behave immoderately because of grief, just as I am doing now because of happiness. Meanwhile, it is good that I feel as if some life has been dripped into me by the sweetness of this present delight; because of this, I cherish the hope that my patience will hold out in one way or another after this, until your letter to me may restore the real enjoyment of this happiness. So I ask, I even demand it in accordance with the law of friendship; send your letter as soon as possible, cutting out all delay, in order to grace me with happiness.
- c** You will not, or if you try to, you would still to no avail take my slowness in writing as an example, I know. I could not write any sooner. Hardly allowing a day's delay, I immediately thought of caring well for your renowned brother's letters. But I was forced to postpone my obligation to a more convenient opportunity several times, especially because an opportunity to address the reverend

¹² Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 6.8.51, "Rogo ergo, exigo etiam pro iure amicitiae." Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares* 3.9.2.14, "ad me litteras, ut quam primum laetitia adficiar, mittito."

¹³ Grotius had commissioned Junius to deliver letters to Marcantonio de Dominis and Bishop Andrewes in England, **d-j**, **31a**. Before his arrest, Grotius had believed these men his allies in his irenic pursuit to unify the moderate Protestant Churches, which he had intended to result in an ecumenical Church of the whole Christian world, including the Church of Rome. Neither of them, however, had shown any enthusiasm for committing themselves to Grotius' project. Cf. Trevor-Roper (1992:47–82), van Dam (1995).

Parlamento rarissima oriatur facultas reverendos patres compellandi.¹⁴ Tandem tamen, quod volueram, assecutus, duos illustres conveni viros, unum Italum, Anglum alterum; ac proinde omnium nunc summam paucis exequar.

d Italo vehiculum suum concameratum conscensuro litteras tradidi;¹⁵ quibus ille statim perlectis, "Iam," inquit, "avocor, ut vides. Interim cras hac ipsa hora me accedes, ut ex te audiam quae sunt audienda." Quod ego, reverentiam viri omnibus debitae venerationis obsequiis prosecutus, facturum recepi; quamquam nescio quid verbis hisce, quod non leviter aures meas ferierat, inesse mihi videbatur; unde et medii temporis spatio multa animum meum misere distrahebant, quae nunc tamen non referam, ne chartae huic tantummodo somniorum meorum interpretamenta involvisse iudicer.

e Postridie praestituta hora ad colloquium reverendissimi viri in hemicyclo sedentis admissus, primum interrogor numquid haberem ex mandato *clari* fratris tui litteris istis superaddere; cumque nihil quicquam restare dixissem, haec tantum adieci, "Existimo non ob aliud hasce litteras a *claro* viro scriptas esse, quam ut suo erga *Reverentiam* Vestram officio satisfaceret, et mihi gratificaretur, cui gaudio futuram sciebat opportunam hanc occasionem *reverentiam* vestram videndi et salutandi." Deinde diligentissima sciscitatione quaesivit an propositum haberem diu morandi in Anglia. Ut nondum me destinationis certum esse intellexit, tandem exquirere coepit quonam pacto *clarus* frater tuus e vinculis elapsus sit; et vixdum rei gestae seriem brevi narratiuncula pertexueram, cum ille interpellans ingentem prorsus difficultatem moveret.¹⁶ Subdubitari enim posse aiebat, annon satius fuisset *illustrium* *Ordinum* clementiam opperiri, quandoquidem nemini iam dubium amplius erat quin brevi in integrum restitutus et libertatis et dignitatis pristinae bono in ipsa patria securus frui potuisset.¹⁷

¹⁴ The parliament of 1621 convened at Westminster in two sessions, the first of which was held from 30 January until 28 May, with an additional week to the start of the summer recess on 4 June. Parliament had been summoned to discuss the support England had to give to King James' son-in-law Frederick V (1596–1632), elector palatine and king of Bohemia, at the Spanish invasion of the Palatinate. Junius had probably not been able to meet the two men before 28 May. Cf. **39d**, Russell (1979:85–144).

¹⁵ Marcantonio de Dominis (1566–1624), dean of Windsor, former archbishop of Spalato (former Yugoslavia), who had turned his back on the Church of Rome to become a member of the Church of England. However, he was disappointed at finding the Protestant Church less ecumenical than he had hoped. At the time of the present letter, de Dominis was secretly preparing his return to the Church of

fathers most rarely occurred while Parliament was still continuing. But having finally obtained what I wished, I met the two illustrious men, the one an Italian, the other an Englishman; so, I will now describe a summary of everything in a few words.

d I handed the letter to the Italian when he was about to mount his sedan chair. Reading it immediately, he said, "I am called off now, as you see, but please come to me at the same time tomorrow, so that I can hear from you what is to be heard." This I promised to do, honouring the reverend lord with all obligations of due veneration, although I felt something was contained in these words which quite struck my ears; consequently, in the meantime my heart was also deeply troubled by many matters, which I will not tell now, though, in order not to appear to have entrusted just the interpretations of my dreams to this paper.

e The next day at the appointed hour I was granted an interview with the right reverend lord, who sat in the parlour, and was first asked whether I had anything to add to that letter at your renowned brother's behest. When I had said there was nothing else, I added only this, "I believe that this letter was written by the renowned gentleman for no other reason than to fulfil his obligation to your Reverence and do a favour to me, to whom he knew that this convenient opportunity to see and greet your Reverence would be a delight." By most attentive inquiry he then asked whether I had the intention to stay in England long. When he heard I was not yet sure of my destination, he finally began to inquire in which manner your renowned brother had escaped from the fetters. Hardly yet had I woven the chain of events into a short story, when he interrupted and raised an absolutely enormous problem. For he said that it could be somewhat questioned whether it had not been better to wait for the Illustrious States' mercy, since no one had any further doubt now that he could soon have been restored to his former capacity and could safely have enjoyed the benefit of his former freedom and dignity in his fatherland itself.

Rome, now that a relative of his had become Pope Gregory XV in 1620. He returned to his old faith in 1622, yet was convicted of heresy by the Inquisition in 1624. Cf. *DNB* 15.201–03, van Dam (1992:202–07; 1995:198, 203–04, 207).

¹⁶ Junius presumably went to England without having arranged anything, **31a**. Grotius had escaped from prison, **31a**.

¹⁷ De Dominis' assumption was unfounded, cf. Nellen (1985:38–39).

- f** His auditis aegre admodum me continui, quin modeste subri-
derem; inhibuit me tamen debita tantae aetati et dignitati reveren-
tia; cumque, ut tute melius scis, plurima hic dici potuissent, hoc
unico tantum dicto contentus fui, "Post vinculorum taedium nimis
diuturnum, prima quaeque occasio optima semper atque oppor-
tunissima est. Nosti illud Curtii Montani, 'Optimus est, post malum
principem, dies primus'."¹⁸ Eo respiciebam. Potuissem et apposite, si
occurrisset, Plautinum hoc allegare, "Liber captivus avis ferae con-
similis est. Semel fugiendi si data est occasio, satis est; nunquam pos-
tilla possis prendere."¹⁹
- g** Exin sedulo percunctatus est quid rerum *clarus* frater tuus Lutetiae
gereret, ac porro gesturus videretur. Negavi mihi constare, nisi quod
suavissimo recentis etiamnum libertatis tempore *illustrissimorum* aliquot
virorum obviis gratulationibus totos pene dies vacantem vidissem; ita
ut ex gratantium numero ac dignitate facile aestimatu mihi fuerit
quanti a maximis quibusque viris in Gallia fiat; eoque minime dubium
mihi esse quin suo tempore Deus *optimus maximus* de reliquo abunde
sit provisurus.²⁰ "Recte," inquebat ille, "si modo eum tali occasione
Pontificii non lucrifaciant."²¹ Tum ego, "Qui virum norunt, non ipsi
tantum de hoc securi sunt, sed et cuilibet alteri similiter metum hunc
demere posse censent divinas aliquot meditationes in aerumnosae
calamitatis solatium ab ipso cum adhuc attineretur scripto consignatas."²²
- h** Dumque paucula quaedam huc spectantia commemoro, reveren-
dus vir orationem eo unde digressa erat referens, "Etiam hic," inquit,
"ob eximias felicissimi ingenii dotes maximo apud omnes loco sem-
per habitus est, nisi quod apud Regem nostrum aliosque magnos
viros, me vicem hominis amicissimi non leviter dolente, adverso plane
rumore fuit, ex quo deprehensus est consilia cum *Barneveldo* mis-
cuisse."²³ Sic tandem post nonnullos de moderationis studio, unica

¹⁸ Tacitus, *Historiae* 4.42.6; in 4.40–42, the Roman senator Curtius Montanus warned for tyranny in a speech concluded by the quotation.

¹⁹ Plautus, *Captivi* 116, "liber captivos avis ferae . . . prendere."

²⁰ Grotius was granted an annuity by Louis XIII, and was admitted to the circle of scholars of Pierre (1582–1651) and Jacques (1586–1656) Dupuy (or Puteanus), and Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), who met in the renowned Cabinet Dupuy. The English ambassador in Paris, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, had also befriended Grotius, **220g**. Cf. Nellen (1985:39–40).

²¹ De Dominis' reference to Rome was presumably inspired by his disappointment over the Church of England.

²² Grotius, *Vraghe en antwoordt* (1618), **45d**.

²³ Grotius, champion of the Remonstrants and of grand-pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, had openly collided with the English ambassador in the Dutch

f When hearing this, I restrained myself with great difficulty from smiling discreetly, but the reverence due to such an advanced age and to dignity prevented me; and although many words could have been spoken here, as you yourself know better, I was satisfied with just these, "After too lengthy a loathing of fetters, the first possible opportunity is always the best and most proper. You know this saying by Curtius Montanus, 'The best day after a bad prince is the first'." I left it at that there. I could also suitably have mentioned this saying by Plautus, if it had occurred to me, "A free man who is captured is similar to a wild bird; if an opportunity to flee is granted once, it is enough; you will never be able to catch it after that."

g Then he diligently inquired what your renowned brother was doing in Paris and what he intended to do in the future. I said I did not know this, except that I had seen him almost all day at leisure for the ready congratulations from several most illustrious men during the sweetest period of still recent freedom; so much so, that it was easy for me to appreciate on the basis of the number and dignity of the congratulators how greatly he is esteemed by all the most important men in France; that I had therefore the least doubt that in due time Allgood and Almighty God would abundantly provide for the rest. "Very well," he said, "if only the papists do not win him over on such an occasion." Then I replied, "Those who know the gentleman are not only secure about this themselves, but also believe that this fear can equally be removed from anyone else on account of several edifying meditations which he entrusted to writing when he was still imprisoned as consolation of the deplorable disaster."

h When I mentioned a few matters regarding this, the reverend lord brought back the conversation to where it had deviated and said, "Here he has also always held the highest place with everybody because of the exceptional gifts of his most felicitous merit, except that with our king and other dignitaries—although I feel quite sorry for the most friendly man—he has had a truly unfavourable name, since he was conceived to have mingled his intentions with Oldenbarnevelt." Thus I was finally dismissed by the right reverend lord

Republic Sir Dudley Carleton, 57c, who supported the Counter-Remonstrants and Prince Maurice on King James' behalf, in 1617. In an attempt to subdue Carleton and win the king over to his own faction, Grotius had sent letters to Andrewes, John Overall, j, and de Dominis with the request to allow his agent to correct the ambassador's reports to the king. This action was part of the charge of treason against Grotius in 1618. Cf. Trevor-Roper (1992:56–58), van Dam (1995:205–07).

tantarum afflictionum occasione, sermones multo cum honore verborum ab *reverendissimo* viro dimissus sum.

i Anglus, *clari* fratris tui litteris lectis, in proximum conclave sevocatum me humilitate tam amabili excepit, ut perfusus rubore manifesto nimios istos honores, velut indignitati meae praegraves, deprecari conatus sim; sed multis seriisque precibus a *reverendo* sene impetrare non potui, ut capite operto attentum se praeberet loquenti mihi.²⁴ Quales nunc mecum habuerit sermones, paucis dicam; cum praesertim, propter instantem consessus Regii horam, pauca tantum inter nos verba commutata sint.²⁵ Nihil hic difficultatum, nihil suspicionum; ita omnia dicta factaque ardentissimum quendam spirabant affectum. Volupe mihi fuisset producere sermones istos, sed curis gravioribus morae aliquid iniicere verebar.

j Ut vero brevem scripti fraterni mentionem feci, respondit, non sibi, sed alteri cuidam *reverendo* viro fato iam functo scriptum istud fuisse commissum; et quemadmodum videndi eius legendique copiam sibi factam non diffitebatur, ita et piissimae memoriae viro restitutum esse affirmabat.²⁶ Addebat porro, rem hanc difficultatibus non carituram, eo quod uxor defuncti matrimonio priori novum iam superinduxisset maritum. Interim nihil non in gratiam *clari* fratris tui se facturum promisit. Ego quoque quantum fieri poterit allaborabo, urgebo. Quin et nudius tertius eo animo Grenovicum petii, ut ex *reverendissimo* viro intelligerem si quid ea in re praestitisset, sed frustra fui, quoniam Regem summo mane alio prosecutus erat. Quicquid efficietur, vobis id confestim notum faciam.

k Tu interim, quo uno modo potes, te mihi quam creberrime osten-

²⁴ Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626), bishop of Winchester (1619) and dean of the Chapel Royal (1619), a distinguished elderly gentleman, whose devotion to studies and knowledge of many European as well as Oriental languages elicited great admiration. A moderate churchman, he had been bishop of Chichester (1605) and of Ely (1609), and was the patron of William Laud, the future archbishop, **43b**. He regularly preached before the king, was the king's confessor, and sat in the Privy Council for Scotland and England—which was just convening in Greenwich, **j**. He held various religious and secular offices, and was a member of the House of Lords, of the Court of High Commission, which dealt with religious issues, and of the Court of Star Chamber, which dealt with secular issues. His kindness is revealed in his dealing with Archbishop Abbot's notorious hunting affair, **39b–c**. Andrewes received Junius without wearing his headdress, a gesture of honour which lowered his own status. Cf. *DNB* 1.401–05, Owen (1981), Heringa (1961:168–69).

²⁵ The Privy Council, **j**.

²⁶ Grotius, *De imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra* (Paris, 1647), a treatise advocating the Erastian view that the secular government have control over the church. In 1617, Grotius had sent a manuscript copy of it, now KB, 131 C 21, to John

with great honour of words, after several discussions on the devotion to moderation on the exceptional occasion of such great afflictions.

i Having read your renowned brother's letter, the Englishman called me apart to an adjacent room and received me with such friendly kindness that, blushing with visible shame, I tried to dismiss those excessive honours, which were too heavy, as it were, for my unworthiness. But by many and serious prayers I could not bring the reverend old gentleman to showing himself listening to me with a covered head as I spoke. I will now say in a few words what kind of discussion he had with me, especially since only a few words were exchanged between us due to the approaching hour of the king's assembly. No difficulties here, no suspicions; thus everything said and done breathed a most ardent affection. It would have been delightful for me to prolong that discussion, but I hesitated to cause some delay to more serious concerns.

j However, when I briefly mentioned your brother's treatise, he answered that this treatise had been entrusted not to himself but to another reverend lord, who had already died, and just as he did not deny having had an opportunity to see and read it, he likewise affirmed it had been returned to the gentleman of most blessed memory. He added further that the business would not be without difficulties, because the wife of the deceased gentleman had already married a new husband over the former marriage. Meanwhile, he promised to do all in favour of your renowned brother. I will also strive and press as much as I can. I even also went to Greenwich the day before yesterday with an intention to hear of the right reverend lord if he had accomplished anything in this respect, but it was to no avail, because he had followed the king elsewhere early in the morning. Whatever will be effected, I will immediately inform you.

k Meanwhile, you must present yourself to me as often as possible in the only manner you can. I will never receive your letter without us

Overall (1560–1619), then bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to hear his and Andrewes' opinion of it. The Englishmen, however, had put off answering, apparently reluctant to read a treatise to which the king was not likely to subscribe. Subsequently, Grotius had been imprisoned, and Overall had died, whereas the copy had not yet been returned. Grotius had asked Junius to inquire after it with Andrewes, **33h**. For a description of its incidents, cf. **34g-i**. Accompanied by a letter from John Cosin, the late Overall's secretary, the copy was sent via the sons of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt to Grotius in Paris, **38g**, **40b**. The text had not been annotated. For various reasons, Grotius decided not to publish it, and it accordingly appeared only posthumously in 1647. Cf. van Dam (1994, 1995, esp. 292–96), *BGGrotius* nos. 894–904; for a critical edition of *De imperio*, cf. van Dam (2001).

des. Nunquam epistolam tuam accipiam, ut non protinus una simus. Si enim absentium amicorum imagines iucundae nobis sunt, quae memoriam renovant, et desiderium absentiae falso atque inani solatio levant, quanto nobis iucundiores debent esse litterae, quae vera amici absentis vestigia, verasque notas afferunt? Nam quod in conspectu dulcissimum est, id amici manus epistolae impressa praestat agnoscere. Vale. Me ama, quantumque in te erit, dummodo ne ipsi mihi desim, annitere ut idem *clari* fratris erga me affectus quam longissime perduret. Saluta communes amicos.

Raptim; Londinii, anno 1621, 26 Maii *stilo vetere*.

Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.²⁷

³² **33** ₃₄ 21 06 25 WILLEM DE GROOT (PARIS) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Verae pietatis studiosissimo viro Francisco Iunio, Londinium.

a Dubitavi hactenus, amicissime Iuni, an ullo modo fieri posset ut quis affectus animi sui expressurus tali aut oratione aut scribendi modo uteretur qui auditoris aut lectoris adsensum certo moveat, hominemque ratione praeditum aliter credere quam ipse credi velit non patiatur.²

b Movebat me ab una parte multorum hominum ars—dicam—simulandi, an fallacia aliter quam sentiunt loquendi, quae iam eo modo totum pervagatur terrarum orbem; ut minus periculose facturi sint illi qui nihil eorum quae °dicuntur credunt, quam qui omnia. Videtur quidem ad id comparata esse eloquentia, ut orationis flosculis et ornatu dicendi vera persuadeat, sed iam nullus eius aut sane parvus apud homines non plane stultos usus est, qui non aliud certius falsi animi signum esse statuunt quam nimium orationis cultum; itaque pluribus hominibus qui tali sermone mendacio praeludunt non tuto fides adhibetur, imo tuto non adhibetur.³ Haec me impellebant ut negarem talem loquendi modum dari posse cui sani iudicii homo simpliciter adstipulari debeat.

b dicuntur: [... > dic]untur

²⁷ Added in *o* in an unidentified hand, "ut in Anno 1622 etc."

¹ *o*: UBA, M 82a. *d*: ARA, no. 32, only **h-k**. Henk Nellen has brought *d* to my attention.

being immediately together. For, if the absent friends' images, which refreshen the memory and alleviate the lack caused by absence with false and void comfort, are pleasant to us, how much more pleasing should letters, which bring genuine traces and genuine marks of the absent friend, be to us? For the friend's hand pressed on a letter is excellent to recognize what is sweetest to the eyes. Farewell. Love me and as long as I am not failing in my duty myself, take pains as much as you can that the same affection of your renowned brother for me will continue as long as possible. Please, greet our mutual friends. In haste. London, in the year 1621, 26 May old style. Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

33 21 06 25 WILLEM DE GROOT (PARIS) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the gentleman who devotes himself to genuine piety, Francis Junius, London.

a Up to now, dearest Junius, I have doubted whether someone who wishes to express his heartfelt affections could use such a rhetoric or style of writing in any way that it aroused the listener's or reader's assent for certain and did not allow someone gifted with reason to interpret it differently than he wished it to be interpreted.

b On the one hand, I was moved by—shall I call it many people's art of pretending, or deceit of speaking differently than they feel, which has already pervaded the whole world in such a way that those who believe nothing of what is being said will act less hazardously than those who believe everything. Rhetoric actually seems to be acquired for the purpose of convincing true matters by the flowers and ornament of rhetoric, but there is no or only very little use of it now among quite reasonable people who judge that there is no other more definite sign of a deceitful heart than an excessive reverence of rhetoric. So, confidence is not safely employed towards most people who deceive beforehand by a lie in such a discussion, even, it is safely not employed. This induced me to deny that there could be such a manner of speaking to which someone of sane counsel should simply agree.

² Sections **a–f** are a celebration of friendship, *amicitia*, composed of *topoi* in accordance with epistolary conventions, cf. Introduction.

³ The “ornatus” style in rhetoric, cf. Lausberg 538.

- c Ab altera parte miseria vitae humanae ob oculos versabatur, e cuius medio fides ipsa tolli videtur, nisi statuamus posse quem animi sui sensum ita explicare iisque ob oculos ponere coloribus ut interiora pectoris ipsaeque cogitationes introspicenti pateant.⁴ Hoc si tollimus, non immerito Momus in humani pectoris fabrica habebit quod desideret, speculum nimirum, quod si inesset microcosmo, posset quis non falli dummodo recte sibi prospiceret, possent et sinceri homines nec fallere nec fallere velle iudicari; quorum utrumque caveri iam aliter non potest, nisi in eo qui solus cogitationes nostras exprimit sermone aliquod ponamus dicendi genus, cui nemo nisi parum humanus ad sensum negare possit.⁵
- d Sed hanc tandem haesitationem, quae non parum me exercuit, tua nuper ad me perlata epistola exemit, ita enim illic amicitiam qua nobiscum coniungeris describis, iis eam figuris delineas, iis coloribus depingis, ut de ea nullus dubitandi locus supersit, isque qui tibi ita loquenti non crediderit incredulus, qui non amaverit ferreus haberi merito possit.⁶ Video te in litteris tuis, candidissime iuvenis, video sincerum animum, agnosco tuam erga nos propensionem, ita totum te in epistola nobis sistis, quam cum acciperem litterasque amicissima exaratas manu percurrerem vix me continere potui, quin exclamarem, “Teneo te mi Iuni,” et iam tenere me putabam, donec tu ipse absentiae tuae mentionem faciendo errorem mihi meum—sed iucundum mehercule—exemisti.
- e Unum hoc a te obnixè contendo, ut hoc pacto saepe a te decipiar, nullas ^oscribendi ad nos occasiones omitte; ego quoque officio meo non deero. Litteras tuas ita avidè expectabo ut iis cum toto meo animo ad mare obviam sim iturus; tu tantum cogitatione tua missas trans mare proseguere, sic tibi in littore Gallico potiore mei parte occurram. Et quantillum est, summe amicorum, quod nos separat? Imo quid est quod nos separat? Animi certe coniunguntur, quos nec interiectum mare, nec spatia terrarum, nec ^oviarum incognita, nec ipsa denique fortunae ludibria possunt separare. Certe mutuus hic animorum nexus corporibus quoque ut simul uniantur desiderium

e scribendi: s[. . > cr]ibendi | viarum: [. . . > viar]um

⁴ The topos “ut pictura poesis,” d, 114b^a.

⁵ Momos, the personification of fault-finding, cf. *OCD* (1996:994).

⁶ Letter 32. The topos “ut pictura poesis,” c, 114b^a.

- c On the other hand, before my eyes was moving the misery of human life, from the midst of which confidence itself seems to be removed, unless we judge that someone can display the feeling of his heart in such a way and place it before the eyes in those colours that the inner of the heart and the very thoughts become visible to the observer. If we remove this, Momos will deservedly have what he lacks in the structure of the human heart, that is, a window. If it were comprised in the Microcosm, no one could be deceived as long as he correctly watched out for himself, and sincere people could be judged as not being deceitful nor wishing to be deceitful. Either of these cannot be heeded otherwise now, unless we employ a manner of speaking to which nobody, except an extremely inhuman person, can deny his consent in that discussion which only expresses our thoughts.
- d However, your letter, which was recently delivered to me, finally removed this doubt, which deeply troubled me, for in it you described the friendship with which you are bound to us in such a way and drew it in those lines and painted it with those colours that there is no room left to doubt about it, and that he who would not believe you while you were speaking thus could deservedly be considered incredulous and he who did not love you iron-hearted. I see you in your letter, most candid young man, I see your sincere heart, I recognize your inclination for us, for you completely presented yourself to us in your letter in such a way that when I received and glanced through the letter written in that dearly beloved hand, I could hardly curb myself from exclaiming, "I hold you, my Junius," and already I thought I was holding you, until you yourself removed my error—but a pleasant one, by Hercules—from me by making mention of your absence.
- e I urgently request you only this, so that I am often deceived by you in this manner; please fail no opportunities to write to us; I will not be wanting in my duty either. I will look forward to your letters so avidly that I will go with all my heart to the sea to meet them. You, just follow in your thought the letters sent overseas; thus, I will meet you with my better part on the French coast. How little is it, best friend, that separates us? Even, what is it that separates us? Our hearts, which neither an intermediate sea, nor a stretch of land, nor unknown roads, nor, finally, the jests of fortune themselves can separate, are bound for certain. This joint entwining of our hearts certainly also gives to our bodies the desire to be likewise

indit, sed omnia vota nostra tenere excedit mortalitatis fastigium; praeterea simul et semper esse non possumus, et nuper fuimus, et brevi (ut spero) erimus.

f Sed vide quid posset amicitia; tam diu in principio litterarum tuarum haesi, suavissima illa tua verba legendo et relegendo, ut nihil mihi scribendum putarem quod non ad amicitiam nostram pertineret, et unde me tecum °paria facere posses iudicare. Itaque et hic finem epistolae imposuissim, nisi me alio vocasset tuarum litterarum series.

g Laetor te magnos illos viros vidisse.⁷ Frater etiam grates agit quod litteras suas tam bene curaveris, easque verbis, ut facile colligo, commendaveris quamplurimum. Miror tamen illos viri magni sermones, quibus fratri forte expectandum fuisse putat ut *Dominorum* Ordinum iussu solveretur.⁸ Itane expectandum? Atqui expectat, licet invitus, alter ille fratris collega, cui tamen non dicam bonorum aut libertatis, sed ne aeris quidem usura conceditur.⁹ De mutatione religionis quod dicit, cur tam anxie timeat nescio; si enim ipse ex lectione patrum eos fecit progressus ut se Romanae sedi, sub cuius obedientia et nutritus et ad honores evectus fuit subtraheret, quidni et ille qui Protestantis Ecclesiae membrum, abusque adolescentia fuit ne corruptae Ecclesiae accedat cavere poterit?¹⁰ Sed vir summus, uti paulo ante Ordines eorumque regimen, ita hic, fratrem eiusque naturam ignorare se plane ostendit. Sed vide an non et verum sit quod de illo viro quidam hic dicunt homines minime mali, eum scilicet cum caelo animum non leviter mutasse.¹¹

h °Alterum illum heroem frater ita iam animo praeconceperat ut tu illum °repperisti.¹² Sincerus illi viro °candor, sincerus affectus. De libro °etiamnum cogites, id te frater per me rogari iussit.¹³

f paria: par\ia/ | **h** Alterum: *d* Alium | repperisti: *d* invenisti | candor: *d* [*animus* > candor] | etiamnum: *d* [- *cogi*] etiamnum

⁷ Marcantonio de Dominis and Bishop Andrewes.

⁸ De Dominis had expressed some reservations about Grotius, **32e, g-h**.

⁹ Rombout Hogerbeets (1561–1625), pensionary of Leiden from 1590 to 1618. He had been arrested together with the grand-pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and Grotius in 1618, convicted of treason, and sentenced to life imprisonment, like Grotius, in 1619. He was also imprisoned in Loevestein Castle. Several years later he was to die of a disease, still in prison. Cf. *NNBW* 9.384–89.

¹⁰ De Dominis had turned his back on Roman Catholicism, **32c**.

¹¹ Actually, de Dominis was preparing his return to the Church of Rome, **32g**.

united, but it exceeds the highest rank of mortality that all our wishes be fulfilled; besides, we cannot always be together, and we recently were and will soon be so (as I hope).

f Yet, see what friendship can do; I stuck so long at the beginning of your letter, reading and rereading your sweetest words, that I thought I did not have to write anything that did not pertain to our friendship and from which you could judge that I return the same to you; so I would also have made an end to the letter here, if the rest of your letter had not called me in a different direction.

g I am glad you saw those great lords; Brother also gives you thanks that you cared so well for his letters and recommended them in words, as I easily conclude, as much as possible. But I am surprised at the great lord's discussions in which he felt that Brother should perhaps have waited to be released by order of the lords' States. So did he have to wait? Well, although reluctantly, Brother's other colleague is waiting, who is forbidden the use—I will not say of goods and liberty—but even of the air. What he says about a change of religion; why he is fearing this so anxiously, I do not know, for if on the basis of reading the church fathers he himself made the step to withdraw himself from the Roman see, under obedience of which he had been both raised and elevated to honorable positions, why then will he who has been a member of the Reformed Church from his youth not be able to beware of joining the corrupt church? But this most high lord, just as the States and their government little earlier, clearly shows he does not know Brother and his character. But see whether it is not also true what some by no means malicious people are saying here about this lord, that is, that he has quite changed his feelings under influence of the climate.

h Brother had already preconceived that other lord in his heart in such a way as you found him; that lord has a sincere candour and a sincere affection. Brother told me to let this be asked to you through me, that is, to still think about the book.

¹² Grotius quite unfoundedly believed he had a supporter in Andrewes. From his prison, he had written to the bishop an apologetic letter intimating how much he wished for an invitation from King James, but Andrewes had not reacted to it. Cf. *BWGrotius* 2.595, Trevor-Roper (1992:57–59).

¹³ Grotius' manuscript copy of *De imperio*, which Grotius had asked Junius to try recover for him, 32j.

i De rebus Galliae pauca addam. Angerianum etiamnum a rege obsidetur, °sed lente ea res procedit.¹⁴ Obsessi °viri fortes se egregie defendunt (si °modo °virtutis nomen in eos cadit qui °pro mala pugnant causa dum regi debitam negant obedientiam), sed tamen res intra duas tresve septimanas conficienda est. Dicitur quidem dux Rohanus in Languedocia et provinciis vicinis militem conscribere, sed illud tam cito fieri non poterit, ut non citius rex urbem sui iuris faciat.¹⁵ Interea animos tollunt Rupellani, nec ii tantum, sed et omnes reliqui Protestantes qui, licet in multis locis exarmati, Rupellanorum causam a sua segregare nolunt.¹⁶ Iniunxit omnibus °Protestantibus rex pacis studiosissimus ut in sua quisque urbe °declarent coram iudice loci se conventum Rupellanum contra regis voluntatem °congregatum improbare eique non adhaerere.¹⁷ Illi religionis causam agi clamantes obedire nolunt. Non °praescripserat rex °tempus intra quod declaratio ista necessario fieri deberet, ut ipsis paenitendi spatium concederet. Illi hoc ita acceperunt ac si id fallendi sui causa factum esset, ut vel altero post edictum regis die manifesti criminis °rei tenerentur. °Frater sane, Tilenus et Auratus edicto regio paruerunt, seque scripto subsignato non tantum seditionem eorum improbare professi sunt, sed etiam religionem ex qua in Synodo °Aleziana veritas non sine maximis °est condemnata calumniis, obstructa etiam per iusiurandum respiscendi via ita, ut iis sine periurio converti non liceat.¹⁸ Miserunt °e suis quosdam in Hollandiam Rupellani petitum

i sed: [- ..] sed | viri fortes se egregie: d [se fortiter > viri fortes se egregie] | modo: d - | virtutis: d [fortitudinis > virtutis] | pro ... dum: d \pro ... dum/ | Protestantibus: d Protestantibus edicto suo | declarent: d declarent [- f/s..] | congregatum: d \congregatum/ | praescripserat: d [- addidit] praescripserat | tempus: d [spatium > tempus] | rei: \rei/ | Frater ... liceat: d \Fratri ... liceat/ | est condemnata calumniis: d calumniis condemnata est | Aleziana: d Ale[... > zana] | e: d [- et] e

¹⁴ King Louis XIII besieged Saint-Jean-d'Angély as part of his march to southern and western France to subject Protestants who had taken up arms against him because of his having reestablished Roman Catholic worship in the Béarn region in 1620. The town actually capitulated on the day the present letter was written. Cf. Pillorget and Pillorget (1995:153), **28a**.

¹⁵ The Duc de Rohan was one of the king's most influential Protestant opponents who had decided to take up arms at the Protestant meeting in La Rochelle in December 1620. The peace treaty of Montpellier, which ended the war in October 1622, was negotiated between the king and him. Cf. Pillorget and Pillorget (1995:153-55).

¹⁶ The Protestant meeting at La Rochelle was still convening. It passed a general regulation on the militia and finances of the French Protestant Church on 10 May, thus emphasizing their continuing rebellion against the king. Cf. Pannier (1922:575-76).

i I will add something on the French situation. Angély is still being besieged by the king, but this improves slowly; the vigorous besieged men are defending themselves excellently (provided that the title of virtue befalls to those who fight for a bad cause, because they deny due obedience to the king), but still it is bound to be finished within two or three weeks. The Duc de Rohan is actually said to levy an army in the Languedoc and neighbouring provinces, but this cannot happen so quickly that the king does not subdue the town to his power more quickly. Meanwhile, the people of La Rochelle have roused the emotions, and not only they, but also all other Protestants who do not want to separate the case of La Rochelle from their own, although they have been disarmed in many places. Devoted to peace, the king has ordered all Protestants that each in their own town personally declares before the local judge to condemn the meeting of La Rochelle, which had convened contrary to the king's wish, and not to follow it. Exclaiming that the question of religion is concerned, they do not want to obey. The king did not prescribe the time within which this declaration should be necessary, to give them time to repent. They have interpreted this in such a way, as if it had been done in order to deceive them, so that they would be guilty of a manifest offence even on the day after the king's edict. Truly, Brother, and Tilenus, and D'Or have obeyed the royal edict and in a signed writing declared to denounce not only their revolt, but also the religion, since Truth has been condemned at the Synod of Alais with the greatest trickeries, and even the way to recover one's senses has been obstructed through oaths in such a way that they cannot change without perjury. The people of La Rochelle sent some men out of their midst to Holland to ask for

¹⁷ The king issued a declaration on 27 May, which passed Parliament on 7 June, in which he ordered all Protestants to dissociate themselves openly from the meeting at La Rochelle and its adherents. His aim was not to have the Protestants converted but to have them condemn the rebellion. Cf. Pannier (1922:576), Pillorget and Pillorget (1995:153).

¹⁸ François D'Or, former predicant in Sedan, who had been removed from his office in the winter of 1620–21 due to his contention that God was not the author of sin. He had moved to Paris to earn a living by teaching. Tilenus was to bequeath his library to him. The declaration had been drawn up by Grotius and issued on 15 June. In it, they dissociated themselves from the Protestants of La Rochelle and their adherents, and from the French Protestant Church, because it had integrally adopted the Canons of the Synod of Dordrecht—which had condemned the Remonstrants—at the Synod of Alais in 1620. Cf. Haag and Haag 4.303, Mellon (1913:256), Pannier (1922:120), Nellen (1985b:153–54).

auxilia; misit et Rex alios qui Ordines sui °faederis, et rebellionis eorum qui novam in Galliarum °monarchia rempublicam molirentur °admonefacere.¹⁹

j | Frater meus se tibi plurimum commendat, nec °dubitare vult quin firmissimo °amicitiae vinculo °in aeternum tibi obstrictus sit futurus. Sed heus, paene exciderat calumnia nova °qua nuper maledici homines °integram apud °plurimos renascentem apud quosdam °in Batavia fratris existimationem studuerunt suppressere.²⁰ Rem totam ex his °quos adiunxi libellis °fratris iussu impressis poteris intelligere. Unum scias eum qui illas litteras scripserat esse *Dominum* Langeracensem, nam pars litterarum °ut ab ipso scriptarum in Hollandia impressa est, quanquam ille °haec ita a se °scripta etiamnum abneget.

k °Nos hic in eodem etiamnum hospitio sumus. Divertitur °nobiscum *Dominus* Schaelkens iuvenis, si quisquam, candidus et magni in religionis negotio zeli.²¹ Is brevi ad te °scripturus promisit, °interea has litteras missas ad se mittit.²² Tu cum ad nos scribis litteras ad Auratum °deferri °curabis, sic nobis si hospitium forte mutaverimus tuto tradentur. Nosti °aedes eius “*sur le fossé entre la porte °St. Michel et St Germain auprez du jeu de paulme de plaissance.*” Vale, optime viro- rum, et nos uti te amamus (non iniquam fero conditionem) redama. Parisiis, 25° Iunii, 1621.
Tuus ex affectu, G. Cornetsius.²³

i faederis: *d* faederis [- *foditrianisque*] | monarchia rempublicam: *d* parte rempublicam | admonefacere: *d* admonefacerent | **j** dubitare: *d* [- *tē*] dubitare | amicitiae: amicit[+ iae] | in aeternum tibi: *d* tibi in aeternum | qua: *d* [*quibus* > *qua*] | integram: *d* [- *resurgentem*] integram | plurimos renascentem: *d* [*multos rediivam* > *plurimos renascentem*] | in Batavia: *d* - | quos adiunxi: *d* \quos adiunxi/ | fratris: [- *quos*] fratris | ut... scriptarum: *d* \[- *cum eius*] ut... scriptarum/ | haec: *d* \haec/ | scripta: *d* [*scriptum* > *scripta*] | **k** Nos hic: *d* [*Parisiis* > *Nos hic*] | nobiscum: nobiscu[+ m] | scripturus: *d* [*scriptum* > *scripturus*] | interea... mittit: *d* - | deferri: *d* [- *potes*] deferri | curabis: *d* [*curare* > *curabis*] | aedes eius: *d* eius aedes | St. Michel et St. Germain: *d* St. Germain et St. Michel.

¹⁹ The Rochelle meeting sent Théophile Brachet de la Milletière (1588–1665), irenic Elder of the church of Charenton, and Louis de la Chapellière to the Dutch Republic to request support. Louis XIII had Claude d’Eure de Chaudebonne meanwhile urge the Dutch not to receive them. Although the Rochelle delegation was given several audiences, it returned empty-handed in early 1622. Cf. van de Schoor (1995:16–17), *Resolutiën* 5.1272, 1771, 1889, 2294, Haag and Haag 2.494–97.

auxiliary troops, and the king sent others, who have brought their treaty and the revolt of those who are striving after a new republic within the French monarchy to the States' attention.

j My brother highly commends himself to you and does not want to doubt that he will be bound to you for ever by the firmest bonds of friendship. But there, I almost forgot about a new false accusation with which slanderous people have recently tried to subdue Brother's reputation, which is growing unimpaired with many people again, with some people in Holland; you can perceive it all from these pamphlets printed by order of Brother, which I have enclosed. You just should know that he who wrote that letter is Mr. Langerak, for the part of the letter just as it was written by him was printed in Holland, although he still denies that this was written by him in this way.

k We are still in the same lodgings here; Mr. Schaelkens, a candid young man—if anyone is so, it is he—with great zeal in the matter of religion, is staying with us. He promised to write you soon. Meanwhile, he sends this letter, which was sent to him. When you write to us, you must let the letter be delivered to D'Or; in this way it will be safely given to us if we perhaps change lodgings. You know his house, "*at the canal between the gate St. Michel and St. Germain near the Jeu de Paulme de Plaisance.*" Farewell, best man, and love us just as we love you (I do not bear unequal terms).

Paris, 25 June, 1621.

Yours out of affection, G. Cornetsius.

²⁰ The Latin or French version of the pamphlet *Stuytinghe van een Tastelijcke Loghen* ... ([Paris], 1621), in which Grotius defended his escape and pledged his faith to the States General. The text was partly a response to a letter, dated 21 04 30, from Gideon van den Boetzelaer van Langerak (1569–1634), the Dutch ambassador in France, to the States General, which condemned Grotius' moves. In the Latin and French versions of the pamphlet Langerak's name had been kept silent, hence Willem de Groot added it in this letter. Cf. *BGGrotius*, nos. 868–70.

²¹ Willem Schaelkens, no details identified; he seems to have been a brother-in-law to the former Rotterdam Remonstrant predicant Nicolaas Grevinchoven (d. 1632), cf. *BWGrotius* 2.708.

²² Enclosed letter is unretrieved.

²³ Willem de Groot used the name of his father, Johan Hugo Cornets de Groot, or Janus Grotius (1554–1640), a Delft patrician, cf. *NNBW* 2.528–29.

³³ 34₃₅ 21 07 17 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO WILLEM DE GROOT (PARIS)¹

A °Morum probitate atque ingenii elegantia monstrabili *Domino* Guilielmo Grotio, Lutetiae.

a Dum tuas, integerrime amicorum, litteras lectito, atque identidem, incredibili gaudio delibutus, velut novas in manus sumo, non versus tantum, sed etiam syllabas omnes quasi numerare in animum induxi.² Imo nunc quoque iucundissimum mihi est quod legendo coeperim gaudium scribendo breviter retractare; praesertim cum vereri non possim, ne tu hoc aliter ac velim accipias; constantius enim amo, quam ut taedium pertimescam.³ Si tamen importunam confidentis amici audaciam mirari libet, per me licet, modo ne nugarum impatientes oculos lectioni subtrahas; sed hoc fieri non potest. Sic igitur habe.

b Quamquam toti epistolae omnibus numeris absolutissimae multum apud me gratiae amor scribentis addiderit, maxime tamen eius exordium oculos meos atque animum detinuit, meque viva voluptate totum perfudit, dum non tantum quem volui, sed qualem volui, te mihi conspiciendum exhibet.⁴ Unde et tibi memoriae meae fidem appellanti, priorem illam litterarum tuarum partem, velut dignissimum aliquod depositum, integram reddere me posse confido.⁵ Negligens certe ac supinus merito °audirem, si tam delicatam tenerrimi affectus imaginem millenis casibus obnoxiae chartae diutius concredere sustinuissem; animo °penitus fuit imprimenda, et °nonnisi fidi cordis scrinio committenda. Tu modo plures generis huius litteras scribe; universis eadem ista parata erit custodia. Non propono mihi °irrita clathrati pectoris vota. Perspicue satis vivam verissimi affectus tui effigiem notavi et in animum transcripsi, eiusque lineamentis tamdiu inhaerere certum est, usque dum meus vicissim animus occulta suavissimae contemplationis vi magis magisque transformatus, cum ipsa familiaris sibi simulacri veritate certare non erubescat.

A: *ca Domino* Guilielmo Grotio | **b** *audirem:* *ca* [- *audiam*] *audirem* | *penitus:* *ca* *potius* | *nonnisi:* *ca* - | *irrita:* *ca* [- *hic*] *irrita*

¹ *o:* ARA, no. 33. *ca:* UBA, M 74a. Henk Nellen has brought *o* to my attention.

² Letter 33. Sections **a–e** are a celebration of friendship, *amicitia*, composed of *topoi* in accordance with epistolary conventions, cf. Introduction. Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 4.11.16.5, “ego non paginas tantum sed versus etiam syllabasque numerabo.”

³ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 7.24.8.2–3, “iucundum est mihi quod ceperam

34 21 07 17 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO WILLEM DE GROOT (PARIS)

A To Mr. Willem de Groot, conspicuous for the uprightness of his manners and refinedness of his character, Paris.

a Whenever I read your letter, most impeccable friend, and blessed with incredible happiness repeatedly take it in hand as if it were new, I bring my mind to counting not only the lines but also all syllables, so to speak. It is even also most pleasant to me now briefly to repeat in writing the happiness I found in reading, especially since I cannot fear that you interpret it differently than I want you to, for I love too steadfastly to deeply fear repulsion. Yet, if it pleases you to wonder at the improper insolence of a confident friend, I let you, if only you do not draw away your impatient eyes from reading trifles; but that cannot happen, so take the following.

b Although the writer's love added great charm to the entire, in all respects most perfect letter, its introduction held my eyes and heart most and completely profused me with vivid delight, because it showed you for me to see not only as the one I wanted, but also how I wanted. For this reason also, I trust I can recite to you that first part of your letter integrally, as if it were a most worthy deposit, if you call upon the faithfulness of my memory. I would surely be called negligent and deservedly careless, if I had longer endured to entrust such a delicate image of most tender affection to a sheet exposed to a thousand hazards; it must be wholly imprinted in the heart and be only committed to the letter-case of a faithful soul. If only you write more such letters, that same protection will be ready for them all. I do not imagine vain promises of a latticed heart for myself; I have perceived a vivid image of your most true affection evidently enough and copied it in my heart, and it is certain that I stick to its features so long, until, more and more transformed by the secret power of sweetest contemplation, my heart in turn is not ashamed to emulate the real life of a semblance familiar to itself.

gaudium scribendo retractare;" *ibid.* 9.37.1.3–4, "ego te constantius amo quam ut verear, ne aliter ac velim accipias," **44a**; *ibid.* 8.21.5.2, "Amat enim qui se sic amari putat, ut taedium non pertimescat," a favourite of Junius, **26a**.

⁴ Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 35.3.3–5, "conversatio habet aliquid vivae voluptatis, utique si non tantum quem velis, sed qualem velis videas."

⁵ Petronius, *Satyricon* 91.8.3, "fidem memoriae tuae appello."

- c De constantia tui erga me amoris nullus dubito. Quorsum enim spectant illae de infida fucatarum amicitiarum levitate iustissimae querelae, nisi ut te quam dissimillimum ostendant? Profecto ita est, mi Groti, vita hominum altos recessus magnasque latebras habet.⁶

Qui cavet ne decipiatur, vix cavet cum etiam cavet;
Etiam cum cavisse ratus, saepe is cautor captus est.⁷

Quid credas? Cui credas? In omnium animis exolevit priscum mortaliū bonum Amicitia, cuius in locum migraverunt assentationes, blanditiae, et—peior odio—amoris simulatio.⁸ Ita pravus amor sui multos mortales falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud promptum in lingua habere; amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re, sed ex commodo aestumare; magisque vultum, quam ingenium bonum habere.⁹ Quare mihi non minus crebro quam coelestissimo Arpinati vafer ille Siculus Epicharmus hanc suam insusurrat cantilenam, Νῆφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν, ἄρθρα τὰῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.¹⁰ Ignoscere, scio, impatientiae, si contra callidissimam dissimulationem libertate doloris latius exaestuarem; verum °omnis ista natio comoeda non tanti mihi est, ut inutili iurgio vel minimum de gratissima temporis tibi debiti occasione °praecerpendum putem.¹¹

- d Interea tamen dum subdoli aliquot grassatores temporaria simulatione amicitiae inexplicabiles ac tristes sibi invicem machinantur dolos, nos, relictis pudendarum amicitiarum dehonestamentis, rarissimo saeculi huius exemplo, faciles ac laetos verae amicitiae fructus securi delibemus.¹² Neque video quid huic nostrae voluptati possit

c omnis: ca [- ista] omnis | praecerpendum putem: ca putem praecerpendum

⁶ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 3.3.6.3–4, “vita . . . habet.”

⁷ Plautus, *Captivi* 255–6, “cui cavet ne decipiatur, vix cavet; cum etiam cavet, etiam cum cavisse ratus est, saepe is cautor captus est.”

⁸ Pliny the Younger, *Panegyricus* 85.1.1–3, “in omnium privatorum animis exoleverat priscum mortaliū bonum Amicitia, cuius in locum migraverant assentationes, blanditiae, et—peior odio—amoris simulatio.”

⁹ Sallust, *Catiliae coniuratio* 10.5.1–6.1, “ambitio multos mortalis falsos fieri subegit; aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere; amicitias inimicitiasque non ex re, sed ex commodo aestumare; magisque vultum, quam ingenium bonum habere.”

¹⁰ Epicharmus 250, as quoted in Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 1.19.8.10–12, “ut crebro mihi vafer ille Siculus Epicharmus insusurret cantilenam illam suam ‘Νῆφε καὶ μέμνασ' ἀπιστεῖν. ἄρθρα τὰῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.’” Junius wrote the Greek in Johannes Fredericus Gronovius’ “Album amicorum” in London in 1639, **128a**, **App4**. Cicero was born in the town of Arpinum, cf. *OCD* (1996, s.v. Arpinum).

- c I do not doubt of the constancy of your love for me at all. For, to what do those most just complaints about the lightness of falsified friendships pertain, if not in order to show how different you are? It is wholly so, my de Groot, “Human life has deep retreats and large hiding places.”

He who takes care not to be deceived, hardly takes care even when he takes care;
Often the one who is on his guard is caught, even when he thinks he has taken care.

What do you believe? Whom do you believe? Friendship, the ancient blessing of mortals, has passed away in everybody’s hearts, in stead of which adulations, flatteries, and—worse than hate—simulation of love have settled. In this way, a vicious love of oneself has compelled many mortals to become false; to have the one thought locked within their heart and the other visible on their tongue; to value friendships and enmities not on the basis of reality but on the basis of profit and to have a good face rather than a good character. Hence that sly Sicilian Epicharmus whispers his old song no less frequently to me than to the most excellent man from Arpinum, “*Be sober and remember to mistrust. That is the essence of the wits.*” You would excuse impatience, I know, if I were glowing yet deeper against most skilful dissimulation with the freedom of grief, but this whole lot of comic poets is not worth so much to me to think that even the least bit of a most welcome occasion of time due to you must be diminished by useless dispute.

- d Yet, meanwhile, while some crafty rioters devise inexplicable and sad deceits for each other in turns by temporary simulation of friendship, we pluck untroubled the easy and happy fruits of true friendship as a most rare example of this age, leaving the dishonours of shameful friendships. And I do not see what could thwart our delight, for both I love you most deeply and you acknowledge to be loved with great pleasure, and because of your acknowledging so, you not

¹¹ Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 18.2.1–2, “Ignoscite, iudices, impatientiae, quae contra callidissimam dissimulationem libertate doloris exaestuat.” Iuvenal, *Saturae* 3.100, “natio comoeda est.” Epicharmus (5th c. B.C.) wrote comedies, cf. *OCD* (1996:532).

¹² For the image of fruits of friendship, cf. Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares* 3.13.2.1, “fructum amicitiae;” Iuvenal, *Saturae* 5.14, idem; Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* 5.72.11–12, “fructum amicitiarum.”

obsistere. Nam et ego te validissime diligo, et tu diligi te lubentissime agnoscis; dumque agnoscis, non tantum summam mutui amoris vim sponte prodis (neque enim fere quisquam se putat amari, nisi qui vere amat),¹³ sed et gratam constantis fidei necessitatem mihi imponis; quandoquidem fides habita, ipsam plerumque obligat fidem.¹⁴ Non tu profecto nescis inescare homines; atque utinam quoque plures alii laudabili ista Hecatonis arte ad mutuuum sui amorem optimos quosque constringerent.¹⁵ Hecaton ait, “Ego tibi monstrabo amatorium, sine medicamento, sine herba, sine ullius veneficae carmine; si vis amari, ama.”¹⁶ Quem putaveris fidelem, facies. Nam multi fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli, et aliis ius peccandi suspicando fecerunt.¹⁷

- e Semper nobis placeat haec vitae secta; pergamus itinere instituto. Alium amore haud facile invenias affectum tam erectum et acrem sui iuris expostulatorem, nec qui magis vicem exigat. Pariter itaque hoc agamus, ut imis mentium nostrarum sedibus alligatus, et ipsi vitae quasi immixtus unitusque, resolutis etiam morte corporibus, cum potiore eaque immortalis nostri parte superstes maneat. Hunc mihi amoris cursum, hunc terminum statuo; idque iam nunc apud te subsigno, ut, si me languidiorem unquam putaveris, in ius voces ad hanc epistolam meam; qua etiam nunc sincere profiteor me tibi obligatiorem factum, ex quo, quicquid apud vos epistola dignum fuit, scribere non es gravatus. Nam cum aures hominum novitate laetantur, tum ad rationem vitae exemplis erudimur.¹⁸ Redderem vicem, atque orbis huius acta similiter perscriberem, nisi alta hic et valida quies rumororum vana strenue °coerceret.
- f Libellos litteris tuis adiunctos eo magis amavi, quod uberius aliud innocentiae patrocinium spondebant.¹⁹ Et quamvis incredibili me

e coerceret: coerceret[- ret]

¹³ Cf. Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 8.21.5.2–3, Junius’ favourite, a, 26a.

¹⁴ Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 22.22.14.2, “habita fides, ipsam plerumque obligat fidem.”

¹⁵ Terence, *Adelphoe* 220, “nescis inescare homines.” Hecaton, a Stoic philosopher of Rhodes, cf. *OCD* (1996:673).

¹⁶ Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 9.6.4, “Hecaton . . . ama.”

¹⁷ Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 3.3.5, “fidelem si putaveris, facies. Nam quidam fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli, et illi ius peccandi suspicando fecerunt.”

¹⁸ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 8.18.12.1, “nam . . . erudimur.”

¹⁹ The Latin or French version of Grotius, *Stuytinghe van een Tastelijcke Loghen* (1621),

only produce the greatest power of reciprocal love of your own accord (for almost no one believes to be loved, unless he loves truly) but you also impose upon me the happy obligation of constant devotion, seeing that a well-kept devotion usually obliges to devotion itself. You know very well how to entice people; if only also many others bound all right-minded people by this praiseworthy art of Hecaton to reciprocal love of each other. Hecaton said, “I will show you an aphrodisiac without drug, without herbs, without any witch’s charm; if you want to be loved, then love. Whom you consider devoted, you make so. For many people teach to deceive, because they fear to be deceived, and they have given to others the right to transgress by mistrusting them.”

e Let this way of life always please us; let us proceed on the course taken; you may not at all easily find a different affection than love such an attentive and sharp demander of its right, nor one that requires more in turn. So, let us do this in like manner so that it remains alive with our better and immortal part, chained to the deepest sees of our hearts and intermixed and united with life itself, so to speak, even when our bodies will have been decomposed by death. I determine this course and this end of love by myself and subscribe to it now with you, that, if ever you consider me rather sluggish, you must call me to account with this letter, in which I even now sincerely acknowledge to have become rather obliged to you, because you did not feel annoyed to write whatever was worthy of a letter with you. For, whenever human ears rejoice at news, then we are taught a way of life by examples. I would return it in turn and likewise describe the events of this country, if a deep and valuable quiet, free from rumours, did not surround me persistently.

f I loved the pamphlets enclosed in your letter all the more because they promised an other more copious defence of innocence. And although they gave incredible happiness to me, yet still, that most immoderate merriment which had preoccupied my heart immediately gave way to rage as soon as I considered the occasion on which you told they had been published. Pardon the confessor. I could not laugh. Even rather exciting my raging head, I silently showered such

33j. In the pamphlet, Grotius already alluded to preparing the treatise *Verantwoordingh van de Vvettelijcke Regieringh van Hollandt ende West-Vrieslandt* . . . (Hoorn, 1622), an extensive defense of the Holland policies in 1617 and 1618. Cf. *BGGrotius*, nos. 872–84.

gaudio affecerint, nihilominus tamen, dum occasionem qua in lucem protrusos narras intueor, effusissima illa hilaritas, quae praeoccupaverat mentem, statim dedit iracundiae locum.²⁰ Ignosce confitenti. Ridere non quivi. Quin potius iratum commovens caput, tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora tacitus apud animum meum quam maxima potui invidia inundavi.²¹ Vide nunc quot contumeliis, quot ludibriis ipsa virtus obnoxia sit.²² Non enim iudicio, sed scelere impelluntur, qui effraeni mendaciorum libertate in optimum quemque incurrunt; nec ullus innocens huc usque felix est, ut diligentiae fingentium par esse possit.²³ Adhaec nemo temporum miseretur; sed alienae innocentiae interpretationem de suis quisque moribus trahit.²⁴ Unde et nulla tam modesta felicitas est, quae lividos mordacis malevolentiae dentes vitare possit; et quo secessu quosdam fugeris, aut quibus infulis misericordiae permulseris, non cohibebis tamen ne ut alienis malis perinde ac bonis suis laetentur ac gestiant.²⁵ Divites sunt, aliorum iacturis; locupletes, calamitatibus; immortales, funeribus.²⁶ Sed nae illi profecto ignorare videntur quam ancipiti fortunae usque ad ultimum fati diem subiecti simus, et felicitatis humanae appellationem non nisi rogi consummet, qui se incurrentibus malis obiicit; quatenus tamen alienis incommodis, suorum adhuc expertes, insultent, optima vindex insolentiae varietas humanae conditionis viderit.²⁷

g Quum vero iam satis ille primus impetus deferbuisset, ac languidior tandem indignatio ad officii sui memoriam rediisset, °extemplo reverendissimum Wintoniensem *Episcopum* °adii, qui salute gratissime accepta, libelloque avidissime lecto, “Nihil,” inquit, “hic video, quod non sit Grotio dignum.”²⁸ Sed forte responsum hoc, ut insolens,

f esse possit: *ca* sit | **g** extemplo: *ca* – | adii: *ca* extemplo adii

²⁰ The pamphlet was partly a response to Gideon van den Boetzelaer van Langerak’s condemnation of Grotius’ movements, **33j**.

²¹ Petronius, *Satyricon* 113.2.2, “sed iratum commovens caput.” Tacitus, *De vita Iulii Agricolae* 1.4.3, “tam . . . tempora.”

²² Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 3.14.5.1–2, “vides quot periculis, quot contumeliis, quot ludibriis simus obnoxii.”

²³ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 3.14.5.4, “non enim iudicio domini, sed scelere perimuntur.” Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 11.6.6–7, “nec . . . par sit.”

²⁴ Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 18.6.1–2, “miseremini temporum; ne alienae innocentiae interpretationem de suis quisque moribus trahat.”

²⁵ Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 4.7.2.32–38, “vero nulla tam modesta felicitas est, quae malignitatis dentes vitare possit; et quo secessu quosdam fugeris, aut quibus infulis misericordiae permulseris, ne alienis malis perinde ac bonis

harsh times that are hostile to virtues with as much grudge as I could in my heart. See now to how many abuses, to how many jests virtue itself is subject. For, those who keep rushing at any best person with unrestrained freedom of lies are not incited by judgement but by wickedness, and no innocent person is so fortunate that he could be a match to the alertness of pretenders. Moreover, nobody feels compassion for the times, but each gives an interpretation of other people's innocence on the basis of their own behaviour, and hence there is no such modest happiness that it could escape the envious teeth of biting malevolence. In whatever retreat you would flee from some people, or with whatever ornaments of compassion you would flatter them, you will still not keep them from rejoicing and being as cheerful at somebody else's misfortunes as at their own fortunes. They are rich thanks to other people's expenses, wealthy thanks to other people's misfortunes, immortal thanks to other people's deaths. But truly, they seem to be completely unaware of to how fickle a fortune we are subject until the last day of our lives and that only the funeral pyre, which throws itself before approaching misfortunes, consumes the appeal of human happiness. Still, may the instability of the human condition, the best revenger of insolence, see to what extent they abuse other people's injuries when still without their own.

g However, when this first assault had already sufficiently subsided and a more sluggish indignation had finally returned to a consideration of its duty, I immediately went to the right reverend bishop of Winchester, who said, upon most gratefully having accepted greetings and most eagerly having read the pamphlet, "I see nothing here that were unworthy of Grotius." But this answer may deeply astound your heart as insolent, and "What else," you will say, "had he expected then? Or had he preconceived something ill in his heart?"

suis laentur ac gestiant? Divites sunt . . . funeribus." The quotation continues in the next sentence.

²⁶ Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 4.7.2.38, continued from the preceding sentence.

²⁷ Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 7.2 (ext).2.3–5, "ad ultimum usque fati diem ancipiti fortunae subiecti essemus, felicitatis igitur humanae appellationem rogos consummat, qui se incur sui malorum obicit." *Ibid.* 4.7.2.38–40, "quatenus alienis . . . viderit."

²⁸ De Groot had sent several copies of Grotius' pamphlet to be presented to Bishop Andrewes and others, presumably by order of Grotius, **33j**.

animum tuum non leviter °percutit; et, “Quid,” inquis, “aliudne igitur exspectaverat? Anne animo sinistri quid praeconceperat?” Ingenue dicam. Vides in quae tempora nati simus, quibus nempe sinistra erga eminentes interpretatione, non minus periculum ex magna fama, quam ex mala. Non desunt etiam hic qui *clarum* fratrem tuum occultis passim apostasiae suspicionibus incessant, in hoc intenti, ut gratiam, quam apud omnes bonos intemeratam intactamque habet, iniqua rumorum malignitate °prorsus exstinguant.²⁹ Absit ut reverendissimum virum aures accipiendis adversum *clarum* fratrem suspicionibus prae-buisse dicam; nihil est ab integerrimo piissimi pectoris candore alienius. Nosti tamen amicae sollicitudinis semperanxium ac molle ingenium. Nihil *claro* fratri facilius est, quam ut summi atque optimi viri animum ab hac sollicitudine abducat; nunc praesertim, quum non minus necessaria quam iusta scribendi occasio litteras eius invitet.

h Audi quantum publico et nobis *reverendus* vir praestiterit beneficium.³⁰ Vidua reverendae et piae memoriae Overalli (ad quem °*clari* fratris scriptum fuerat transmissum) nupsit, ut iam olim scripsi, Binghamo cuiquam, equiti aurato et quorundam in Hibernia munimentorum praefecto; quem illa maritum prosecuta, omnes res suas, tanquam ex asse haeres instituta, secum in Hiberniam transvexit.³¹ Varias inde formidinum formae nostris assiduo mentibus oberrabant, quicquid enim a foemina talium incuriosa poterat exspectari, pro iam facto timida credulitate habebamus.³² Interdum lubebat male precari nequissimis °artocreis, quod tam doctas sibi chartas paterentur substerni.³³ Nonnunquam piperis somniabamus cucullos, et nullos non foedos, profanos, obscenos quoque usus scrupulosa imaginatione animo

g percutit: *ca* [- ..] percutit | prorsus: *ca* [- *exstinguant*] prorsus | **h** *clari* fratris scriptum: *ca* scriptum *clari* fratris | artocreis: artocreis [- *artocreis*]

²⁹ The Remonstrants, with whom Grotius had sided, were accused of sympathising with Roman Catholicism. Cf. van Deursen (1974:288–91, 237–38), Nellen (1985:15–33).

³⁰ Andrewes had recovered the manuscript copy of Grotius' *De imperio* (1647), **32j**.

³¹ Anne, daughter of Edward Orwell, of a Lancashire family, the widow of John Overall, the late bishop of Norwich. The knight Bingham was probably a member of the Bingham family, some of whose members were magistrates in Ireland, and owned land in Connaught; Sir Richard Bingham (1528–1599), for instance, had been governor of Connaught, and his brothers George (d. 1595) and John (d. 1620s)

I will frankly tell you. You see in what times we were born—that is, in which there is no less danger from a great reputation as from a bad one on the basis of ill interpretation towards eminent people. Here too there are people who attack your renowned brother everywhere on the basis of secret suspicions of apostasy, with the intention wholly to extinguish the favour which he holds unblemished and uninjured with all right-minded people by unfair malevolence of rumours. I am far from saying that the right reverend lord has lent an ear to listen to suspicions against your renowned brother; nothing is more alien to the most impeccable integrity of his most pious heart, but you know the ever anxious and gentle character of friendly concern. Nothing is easier for your renowned brother than to remove this concern from the most high and good lord's heart, especially now an as necessary as just occasion to write invites his letter.

h Hear what a great favour the reverend lord has done to the public weal and us. The widow of the reverend Overall of blessed memory (to whom your renowned brother's treatise had been sent) married a certain Bingham, a knight with golden chain, and keeper of certain records in Ireland, just as I wrote before, and when she followed this husband, she transported all her possessions with her to Ireland, as if she had been named the sole heir. Hence, different images of terror were wandering assiduously in our heart, for in fearful credulity we held everything that could be expected from a lady indifferent to such matters for an accomplished fact. Sometimes it pleased to curse the vilest meat pies, because they allowed such learned documents to be spread out under themselves; sometimes we dreamt of hoods for pepper and turned over only horrible, profane and obscene uses in our heart by exact imagination. When hardly anyone appeared who could bring us to suggestions for investigation, the right reverend

were assistant commissioners there. That he was an "eques auratus" means that he "was a knight with a golden chain on which he could hang his insignia"—not that he was a knight of the Order of the Garter, as might be expected. Cf. *DNB* 5.52–53, 42.377, Nijenhuis (1986:29n), van Dam (2001), personal communication Gerald Toomer.

³² That is, Junius imagined for what unscholarly purposes Grotius' manuscript might have been used.

³³ ἀπρόκρεας; borrowed into Latin in Persius Flaccus, *Saturae* 6.50–51, "vae, nisi convives; oleum artocreasque popello largior."

volvebamus.³⁴ Cumque vix quisquam occurreret, qui nos in aliqua inquisitionis vestigia inducere posset, mira tamen sagacitate et °studio pertinaci reverendissimus vir chartas hasce sartas tectas e latebris excussit, et, | aspirante summi Numinis favore, brevi in manus suas deventuras sperat.³⁵ Interim clarum fratrem iubet esse securum, atque omnia debitae benevolentiae ac fidei officia ab ipso exspectare. Quin etiam ita avide semper occasiones obligandi me amplectitur, ut tam largam beneficiorum mensuram ne quidem animo capere valeam, nedum digna gratiarum actione prosequi. Non possum paria facere; poterit clarus frater, et quidem cumulatissime.³⁶

i Accedit huc gravior alia scribendi necessitas. Consultum omnino est ut reverendissimo viro per °fratrem significetur, quid de scripto fieri velit, si forte post meum demum discessum ad °virum reverendum adferatur.³⁷ Unice quidem litteris tuis tam secundos opto cursus, ut me hic Londinii etiamnum offendant; si tamen aliter res cadat, erit in hoc meo antiquo hospitio, qui litteras tuas adventantes accipiat atque ad me transmittat; et antequam stationem mutem, alias meas, si Deus volet, videbis litteras omnem consilii mei rationem °explicantes.³⁸

j Sed nunc tandem aliquando ad memoriam eorum quae scripsisti revocandus es, “Simul et °semper,” inquis, “esse non possumus, et nuper fuimus, et brevi (ut spero) erimus.”³⁹ Vide quid scripseris. Quamobrem te oro atque obtestor, ut hoc animum meum aestu quamprimum liberes; nam nescio quid magni postrema haec verba spondere videantur. Non ignoras quam sit omne desiderium post propinquae ostentationem spei impatientius. Atque eo °festinantius annitendum tibi erit ne frustra officii tui rationem videar exspectasse.

h studio: *ca* - | **i** fratrem: *ca* ipsum | virum reverendum: *ca* reverendum virum | explicantes: *ca* [*expectantes* > explicantes] | **j** semper: *ca* [- ..] semper | festinantius: *ca* [*magis* > festinantius]

³⁴ Martial, *Epigrammata* 3.2.5, “libelle . . . festina tibi vindicem parare, ne turis piperisve sis cucullus.”

³⁵ Junius seems to have believed that Andrewes had recovered the manuscript from Ireland, probably with the assistance of John Cosin (1594–1672), the former secretary and librarian of Overall. In reality, Cosin had the manuscript still with him, and sent it together with a letter for Grotius, dated 21 06 30, to Andrewes. Too little time had elapsed between Junius’ raising the question with Andrewes at the end of May, **32j**, and Cosin’s sending of the manuscript for it to have really been returned from Ireland. Grotius received both letter and manuscript. On the

lord shook those sheets undamaged out of their hiding places by wondrous shrewdness and constant care and, the favour of the highest Divinity assisting, he hopes they will arrive in his hands soon. Meanwhile, he desires your renowned brother to be secure and expect all obligations of due benevolence and devotion from him. He has even also always so readily seized opportunities to oblige me that I cannot even grasp such a large quantity of benevolence in my heart, much less honour him with appropriate demonstration of gratitude. I cannot equal this. Your renowned brother can, and even most abundantly so.

i To this another more serious necessity to write is added. It is wholly advisable that it is indicated to the right reverend lord through your brother what he wants to be done with the treatise, if it is delivered to the reverend lord only after my departure. I actually especially wish such a favourable course for your letter that it still finds me here in London, but if it happens otherwise, there will be someone in my old lodgings to receive your letter on its arrival and send it to me, and before I move place, if God wishes so, you will see another letter from me which explains the whole reasoning of my intention.

j Yet now you must finally one time be called back to a recollection of what you wrote, “We cannot always be together,” you said, “and we recently were and will soon be so (as I hope).” See what you wrote. So I pray and beseech you to release my heart from ardour as soon as possible, for those final words seem to promise something great. You are not unaware of how impatiently each desire is after display of near hope. You must all the faster exert yourself so that I do not appear to have waited for the reasoning of your obligation to no avail.

basis of Junius’ account in this section, Grotius erroneously believed it had been in Ireland. Cf. **38g**, **40b**, *DNB* 12.264–71, *BWGrotius* 2.660, van Dam (2001).

³⁶ Grotius enclosed an unretrieved letter to Andrewes in letter **35**, and unretrieved letters to Andrewes and Cosin, presumably thanking them for having retrieved the manuscript, in letter **40**, cf. **35i**, **40d**.

³⁷ No further details as to where Junius intended to go were identified. The manuscript was delivered by Willem van Stoutenburg (1590–1634) and Reinier van Groenevelt (d. 1623), **38g**.

³⁸ No such letter of Junius was retrieved.

³⁹ Cf. **33e**.

- k** Impietas mihi sit suavissimum *Dominus* Schaelkens alio quam fratris loco habere; sentio longinquam coniunctissimi contubernii consuetudinem in sanguinis quasi pignus transiisse. Cumque gratus eum candor affatim commendet, dubium mihi esse non potest quin commendatum habeatis, et plenam ei humanitatem vestram praestetis. Grandi me beneficio affectum putabo, si eum quandoque officii sui admoneas; nullas enim adhuc litteras eius vidi.⁴⁰ Claro fratri, *Domino* Tileno, *Domino* Aurato, et bonis omnibus plurimam meis verbis salutem dices atque omnia debitae venerationis obsequia promittes. Londinii, anno 1621, 7 Iulii, *stilo vetere*.
 °Tuus totus, F.F.F. Iunius.⁴¹

³⁴ 35 21 07 28 WILLEM DE GROOT (PARIS) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

- A** °Viro eruditione et pietate insigni Francisco Iunio, Londinii.²
- a** Ita °tu me, virorum optime, ames, ut ego tuas litteras summa cum °alacritate accepi, °maiore etiam cum hilaritate perlegi.³ °Quid enim amplius optare mihi possim, quam ut °intelligam quod tu amari te a me credas, et amare me vicissim velis? Nihil certe iam obstat quo minus amicitia nostra non interrupto cursu continuetur; °quod quam mihi gratum °futurum sit verbis exprimere nec possim, nec volo. °En confidentem amicum; tibi iam ipsi iudicium permitto, °tuo ex ingenio si amorem meum °metiaris facies quod et te et me dignum est. °O me felicem (neque enim °temperare possum quin exclamem), qui iam duplicem °in amore °sustineo °personam!⁴ Amat °Iunius Grotium,

k Tuus . . . Iunius: *ca* –

35A: *d* Iunio | **a** tu . . . optime: *d* [*me tu optime virorum* > tu me virorum optime] | alacritate: *d* [- *hilaritate*] alacritate | maiore: *d*: [- *et*] maiore | Quid: *d* [- *in*] quid | intelligam quod: *d* \[- *ut*] intelligam quod/ | quod: *d* [*haec res* > quod] | futurum: *d* \futurum/ | En . . . permitto: *d* tibi . . . permitto, en confidentem amicum | tuo: *d* tu[*i* > o] | metiaris facies: *d* [- *metitus*] metiaris [- *fuertis*] facies | O: *d* [- *Sed*] O | temperare: *d* temperare mihi | in amore: *d* [*per tenam* > in amore] | sustineo: *d* sustine[at > o] | personam: *d* \personam/ | Iunius Grotium: *d* Iunius Grotium

⁴⁰ No letter from Willem Schaelkens to Junius was retrieved.

⁴¹ Added in *o* in an unidentified hand, “ut in anno 1622 ips. kal. Iul.”

¹ *o*: UBA, M 82b. *d*: ARA, no. 32. Henk Nellen has brought *d* to my attention.

² Added in the top left corner, “de amicitia sincera eiusque gaudio” [about sincere friendship and its joy].

k It would be disloyal of me to hold the sweetest Mr. Schaelkens in another place than a brother's. I feel that long companionship of closest company has changed to a blood relationship, so to speak. And because an obliging candour abundantly commends him, there can be no doubt to me that you hold him commended and grant him your full humanity. I will believe to have been treated with a great favour if you remind him of his duty one time, for I have not seen a letter of his as yet. You must warmly greet your renowned brother, Mr. Tilenus, Mr. D'Or and all right-minded people on my behalf and promise them all obligations of due respect.
London, in the year 1621, 7 July old style.
Yours Truly, F.F.F. Iunius.

35 21 07 28 WILLEM DE GROOT (PARIS) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the gentleman noted for his learning and piety, Francis Junius, in London.

a May you love me, best man, in such a way as I received your letter with the highest delight and read it through with even greater cheerfulness, for what more could I wish for myself than to learn that you believe yourself to be loved by me and want to love me in turn? Surely nothing impedes our love from being continued in an uninterrupted course; how welcome this will be to me I cannot and will not express in words. See what a confident friend I am; I just leave the judgement to you yourself; if you measure my love from your character, you will do what is worthwhile to both you and me. Oh me, the fortunate one (for I cannot keep myself from exclaiming), who am playing a double part in love now! Junius loves Grotius; Grotius loves Junius, so both of us love; Grotius is loved

³ Letter 34. Sections **a–h** are a celebration of friendship, *amicitia*, composed of *topoi* in accordance with epistolary conventions. Contrary to Junius, who formed (silent) quotations on friendship into a composition, de Groot paraphrased the stock themes in a composition that seems full of quotations but is not literally so. Cf. Introduction.

⁴ Cicero, *Pro Milone* 101, "O me infelicem!" Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 11.22.19–20, "O . . . te felicem;" Horace, *Satyrae* 1.9.11–12, "O te . . . felicem." Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 6.9(ext).2.15, "non temperasse sibi quo minus exclamaret."

amat °Grotius Iunium, uterque igitur amamus, amatur a Iunio Grotius, amatur a Grotio Iunius, uterque igitur amamur; en °amorem ad ea principia unde progressus est redeuntem; en circulum non iucundum minus quam mirabilem; en mutuam animorum πρὸς ἀλλήλους conversionem. Qui duo antea fuimus iam unum sumus, quia voluntates nostrae indissolubili °uniuntur vinculo; et rursus °qui unum fuimus iam duo sumus, nam et ἔρωσ et ἀντέρωσ duo sunt.⁵ Hoc ego bonum tanti facio, ut illud inter °beneficia divinitus mihi °data non °ultimo °loco ponam, quod °talem amicum reperire °concessum est.

b Auget felicitatem meam aliorum comparatio, nam quemadmodum °profunda vallis altitudinem montis °arguit et cacumina nubibus caput inferentia profundam vallem subesse demonstrant, sic ex comparatione eorum qui amicitiae bonis fruuntur crescit eorum miseria qui his carent, et rursus °ex collatione aliorum qui soli sibi vivunt, non parum nostrae felicitati accedit. °Quare huic Plautinae sententiae °lubens volente animo subscribo, “Multimodis meditatus egomet sum et ita esse arbitror. Homini amico qui est amicus ita uti nomen °possidet, nisi Deos illi nihil praestare.”⁶ Si °uni ex amicis mala eveniunt, alter ea ad se pertinere putat, eaque °pro parte in se transferendo amicum hoc onere sublevat; si bona °fortuna °uni affulget, veniet et alter in laetitiae partem. Sic et °augustius redditur bonum ex °quo plures participant, et levius °fit malum quod plures ferunt; unde verissime °idem, “Nihil homini amico est opportuno amicus.”⁷ °Magnam etiam amicitiae °nostrae dignitatem °amoris lascivi (cui tam multi hodie indulgent, °in quo etiam summum suum bonum reponunt) comparatio conciliabit. Longe aliter est amicus atque amator, “Ecastor amor et melle et felle est faecundissimus, gustu qui dat dulce amarum ad satietatem usque oggerit.”⁸ Amicitia nostra quod promittit praestat,

a Grotius Iunium: *d* Grotius Iunium | amorem: *d* [- *mutuam animorum*] amorem | uniuntur: *d* [*connectuntur* > *uniuntur*] | qui: *d* [- *in dua*] qui | beneficia: *d* [- *praecipua*] beneficia | data: *d* [*concessa* > *data*] | ultimo: *d* *ultim[is > o]* | loco ponam: *d* *ponam loco* | talem: *d* [- *mihi*] talem | concessum est: *d* [*concessum fit* > *datum est* > *concessum est*] | **b** profunda: *d* [- *ex*] profunda | arguit et: *d* [*et* > *arguit et*] | ex: *d* [- *conferem non parum nostra felicitati accedit*] ex | Quare: *d* [*Ego* > *Quare*] | lubens: *d* [- *subscribo*] libens | possidet: *d* [- *suei*] possidet | uni ex: *d* \[*alteri ex*/ | pro: *d* [- *plane f. . . facit*] pro | fortuna: *d* [- *eventum*] fortuna | uni: *d* \[*alteri* > *uni*]/ | augustius: *d* [*magis* > *augustius*] | quo: *d* [*quod* > *quo*] | fit: *d* [*redditur* > *fit*] | idem: *d* [*ille* > *idem*] | Magnam: *d* [- *Quod cum ita sit non raro mecum mirari soleo*] [*Malorum* > *Magnam*] | nostrae: *d* \nostrae/ | amoris: *d* [- *desit*] amoris | in quo etiam: *d* [*in [eius > cuius] perceptio fructionis* > *in quo etiam*]

by Junius; Junius is loved by Grotius, so both of us are loved; see, a love returning to those origins from where it came forth; see, a circle no less delightful than wonderful; see, a reciprocal inclination of hearts *towards each other*. We, who were two before, are one now, because our desires are bound by an inextricable tie; and again, we, who were one, are two now, for *love* and *requited love* are two. I make so much of this bounty that I put my having been allowed to meet with such a friend not on the last place among the favours granted to me from heaven.

- b** Comparison with others increases my happiness, for just as a deep valley makes clear the height of a mountain, and, throwing their peaks to the clouds, crests indicate that there is a deep valley below, thus from comparison with those who enjoy the bounties of friendship the misery of those who lack them becomes apparent, and again, from analogy with others who live alone for themselves much is added to our happiness. For this reason I gladly and cordially subscribe to this saying by Plautus, "I have considered it in many ways and believe it is thus, that nothing except the gods surpasses a friend who is a friend in the way that he has that name." If misfortunes befall to one of the friends, the other believes them to pertain to himself and he supports his friend by transferring the burden partly to himself; if good fortune appears to the one, the other also takes part in the happiness; thus also a bounty in which many partake is rendered more venerable and a misfortune which many bear is made lighter, and therefore this is most true, "nothing is a better friend than a seasonable friend." Comparison with wanton love (in which so many people are indulging these days—in which they even place their greatest bounty) will also yield great dignity for our friendship. A friend and a lover are widely different. "By Castor, love is brimful of both honey and gall; it gives you sweetness to taste; bitterness it offers up to sufficiency." Our friendship fulfils what it promises and does not experience any bitterness. Lovers strive after the delight

⁵ Anteros is the personification of "return-love," which gave love in return but also avenged unreturned love.

⁶ Plautus, *Bacchides* 385–87, "multimodis meditatus egomet mecum sum . . . nisi Deos ei nil praestare."

⁷ Plautus, *Epidicus* 425, "nihil . . . amicius."

⁸ Plautus, *Cistellaria* 69–70, "namque . . . faecundissimus, gustui dat . . . oggerit."

amaritudinem nullam experitur. Amantes multis cum vigiliis, labore, cura unius momenti sectantur voluptatem, nos eam quae perennet, quae nobis °per omnem vitam utilitati et decori sit, post mortem etiam non ingrattam sui relinquat memoriam.

- c** Haec cum ita sunt, quae iam °pluribus prosequi nec epistolae permittit °mensura nec instituti mei ratio, saepissime mecum mirari soleo, cur tam pauci °amicitiae bonis fruuntur, adeo ut de illis merito hoc poetae usurpari possit, “Rari °certe illi numero vix sunt totidem quot Thebarum portae vel divitis ostia Nili.”⁹ Quin ipsis heroum temporibus vix tria quatuorve amicorum paria decantata reperias.
- d** °Tandem causam eius rei in °nimias °difficultates, quibus sinceræ amicitiae coagmentatio impeditur °cogor coniiicere. Nam primo, plurimi quid sit amicitia ignorant, “Nomen amicitia est nomen inane fides,”¹⁰ cum autem voluntas nostra nihil appetat nisi quod sub ratione boni sibi °sit propositum, quomodo quod non novit pro bono habere potest? Quomodo °id amare quod non intelligit? Nec mirum, rara enim sunt, ut dixi, fidorum amicorum exempla, quae si crebriora essent, °maius sui desiderium °quotidiana illa spectacula in animis hominum excitarent. Deinde, siquis forte amicitiae nomen dare gestiat, iam °alia et quidem maior suboritur difficultas, “Nimum difficile est reperiri amicum ita uti nomen cluet,”¹¹ est enim inter duos amicitia, quare dum °quis amicum quaerit saepe in illos incidit, “Lingua factiosos, inertes opera, sublestos fide”¹² (°quorum tu °ingenia non minus graphice quam vere in tua describis epistola) illorum mores °ubi quis expertus fuerit de amico °inveniendō omnem spem abiicit, quippe dum ex eorum ingenio °cum quibus primo conversatus est mores alienos probat, etiam iis fidem abrogat qui id non merentur.¹³

b per omnem vitam: *d* [*dum vivimus* > per omnem vitam] | **c** pluribus: *d* pluribus verbis | mensura: *d* [- *ratio*] mensura | amicitiae: *d* [- *sint qui*] amicitiae | certe illi: *d* [*quippe boni* > certe illi] | **d** Tandem: *d* [*Eg* > Tandem] | nimias: *nimia*[*m* > *s*]; *d* *nimia*[*m* > *s*] | difficultates: *d* *difficultate*[*m* > *s*] | cogor coniiicere: *d* \cogor coniiicere/ | sit: *d* \sit/ | id: *d* [- *ad*] id | maius: *d* *mai*[*orem* > *us*] | quotidiana illa spectacula: *d* [*oculis subiecta* > quotidiana illa spectacula] | alia: *d* [*altera* > alia] | quis: *d* \quis/ | quorum: *d* quos | ingenia: *d* - | ubi: [+ ubi] | inveniendō: *d* quaerendo | cum . . . est: *d* -

⁹ Iuvenal, *Saturae* 13.26–27, “rari quippe boni, numera, vix . . . Nili.” Thebes, now Karnak in Upper Egypt, “the city of the hundred gates.” The Nile flows through seven mouths into the sea.

of a single moment by many vigils, effort and trouble; we are striving after a delight that endures, that is useful and beautiful for us through our whole life and leaves a welcome memory of itself even after death.

c Since this, which neither the size of a letter nor the course of my intention allows to pursue with more words, is so, I very often tend to wonder by myself why so few people are enjoying the bounties of friendship—so little so, that this saying by the poet can be justly employed concerning them, “They are for sure rare in number, hardly as many as the gates of Thebes or the mouths of the rich Nile.” Even in the very times of heroes you will hardly find three or four pairs of friends being sung of.

d I am finally forced to guess that the cause of this is in the excessive difficulties by which the union of sincere friendship is impeded. For firstly, most people do not know what friendship is. “Friendship is a word; faithfulness an empty word.” But since our desire only longs for what is being suggested to it in the shape of a bounty, how can it take for a bounty what it does not know? How can it love what it does not understand? It is not surprising, for, as I said, examples of faithful friends are rare; but if they were more frequent, those daily sights would rouse a deeper desire for them in people’s hearts. Next, if anyone longs for applying the name of friendship, a different and even greater difficulty is already arising, “it is too difficult to find a friend in the way that the name is spoken of.” For friendship is between two people and consequently, when someone seeks a friend, he often meets with those “busy with their tongue, idle with duties, and trivial with faithfulness” (whose character you describe no less “graphically” than “truly” in your letter). When someone has experienced their manners, he abandons all hope of finding a friend, for, since one judges somebody else’s manners on the basis of the character of those with whom one stayed at first, one also deprives those of credit who do not deserve it.

¹⁰ Ovid, *Ars amatoria* 1.740, “nomen amicitia est, nomen inane fides.”

¹¹ Plautus, *Trinummus* 620, “nimium difficilist . . . cluet.”

¹² Plautus, *Bacchides* 542, “lingua factiosi, inertes opera, sublesta fide.”

¹³ Plautus, *Trinummus* 1048–49, “abrogant etiam fidem, qui nil meriti; quippe eorum ex ingenio ingenium horum probant.”

- e** Sunt et alii qui iam amicitiam veram se adeptos putant, quae tamen minime °talis est. Videas multos vitiorum similitudine satis bene inter se coniungi, sed parvo pro tempore, neque enim quod malis innititur fundamentis diu stare potest.¹⁴ Videas alios amicos se veros praestare assentatoribus et parasitis, qui sane miseri sunt dum quantum in se est omnes amicitiae leges adimplent, nec ullum tamen °inde fructum percipiunt; °imo, si °aliquando mentis acies larvam istam assentationis perrumpat penitusque a facie °abducat, tantum illos odisse incipiunt, quantum amaverunt antea. Alii amicos quaerunt quibus ad libitum suum abutantur, honest[umn]e sit nec ne quod petitur °pensi non habentes, sed illi in °primam amicitiae legem peccant, “Iniusta ab iustis impetrare non decet,”¹⁵ °°[quin nulla] nisi inter bonos consistere potest amicitia.
- f** Si illi sunt scopuli, haec vada quae tam multos ab amicitiae tutissimo portu excludunt, quae °hic enumerare volui ut nobis °eo magis gratulemur, quod °omnia ista naufraga saxa praetervecti °veram et non fucatam colimus amicitiam, cuius basis et cippus est virtutis amor. °Ego sane °non deae caecae fortunae sed summi Numinis °benignae directioni °hunc animorum nostrorum consensum °adscribere soleo, neque enim frustra dictum ἀεὶ τὸν ὅμοιον ἄγει Θεός ὡς τὸν ὅμοιον.¹⁶ Non hoc eo °dico, ut in me aliquid esse existimem quod amorem tuum prolicere °potuerit, sed habet quid simile °virtuti, virtutis amor. “Id optimum est tute uti sis optimus, si id nequeas °saltem ut optimis sis proximus.”¹⁷
- g** Ego cum °perspicerem egregias animi tui dotes (plura non dicam, ne modestiam °tuam onerare velle videar), earum admiratio in tuum °me amorem pertraxit; quae quia °in te nunquam deficient, amor quoque meus °ex earum °admiratione procedens finem habere non

e talis est: *d* est talis | inde fructum: *d* fructum inde | imo: *d* aut | aliquando ... penitusque: *d* [larva ista > aliquando ... penitusque] | abducat: *d* abducat[- ur] | pensi: *d* [- nihil] pensi | primam: *d* [aliam > primam] | [quin nulla]: [. . . > [quin nulla]] | quin ... amicitia: *d* - | **f** hic: *d* [- eo] hic | eo: *d* [- ipsi] eo | omnia ... praetervecti: *d* omni[bus > a] ist[is > a] [furtibus praeternavigatis > naufraga saxa praetervecti] | veram et: *d* veram \et/ | Ego sane: *d* [quod > Ego sane] | non ... fortuna: *d* non fortunae [adscribere > deae caecae] | benignae: *d* \benignae/ | hunc ... consensum: *d* \hunc ... consensum/ | adscribere soleo: *d* adscrib[em > ere] [deberunt > soleo] | dico: *d* dic[- t]o | potuerit: *d* [possit > potuerit] | virtuti: *d* [- cum] virtut[e > i] | saltem: *d* \saltem/ | **g** perspicerem egregias: *d* [videm tantam > perspicerem egregias] | tuam ... earum: *d* tuam videar [onerare > onerare velle te] [- ad te] earum | me: *d* \me/ | in te nunquam: *d* [non > in te nunquam] | ex ... procedens: *d* \ex ... procedens/ | admiratione: admiration[+ e]

- e There are also others who believe they have already acquired true friendship, yet which is the least such. You may see that many are united with each other quite well by the similitude of vices, but for a short period only, for what is resting on bad foundations cannot stand long. You may see that others behave as true friends to flatterers and parasites, who are truly miserable because they perform all laws of friendship as much as is in them, yet do not gather any fruit of it; even, if ever the keenness of mind breaks through this mask of flattery and wholly takes it away from the face, they begin to hate them as much as they loved them before. Others seek friends to misuse them to their heart's content, caring not at all about whether it is honourable what is being entreated or not, but they sin against the first law of friendship, "it is not proper to demand what is unjust from the just." For no friendship can remain unshaken, unless between good people.
- f If those are rocks, these are shallows which block so many people from the safest haven of friendship, which I wanted to enumerate here so that we congratulate ourselves all the more for having sailed by all these shipwrecking rocks and cherishing a true and unfalsified friendship, the basis and landmark of which is the love of virtue. I, to be sure, usually attribute this consensus of our hearts not to the blind goddess Fortuna, but to the kind direction of the highest Deity, for it is not said in vain, "*as ever, God brings like and like together.*" I do not say this to the end that I think that I have anything that could allure forth your love, but love of virtue has something alike to virtue. "It is best to be the best yourself; if you cannot be so, at least be closest to the best."
- g When I observed the excellent gifts of your heart (I will say no more in order not to appear to wish to overwhelm your modesty), admiration of them induced me to love for you; since they are never wanting in you, my love, springing from admiration of them, likewise

¹⁴ Cf. Matthew 7.24–27.

¹⁵ Plautus, *Amphitruo* 35–36, "iniusta ab iustis impetrari non decet." Junius underlined this phrase in his copy of Plautus (1589), now UBL, 755 G 18, **204s**. It also occurs as Erasmus, *Adage* 1760.

¹⁶ Homer, *Odysseia* 17.218, "ἀεὶ τὸν ὁμοῖον ἄγει θεὸς ἐς τὸν ὁμοῖον."

¹⁷ Plautus, *Trinummus* 486–87, "id optimum esse . . . optimum, si . . . optimis sis proximus."

potest. Tu si illum meum amorem tanti esse putes, ut °tua amicitia (quemadmodum facis) remunerare °digneris, °ego mutuum illud animorum vinculum °immortale fore spondeo.

h Perge autem, perge me beare °elegantissimis tuis litteris, °cum plurima refertis doctrina, tum rara ornatis facundia; perge me malorum in hac aetate semitas perdocere, et ad virtutem non tantum verbis, sed et exemplo °tuo hortari; ego praeuntem sequar, °licet non passibus aequis.¹⁸ [U]t brevi simul simus praestare iam ego | non possum, nisi me forte venti, cum in Bataviam cogito, in Angliam appellant;¹⁹ praestare tu id °solus potes nos amicosque tuos in patria °invisendo, neque enim voluntarium tibi indixisti exsilium et amicis praesentiam tuam non semper poteris negare.²⁰ Interea qua possumus °simul sumus animo nimirum et litteris.

i Nova iam nulla scribo, quia et pauca scio, et °curiositati (siqua in te residet) *Dominus* Schaelkens satisfaciet.²¹ Vale. Resalutant te quos salutari iusseras, imprimis vero frater, qui omnia tibi °fausta et salutaria precatur;²² adiunxit is litteras ad Episcopum Wintoniensem, quas tu °illi, si °illic etiamnum es, °tradas rogat, sin minus deferendas cures.²³

Parisiis, 28 Iulii 1621.

°Tuus toto animo, G. Cornetsius.

j °Adiunxi exemplar versuum quos frater in honorem iuvenis Thuani composuit; eos tibi placituros confido.²⁴

g tua amicitia: *d* tua \illa/ amicitia | digneris: *d* [*velis* > digneris] | ego . . . vinculum: *d* [*amicitiam nostram* > ego . . . vinculum] | immortale: *d* immortal[em > e] | **h** elegantissimis: *d* [*doctissimis* > elegantissimis] | cum . . . rara: *d* \cum/ plurima [- *doctrina*] refertis [- \doc/ ..*lignū*] doctrina, tum [- *egreg*] rara | tuo: *d* [- *tuo* [*praeme*]] | licet: *d* etsi | solus: *d* - | invisendo: *d* [*invisendo* > communi] invisendo | simul: simu[+ l] | **i** curiositati (siqua in: *d* curiositati [- *tuae*] (siqua [- *rerum*] in | fausta et: *d* - | illi: *d* - | illic: i[+ l]lic | tradas: *d* [- *ad illi*] tradas | Tuus . . . Cornetsius: *d* - | **j**: *d* A Mons. Junius

¹⁸ Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.724, “implicuit sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis.”

¹⁹ In **34j**, Junius desired to know what de Groot had meant with the words “brevi (ut spero) erimus” in **33e**.

²⁰ Evidently, Junius had no intention to stay abroad for years. There are no indications, however, that he had been forced to flee.

can have no end; if you value my love so much that you deem it worthwhile to requit it with your friendship (just as you are doing), I pledge that this joint bond of our hearts will be immortal.

h But continue, continue to delight me with your very fine letters full of multifaceted learning and adorned with unusual eloquence; continue to teach me thoroughly the paths of the wicked in this world and to encourage me to virtue not only by words but also by your example; I will follow you when you lead the way, though not with equal strides. I cannot warrant now that we may be together soon, unless the winds may drive me off to England when I intend to go to Holland; only you can accomplish this by coming to see us and your friends in our fatherland, for you announced that your exile is not voluntary and you cannot always deny your presence to friends. Meanwhile, we are together as much as we can, that is, in our hearts and letters.

i I write no news now both because I know little and because Mr. Schaekens will satisfy your curiosity (if you have any). Farewell. Those whom you asked to be greeted return their greetings to you, but especially Brother, who prays for everything favourable and wholesome for you; he added a letter to the bishop of Winchester which he asks of you to deliver to him if you are still there, but if not, to let it be delivered.

Paris, 28 July, 1621.

Wholeheartedly Yours, G. Cornetsius.

j I have added a copy of the poem which Brother wrote in honour of the young de Thou; I trust it will please you.

²¹ Possibly, Willem Schaekens delivered this letter to Junius, or wrote him an unretrieved letter.

²² Grotius, Daniel Tilenus and François D'Or, **34k**.

²³ Grotius' letter to Bishop Andrewes is unretrieved. In it, Grotius presumably thanked him for having recovered the manuscript copy of Grotius' *De imperio* (1647), and suggesting to him to return it through the sons of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, **32j**, **38g**, **40d**.

²⁴ Grotius, *Silva. Ad Franciscum Augustum Thuanum, Iac. Aug. F.* (Paris, 1621), a laudatory poem for François Auguste de Thou (1607–1642), written in place of a funeral ode to his late father Jacques Auguste de Thou (1553–1617), a French historian and magistrate. Cf. *BGGrotius* nos. 137–42, *NBU* 45.255–64.

° 36 21 08 28 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

A °Coniunctissimo adfini *Domino* Gerardo Vossio.

a °Coniunctissime *Domine* adfinis, *salutem plurimam*.

Gratissimum Doubletii nostri adventum gratiorem tuae ad me litterae reddiderunt, quae cum crebriores alias prolixè spondeant, spem pariter faciunt °omnino posthac futurum, ut et alias ad reverendissimum Episcopum Wintoniensem iis adiungas; de cuius summi viri erga te omnesque bonos benevolentia iam nunc ad te litterarum aliquid scribit *Dominus* Doubletius, auritus et oculatus testis minime vanus.² Mihi, tibi, publico non parum consulens, si affectus integerrimi spontaneam vim ulterioribus doctae necessitudinis officiis fovere non desinas. Imo (si per tempora liceret) Britannos tibi tandem aliquando videndos iudicarem.³ Sed de his alias, certiore nuntio oblato.

b Nunc de rebus meis hoc tantum habeo scribere, quod omnino futurum confidam, ut per reverendissimum virum de honesta aliqua conditione prospiciatur mihi, simulac °Fernamensi arce relicta Londinium reversus erit.⁴ Interim tamen tuae ad illum litterae si advolare possint, gratissimas °ei fore °existimare debes.

c Non patitur temporis ratio plura me his annectere; nunc itaque finem facturus. *Domino* Erpenio brevi ad vos redituro uberiores, Deo

A: *ca* affini Vossio; *p* Clarissimo coniunctissimoque adfini *Domino* Gerardo Vossio | **a** Coniunctissime . . . *plurimam*: *ca*, *p* *Salutem plurimam*, coniunctissime *Domine* affinis | omnino posthac futurum: *ca* posthac futurum omnino | **b** Fernamensi: *ca* Fernhemensi; *p* Farnamensi | *ei*: \ei/ | existimare debes: existima[*ndum est* > re debes]

¹ *o*: BL, HI. 7012, f. 23. *ca*: UBA, M 74b. *p*: Colomesius 2.47, after *o*. Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**.

² George Rattall Doublet (1600–1655), the future member of the Supreme Court and of the *Chambre Mi-Partie*. He had presumably boarded with Vossius during part of his law studies, which he had just finished. In the early summer he had embarked on a grand tour of England, France and Italy together with his friend and fellow-student Johan van Heemskerck, **107d**. Due to the latter's illness, however, Doublet initially came to England alone. When his companion had arrived at the end of October, they visited Oxford in the winter, and stayed elsewhere in England during the summer of 1622. Vossius' letter to Junius is unretrieved. Vossius enclosed a letter of recommendation of Junius for Bishop Andrewes, dated 21 10 25, with letter **37** and one to Doublet, also dated 21 10 25. Junius and Doublet had gone to see Andrewes in Farnham, **b**, in the last week of August, as implied

36 21 08 28 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]

A To dearest Brother Mr. Gerardus Vossius.

a Dearest Brother, warmest regards.

The most welcome arrival of our Doublet was made more welcome by your letter to me, which abundantly promises more frequent further letters and likewise raises hopes that in the future you will definitely also enclose one for the right reverend bishop of Winchester with them; about this most high lord's kindness for you and all right-minded people Mr. Doublet, certainly not a false eye- and ear-witness, is writing you a letter at this very moment. You will care well for me, for yourself and for the public weal, if you do not cease to favour the spontaneous vigour of most irreproachable affection by further obligations of learned friendship. Even (if the times allowed so), I would judge you must finally visit England one time. But about this on another occasion, when a more reliable courier presents himself.

b Now about my circumstances I only have to write that I trust an honorary position for me will definitely be looked out for through the right reverend lord as soon as he has left Farnham Castle and returned to London. But if your letter can come flying to him in the mean while, you must believe it to be most welcome to him.

c The course of time does not allow me to add more to this, so I will make an end now and entrust a richer letter, God favouring,

by Doublet's still having only heard of Andrewes according to his letter to Vossius from London dated 21 08 21, and his informing Vossius of the visit in the letter dated 21 08 30, that "non sivit nos quamdiu Farnami commorabamur, aut prandium aut coenam sumere alibi, quam una cum *Reverentia Sua* in aula propria" [he did not allow us to have lunch or supper anywhere else as long as we sojourned in Farnham than together with his Reverence in his own house], Colomesius 2.49. Andrewes mentioned their visit to John Selden, **58b**, "Yong Junius & Du pleit [Doublet] wear heer wth me," 21 09 08, BLO, Ms. Selden supra 108, f. 122; I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer. Cf. *NNBW* 7.379, Smit (1933:13–14, 47–50), Rademaker (1981:217–18), Colomesius 1.20, *ICVossius* (1993:68).

³ Vossius did so in 1629, **66a**.

⁴ Andrewes' episcopal residence was Farnham Castle. He helped Junius to a position with Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, in the autumn, **39d**. Cf. Owen (1981:26).

adspirante, litteras sum commissurus.⁵ Vale. Saluta sororem charissimam, et firmiter tibi persuade me ad omnia debita gratitudinis officia paratissimum. Isidorum *manuscriptum* Sandwici olim vidi; inquiram an adhuc apud eundem bibliopolam venalis prostet, si quando eo excurrere dabitur.⁶

Raptim; Londinii, anno 1621, 18 Augusti stilo vetere.

Tuus omni officio, Fr. Iunius F.F.

37₃₉ 21 10 25 VOSSIUS [LEIDEN] TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

a °Affinis coniunctissime,

Iam trimestre et amplius est, quod carissima uxor mea adversa cum valetudine conflictatur, sed primis tamen mensibus duobus subinde pedem domo ponebat, ac utcunque tueri poterat rem familiarem; exinde autem duabus, et paullo amplius hebdomadis °vehemens febris eam lecto plane adfixit. Nunc dies plusculi sunt, quod °eam febris reliquit, sed tamen adhuc ita languet, ut vix menstruo spatio vires pristinas recuperatura videatur. Imo, ut °aperte ac sine circuitione rem dicam, subinde metuo, ne in φθίσω incidat. Attamen quia ante annos duodecim simili in statu fuit, atque ex eo tempore nulla illius mali indicia sese ostenderunt, spero nunc quoque fore, ut Dominus eius ac familiae imprimis misereatur.² Eo autem magis spero, quia eius medicus Vorstius arbitratur mali reliquias tolli posse usu caparis, catapotiiis quibusdam, et diaeta bona, imprimis si non ita ad animum revocet publica privataque mala.³ °Sed °hoc scis satis ei difficile fore. °Quare omnino orandus Dominus, ut et illi animum fortem largiatur, et nobis conservet.

a Affinis coniunctissime: *d* Francisco Iunio, Francisci filio, Londinum | vehemens: *d* [- *ita*] vehemens | eam febris: *d* [- [*febris* > *inmorbus*]] eam \febris/ | aperte . . . rem: *d* [*verum* > aperte [- *rem*] ac . . . rem] | Sed: *d* [- *quid*] Sed | hoc: *d* \hoc/ | Quare omnino: *d* [*Interim* > Quare omnino] |

⁵ Thomas Erpenius (1584–1624), professor of Oriental Languages at Leiden from 1612 and a close friend of Vossius, who was to hold his funeral oration. In England, Erpenius had befriended the French classicist Isaac Casaubon, **200a**, the Arabist William Bedwell (1563–1632) and Andrewes. He visited the country in the summer of 1621 together with the Leiden Counter-Remonstrant professor of theology André Rivet, **127b**. No such letter was retrieved. Cf. Vossius (1625, esp. 28–29), *NNBW* 8.495, Juynboll (1931:59–118), Fück (1955:59–73), Brugman (1975:203–15), Rademaker (1981:156–57), Hamilton (1985 s.v.), Toomer (1996, s.v.).

⁶ Sandwich's manuscript, or handwritten copy, of Isidore of Seville unidentified.

to Mr. Erpenius, who will return to you soon. Farewell. Greet dearest Sister and firmly persuade yourself of my being most ready for all obligations of due gratitude. Some time ago I saw Isidore in a manuscript of Sandwich; I shall inquire whether it is still offered for sale at the same bookseller, if it is granted to hasten there one time. In haste. London, 1621, 18 August old style. Obliginglly Yours, Fr. Junius F.F.

37 21 10 25 VOSSIUS [LEIDEN] TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

a Dearest Brother,

For over three months now my dearest wife has been afflicted by bad health, though during the first two months she still frequently walked about the house and could run the home in one way or another; but after that a serious fever entirely confined her to the bed for a little more than a fortnight. Several days ago now the fever abated, but she is still so frail that she hardly seems able to regain her former strength in a month's time. Even, to speak openly and without circumlocution, I frequently fear she will meet with *decease*. But still, since she was in a similar condition twelve years ago and no symptoms of that disease have shown themselves after that time, I hope that the Lord will also pity her now and the family above all. And I hope this all the more, because her physician Vorstius judges that the remainders of the disease can be removed by the use of capers, certain pills and a good diet, especially if she does not take the public and private calamities to heart so much. But you quite know this will be hard for her. Consequently, the Lord must certainly be prayed to both grant her a strong heart and preserve her for us.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 99c. *d*: UBA, III E 5, pp. 145–46.

² Elizabeth Junius had suffered from a lung infection in 1609–10, cf. Rademaker (1981:82).

³ Aelius Everardus Vorstius (1565–1624), professor of medicine at Leiden. A follower of Hippocrates, he taught theoretical medicine, and also botany from 1617, when he was charged with the supervision of the botanical garden. He was befriended with Vossius. Vossius had been appointed a guest lecturer on theory of rhetoric at the Leiden *Collegium Oratorium*, an institution at which students could practice rhetoric, and which had been opened in November 1620, yet he lived in tension about his future, *f*. At the time of the present letter, his theological theses and *Pelagian History* were examined for their orthodoxy by order of the South Holland Synod, 29a. Cf. Vossius (1625:2), *NBW* 4.1411–12, Rademaker (1981:117n, 149–50).

- b** Ego interea illi non deero, sed plusculum de studiis meis recidam, ut solatio ei et oblectamento °esse possim; simul etiam ut liberos meos melius instruam. Nec enim male illud tempus impenditur, quod uxoris valetudini et liberorum °profectui datur; praesertim ingrato hoc seculo, quo bene de publico merentes pro gratia damnum reportant, nec via est quae celerius ad honores ducat, quam *superba* inscitia. Nec tamen si ea nunc tempora sunt, iccirco liberos meos °similem insistere viam velim. Nam cum rerum quaedam vicissitudines esse soleant, dum isti adolescunt, scaeva haec tempora, spero, paulatim desaevient, suusque etiam virtuti ac eruditioni honos sensim esse incipiet. Atque ut ea spe frustrarer, nunquam ita male cum rebus humanis agitur, ut non aliqua tellus hospitium iis praebeat lubens, qui °insignem pietatem doctrinae non proletariae iunxerunt.
- c** Haec °mane, haec vesperi liberis meis inculco, ne °quali quali parentis infortunio °territi male de literis sentire, eaque negligere ac tandem odisse incipiant. Neque non admonitionibus meis locum °relinquunt. | Nam in Iohannis ac Matthaei industria minus nunc requiro—quorum hic °utcunque iam Latine loqui incipit, atque his diebus integram Heautontimorumenon intra horas °duas non infeliciter recitavit.⁴ Franciscus vero ac Dionysius sedulo adeo officium faciunt, ut vix sit, quod exigi ultra, vel etiam optari possit.⁵ °Ista me exulceratis hisce temporibus multum solantur; et siquid est, quod uxorem °adffictam erigat, hoc °in rebus °quidem humanis non aliud est, quam illud quod dixi.
- d** Soror Diamantia ob uxoris morbum °ac languorem iam hebdomades

b esse: *d* [- of] esse | profectui: [- valetudini] profectui | similem: *d* [viam > similem] | insignem: *d* [quem > insignem] | **c** mane, haec vesperi: *d* [noctes diesque > mane, haec vesperi] | quali quali: *d* \quali quali/ | territi: *d* \territi/ | relinquunt: *d* [praebent > relinquunt] | utcunque iam: *d* iam utcunque | duas: *d* [paucas > duas] | Ista: *d* [Haec > Ista] | adffictam: *d* \adffictam/ | in: *d* [- post] in | quidem: *d* \quidem/ | **d** ac languorem: *d* \ac languorem/

⁴ Joannes Vossius (1605–1636) had matriculated at Leiden in early 1620. He concentrated on mathematics and biology, but later switched to the study of law. In the autumn of 1628, he left to study in Cambridge. Matthaeus Vossius (1611–1646) was still educated either at home or at the Latin School. He matriculated at Leiden in September 1628, where he devoted himself to Dutch history in particular. Terence,

- b** Meanwhile, I will not fail her, but cut down a little on my studies so that I can be a comfort and distraction to her and at the same time educate my children better. For this time which is devoted to my wife's health and the progress of my children is not employed badly, especially in this ungrateful age, in which people deserving well of the public weal get small thanks for their pains and in which there is no road which leads faster to honorary positions than haughty ignorance. Yet, even if the times are such now, I do not wish my children therefore to enter a similar road. For, since the circumstances are usually changing, these unfavourable times will cease raging little by little while they are growing up, I hope, and virtue and learning will gradually get their due esteem. And, if I am deceived in this hope, it is never so bad with human affairs that there is no country which gladly accomodates those who combine excellent piety with exalted learning.
- c** From dawn to dusk I impress on my children that, frightened by whatever misfortune of their father, they do not begin to think ill of the study of letters and neglect and finally hate them. And they do leave room for my exhortations. For I miss less now in Johannes' and Matthaeus' diligence, the latter of whom already begins to speak Latin in one way or another and quite successfully recited the entire *Self-Tormentor* in less than two hours these days. Then, Franciscus and Dionysius are doing their duties so zealously that there is hardly anything that can be further required or even desired. This greatly comforts me in these aggravating times, and if there is anything that cheers up my afflicted wife, there is actually nothing else among human affairs than what I said here.
- d** Sister Diamant has been with us because of my wife's sickness and weakness for more than two weeks now and she is doing fine. Also Sister de Brune is enjoying a good health, and six or seven

Heautontimorumenos [The Self-Tormentor], studied to learn Latin, **1b**. Cf. **59b**, **74**, Rademaker (1981:161-63).

⁵ Franciscus Vossius (1608-1645) had matriculated at Leiden in August, where he devoted himself to the study of law. Dionysius Vossius (1612-1633), a very talented boy, was still educated either at home or at the Latin School. Even before he matriculated at Leiden, together with his brother Matthaeus, in September 1628, he attended its public lectures, and took private lessons in Greek from Joannes Meursius and Latin from Daniel Heinsius, **59h**. Cf. **53**, **69b**, Rademaker (1981: 162-63).

°binas et amplius nobis adest, °ac optime valet. Brunaea etiam valedudine optima fruitur; et ante dies sex septem literas a marito accepit, quibus recte eum valere intelligit, tum etiam ut hostilem navem involarint, ex °cuius praeda quaedam ad mundum °muliebrem, °sane scitula, nec precii aspernandi, ei misit.⁶ Facile cogitare potes, °ut talium donorum °dulcedine °temperetur °nonnihil amaror °ex abitu carissimi mariti conceptus. °Nam iucundum est omnibus accipere, feminae imprimis.

e Uxor doctoris Gomari pie in Domino °obdormivit, uti et °nurus, quae Francisco filio nupserat.⁷ Filia vero nupsit cuidam °de la Haie, Ecclesiastae Gallobelgico Groningae, °iuniori fratrum eorum qui tecum Dordrecht in aedibus meis vixere.⁸

f °Quod ad res °meas, eodem in statu sunt, quo ante menses tres.⁹ Videntur interim eo inclinare Curatores, ut me publico munere sive honorent, sive °onerent.¹⁰ Sed °quid °sit de eo futurum, non ante °VIII proximi mensis diem scire potero.¹¹ Vale, adfinis coniunctissime, et °ab omnibus nobis salve.

VIII kalendas °IXbris MDCXXI.

°Tuus, G.I. Vossius.

d binas et amplius: *d* [*aliquas* > binas \et amplius/] | ac: *d* et | cuius praeda: *d* [- *qua*] cuius [*rapinis* > praeda] | muliebrem: *d* muliebrem pertinentia | sane . . . aspernandi: *d* \sane . . . aspernandi/ | ut: [*quam haec* > ut] | dulcedine: *d* \dulcedine/ | temperetur: *d* temper[*abi* > e]tur | nonnihil: *d* \nonnihil/ | ex: *d* [- *quem*] ex | Nam . . . imprimis: *d* \Nam . . . imprimis/ | e obdormivit: obdormivi; *d* obdormivit | nurus: *d* [- *fi*] nurus | de . . . Groningae: *d* de la Heie, tibi noto, utpote condiscipulo olim \nunc/ Ecclesiast[*i* > ae] Gallico Groningano | iuniori . . . vixere: *d* - | f Quod: *d* [- *Haec sola occurebunt.*] [*Nam* > Quod] | meas: *d* meas [- *quod attinet*] | onerent: [- *oment*] onerent | quid . . . futurum: *d* quid de eo futurum sit | sit: \sit/ | VIII: *d* VIIIum | ab omnibus nobis: *d* a me, uxore, sorore Diamantia, liberisque meis plurimum | Tuus G.I. Vossius: *d* -

⁶ Isaac de Brune's letter to his wife Johanna Junius is unretrieved. De Brune had left for the Indies as chief public prosecutor of the East India Company earlier this year, **7f, 49c**. Booty and enemy unidentified.

⁷ Maria l'Hermitte, Junius' maternal aunt, who had died 27 July (6 Aug?), and Agneta Wermeri, wife of Franciscus Gomarus the Younger (b. 1594), whom van Itterzon mentions as having died in 1622, cf. van Itterzon (1929:271-72).

days ago she received a letter from her husband from which she heard that he is doing well, and also that they seized a ship of the enemy, out of the booty of which he sent her some truly elegant objects whose worth for a woman's toilet should not be despised. You can easily imagine that the bitterness she got from her dearest husband's departure is somewhat moderated by the sweetness of such gifts. For it is pleasant for everybody to receive gifts, but especially for a woman.

e Dr. Gomarus' wife piously passed away in the Lord, as well as his daughter-in-law, who had married his son Franciscus. His daughter has married one de la Haie, a Walloon minister in Groningen, the youngest of those brothers who stayed with you at my house in Dordrecht.

f As for my situation, it is in the same condition as three months ago. Meanwhile, the trustees seem to incline to honouring or burdening me with a public position. Yet what may happen concerning this I will not be able to know before the 8th day of next month. Farewell, dearest Brother, and be wished well by all of us.

On the 8th Kalends of November 1621 [25 Oct.].

Yours, G.J. Vossius.

⁸ Johanna Gomarus, Gomarus' youngest daughter, and David de la Haye, predicant of the Walloon Church in Groningen, had married in April 1621. David de la Haye's brother(s) unidentified. Cf. van Itterzon (1929:272).

⁹ Cf. a.

¹⁰ The Leiden trustees intended to make Vossius a regular professor, but it took until the spring of 1622 before he was invited to become professor of rhetoric and world history, and until November 1622 before he could commence his new duty, due to objections from the church, cf. Rademaker (1981:150–52).

¹¹ The trustees met on 8 November. The resolutions of that meeting have no information on Vossius, cf. *Bronnen* 2.102.

38⁴⁰ 21 11 27 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO GROTIUS [PARIS]¹

A Eminentissimo et pro veritate firmissimo viro *Domino* Hugoni Grotio.

a *Salutem plurimam*. Si tu, virorum maxime,² una cum secundorum adversorumque socia heroina et communibus certissimae spei liberis recte vales, habent omnes boni quod coelo imputent.³ Ego hic, hilaritate animi viribus corporis egregium robur adstruente, laetos plerumque dies ago, dum optima ac meritissima, qua apud viros ornatissimos florentissimosque frueris, fama, haud aliter quam modulatissimo aliquo tiliarum aut fidium cantu, demulceor.⁴ Pronum mihi nunc esset, nisi in aliquam foedae adulationis speciem incidere vererer, memorare quemadmodum virtutem et eruditionem tuam, ut amor et admiratio tulit, celebrare universi soleant.⁵ Sed non minus mihi considerandum scio, quid aures tuae pati possint, quam quid virtutibus debeatur; praeterquam quod, cui adscensus in coelum patet, quamvis maxima, tamen debito minora sunt quae hic in terris mortalium vocibus tribuntur;⁶ cumque fere sequatur ut illa de quibus taceas tanta quanta sunt esse videantur, ipse quoque, iustissimae admirationis stupore defixus ac silens, nihil quicquam de plenitudine tuarum laudum detriturus, propositi mei tenorem quam brevissime prosequi tentabo.

b Invitissimus certe otio tuo negotioso manum iniicio, eo quod iniurii in publicum mihi esse videantur, quotquot animum gravioribus studiis deservientem summisque rebus iugiter intentum, frigidis negotiis simul et avocant et comminuunt.⁷ Quamobrem damnata inconsulti atque imprudentis ausi impudentia, silentium denuo mihi imperassem, nisi opportune suggessisset animus, nulla tibi unquam studia tanti

¹ *o*: UBA, 30 Aa. On verso Grotius wrote, "17 Nov. 1621 Iunius." *e*: *BWGrotius* 2.708.

² Pun on Grotius' Dutch surname, **19a**. Sections **a–b** topically praise the addressee, cf. Introduction.

³ Petronius, *Satyricon* 127.6.4, "habebo tamen quod caelo imputem." Maria van Reigersberch, and their children Cornelia, Maria, Cornelis Cornets (1613–1665), Pieter (1615–1678), and Diederik, called van Kraayenburg (1618–1661), who were also staying in Paris. Cf. Nellen (1985:89–93), *NNBW* 2.522, 527, 529.

⁴ Cicero, *In Verrem* 2.4.134.9–10, "apud socios, ut . . . quam ornatissimi florentissimique essent." Annii Florus, *Epitome bellorum omnium annorum DCC* 1.23.45–46, "nec aliter . . . quam modulatissimo aliquo tiliarum aut fidium cantu."

⁵ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 5.3.5.2–3, "ne quam in speciem adulationis incidam."

38 21 11 27 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO GROTIUS [PARIS]

A To the most eminent gentleman who is most steadfast for the benefit of truth, Mr. Hugo Grotius.

a Warmest regards. If you, greatest man, are doing well together with your wife, partner through fair and foul, and your joint promising children, all right-minded people have what they may credit to heaven. I am mostly spending happy days here, as the cheerfulness of my heart adds excellent vigour to the strength of my body, while I am gratified by the best and greatly deserved reputation which you are enjoying with highly honoured and prosperous gentlemen, no differently than by the most melodious music of pipes and lyres. It would be easy for me now, if I had not feared to fall into a kind of disgraceful flattery, to commemorate how everybody usually praises your virtue and learning, just as love and admiration have led them to do, but I know I must take into account what your ears can bear no less than what is due to your virtues, except that what is ascribed by the voices of mortals here on earth to someone to whom ascension to heaven is attainable is still less than what is due, even though it is the greatest; and because it almost ensues that what one is silent about seems to be as great as it really is, astounded and silent with wonder of most deserved admiration, I will neither detract anything at all from the abundance of praises for you and try to follow the course of my intention as briefly as possible.

b I am laying my hand on your busy leisure time truly most reluctantly, because in general I believe all people injurious who at the same time both distract and weaken a heart devoted to quite serious concerns and continually directed to the highest matters by trivial affairs. So, having condemned the shamelessness of an inconsiderate and thoughtless venture, I would have reduced myself to silence again, if my heart had not conveniently suggested that no studies have ever been worth so much to you that you would deny the obligation of friendship, which the studies themselves instruct to

⁶ Seneca the Younger, *Epistolae morales ad Lucilium* 40.8.9, “quantum aures pati possunt.”

⁷ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 9.2.1.4–5, “frigidis negotiis quae simul et avocant animum et comminuunt.”

fuisse, ut amicitiae officium desereres, quod religiosissime colendum studia ipsa praecipiant; imo ne publico quidem aliquid decessurum, cum instar refectionis existimes mutationem laboris, si quando cum influentibus negotiis paria fecisti.⁸ Ita sponte currenti calcaria quoque addidit recordatio benignissimi promissi, quo iam olim fidem tuam viduae, cuius rem hisce litteris ago, obligasti; pariterque et tibi veniam recusandi laboris et mihi exigendi verecundiam sustulisti, nam nec me timide uti decet eo, quod oblatum est; nec te gravari, quod depoposcisti.⁹

- c Saepe ad memoriam illius temporis revolvor, cum quinque circiter abhinc annis, ipse minus belle habens, ex adverso aedium paternarum virum Dei graviter iacentem visere sustineres, et quamvis ad ultimam perductus tristitiam, vix lachrymas tenere posses; vultusque confusione satis indicares, quam ingenti moerore anhela pectora pulsarentur; salubribus tamen sermonibus modo aegri languentis, modo lugentium propinquorum, modo optimae foeminae animum ad firmitudinem revocabas; unde et, te consilium operamque tuam in rebus dubiis addicente, hactenus desiderium amissi mariti solatiis honestis toleravit.¹⁰ Scio, *clare Domine*, memoriae tuae, quae beneficiendi tenacissima est, haec firmiter inhaerere; de reliquo nefas est dubitare.¹¹ Salva ergo magnitudine tua descendas oportet ad curas nostras, cum ius nobis dederis referendi ad te de quibus dubitamus.¹²
- d Viduae huius matrimonium flagrantissime affectat Samuel Naeranus; omnia dixi, cum virum nominavi.¹³ Iamdudum enim, nisi me fallit

⁸ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 8.9.2.1–3, “nulla enim studia tanti sunt, ut amicitiae officium deseratur, quod religiosissime custodiendum studia ipsa praecipiant.” *Idem*, *Panegyricus* 81.1.1–2, “quodsi quando cum influentibus negotiis paria fecisti instar refectionis existimas mutationem laboris.”

⁹ Erasmus, *Adage* 147, “Calcar addere currenti;” Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 1.8.1.3–2.2, “addidisti ergo calcaria sponte currenti pariterque . . . depoposcisti.” Junius discussed the interests of Maria Junius, widow of Isaac Diamant, in c–e.

¹⁰ Petronius, *Satyricon* 24.1.1–3, “non tenui ego diutius lacrimas, sed ad ultimam perductus tristitiam.” Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* [sp.] 4.45.6–7, “calamitas pectora maerore pulsabat; itaque anhelans” Tacitus, *Annales* 15.62.8, “modo . . . modo . . . ad firmitudinem revocat;” *ibidem* 15.63.5, “desiderium mariti solaciis honestis toleraret.” Grotius had regularly come to see the sick Diamant in Delft in 1617 and had reported any news to Vossius, cf. *BWGrotius* (1, s.v. Diamant).

¹¹ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 10.12.1.1–2, “scio, Domine, memoriae tuae, quae est bene faciendi tenacissima, preces nostras inhaerere.”

¹² Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 10.31.1.1–2, “salva magnitudine tua, domine, descendas oportet ad meas curas, cum ius mihi dederis referendi ad te de quibus dubito.”

honour most accurately; even, that in truth nothing will swerve from the public weal, because you esteem a change of work as a refreshment once you have done your share of pressing affairs. So, the willing horse was also spurred by a recollection of the kindest promise with which you had formerly pledged your faith to the widow whose affair I am arranging by this letter, and you have equally removed both permission for you to deny the service and my hesitation to demand it, for it is neither fitting for me to use timidly what has been offered, nor for you to feel annoyed, because you have demanded it.

- c I often return to a recollection of that time, about five years ago, when, being less well yourself, you endured to come and see the seriously ill man of God opposite to your ancestral home, and although you could hardly hold back your tears, brought to the deepest grief, and sufficiently revealed by the confusion in your face by how immense sorrow your panting heart was struck, you still strengthened now the heart of the one faint from sickness, now that of the mourning near and dear and now that of the best wife with beneficial words; for this reason, because you promised your advice and assistance in precarious matters, she has as yet borne the bereavement of her lost husband thanks to honest consolation. I know, renowned sir, that this has firmly stuck in your memory, which is most persistent in doing good; it were wrong to doubt about the rest. So you should descend to our concerns without violation of your greatness, because you have given us leave to indicate to you about what we are hesitating.
- d Samuel Naeranus is most vehemently aspiring to marrying that widow; I have said all by naming the man. For, a long time ago, unless my conjecture deceives me, you abundantly perceived the

¹³ Samuel Naeranus, or van der Neer (d. 1641), exiled Remonstrant predicant, who was nevertheless serving the Remonstrant congregation in The Hague at the time. He had attended the Latin School in Dordrecht and studied theology in Saumur and Sedan. Having been a predicant in Hazerswoude from 1611 and in Amersfoort from 1617, he had been a delegate of the Remonstrants of the Province of Utrecht at the Synod of Dordrecht. He was then forced to flee to Waalwijk and Antwerp, where he continued to attend Remonstrant meetings. Maria and he married. In 1622 they moved to Danzig, where, using the pseudonym "Broekhuysen," he became a predicant to the Dutch merchants. When the Thirty-Years' War forced them to flee Danzig temporarily, they probably went to Sedan, where he was headmaster of the Latin School, **62d**. They returned to Amersfoort in 1632. Cf. *NNBW* 2.976, Glasius 2.560–62.

opinio, candidos hominis mores, ingenium erectum, et eruditionem non contemnendam abunde intellexisti; neque latere te potest illud comici:

Omnes, quibus res sunt minus secundae, magis sunt nescio quo modo
Suspiciosi; ad contumeliam omnia accipiunt magis;
Propter suam impotentiam se semper credunt negligi.¹⁴

- e Publico certe interest, ne unius exemplo cuncti bonae causae ac patriae libertatis assertores, contemptus suspicione laborantes, animis cadant. Sed forte futurum hoc non est; contra illud certum, mulier natalibus clara, moribus proba, diu vidua, iniquissimis hisce temporibus plurimorum iudicio parum decore matrimonium exulis secuta videbitur; actum insuper erit de moderationis illius fama, quam usque adhuc qualemcunque familia ista obtinuit; quae res utinam indignioribus contumeliis virum optimum tuique amantissimum non exponat!¹⁵ Ambiguum adhuc esse potest, quae coniugii talis futura sit species; quae fortuna, fama, conditio communium, si proveniant, liberorum. Sed quid ego consilium promenti similis, cum non alia, quam ut te consulerem, intentione ad scribendum accesserim? Ignosce, quaeso, molestissimae importunitati; negotium hoc, ut vides, consiliatorem et rectorem temporum intelligentissimum exigit. Quare iterum atque iterum rogamus, oramus, ne tui nobis iudicii copiam facere graveris, litterarumque aliquid aut ad me, aut ad viduae affinem, dimidium animae tuae, super hac re transmittas.¹⁶ Obligabis me, obligabis viduam, obligabis, una cum tota familia, hunc eius, quem dixi, adfinem, tanto magis idoneum debitorem, quam nos putas esse, quanto sanius tuorum erga nos beneficiorum mensuram valet aestimare.¹⁷

- f Vale, vir *clare*, cum singularis exempli coniuge, liberisque suavissimis. *Dominus* Doubletius iuxta mecum tibi vult commendari; quemadmodum et magnitudinem tuam ex aequo mecum religiosa veneratione prosequitur. Saluta *clarum* Tilenum, *Dominum* Auratum et *Dominum* Schaalkens, si etiamnum Lutetiae moratur. Raptim; Londinii, anno 1621, 17 Novembris *stilo vetere*. Tuus omni obsequio, Fr. Iunius.

¹⁴ Terence, *Adelphoe* 605–07, “omnes . . . credunt claudier.”

¹⁵ Cf. Grotius’ reply in **40c**.

¹⁶ Horace, *Carmina* 1.3.8, “animae dimidium meae.” Vossius.

gentleman's upright habits, his noble character and not to be scorned learning; and this saying of the comic poet cannot have escaped you,

All those who are less fortunate are all the more suspicious in some way;
They all the more regard everything as an insult;
Because of their own weakness, they always believe to be slighted.

e It certainly concerns the public weal that, oppressed with the suspicion of scorn, not all advocates of the good cause and ancestral liberty lose courage due to the example of one. But perhaps this will not happen. On the other hand, this is certain: a lady renowned for her descent, virtuous in manners, a widow for a long time, will seem to have entered into a marriage with an exile with too little decorum in many people's opinion in these most unfair times; in addition, that will be the end of the reputation of that moderation which this family has had as yet—whatever it is worth. I hope that this does not expose the best man who is deeply devoted to you to rather indignant insults! As yet, it can be doubtful what will be the esteem for such a marriage, what its fortune, what its reputation, what the condition of their joint children, if they are born. But why do I resemble a counsellor, when I had entered upon writing with no other intention than to consult you? Pardon the most troublesome insolence, I pray; as you see, this affair requires a counsellor and guide who is very well acquainted with the times. Therefore we beg and pray you time and again not to feel annoyed to give us access to your opinion and to send a letter concerning this either to me or to the widow's brother-in-law, the other half of your heart; you will oblige me, you will oblige the widow, you will oblige, together with the whole family, her brother-in-law whom I mentioned, a debtor so much more suitable than you consider us to be, inasmuch as he is better able to estimate the measure of your favours for us.

f Farewell, renowned sir, together with your wife of exceptional example and your sweetest children. Mr. Doublet wants to be commended to you as well as I, just as he also honours your greatness by devout veneration as much as I. Greet the renowned Tilenus, Mr. D'Or and Mr. Schaelkens, if he is still staying in Paris. In haste. London, in the year 1621, 17 November old style. Complaisantly Yours, Fr. Junius.

¹⁷ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 4.4.2.3, 26e.

g Scriptum tuum De Iure Summarum Potestatum Circa Sacra per fratres Berneveldios recte ad te perlatum spero.¹⁸

³⁷ **39**₄₁ 21 12 11 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

A °Magistro Gerardo Iohanni Vossio, affini coniunctissimo.²

a Coniunctissime Domine affinis,

Quamquam recens de uxoris tuae, sororis meae, morbo nuntius sollicitum mihi animum tristi imagine confuderit, tamen, Deo *optimo maximo* multiplices curas in gaudium vertente, de metu non queror.³ Quod superest, Deum immortalem precor, ut illam tibi, una cum spei non dubiae liberis, fortem et hilarem diu praestet.

b Fieri vix potest, quin ad vos iamdudum perlata sit res plurimorum rumoribus agitata. Trimestre et amplius est, cum Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis inter venandum cervo imminens, ictu fallente, hominem sagitta confixit.⁴ Difficili coniectura non eget, quam gravi vulnere casus tam luctuosus et ipsius Archiepiscopi piam mentem, et bonorum omnium animos adflixerit. Nondum is dolor exoleverat, cum statim non levis difficultas inde exorata, omnium aures oraque advertit; Nam quatuor inter, quibus imponenda manus erat, Episcopos aliqui ambigere coeperunt, an consecrationem hanc humana caede cruentatae manus rite possent perpetrare; neque deerant alii complures qui destinatione tacita in locum Archiepiscopi, summa

A: *p* Praestantissimo viro Gerardo Ioanni Vossio, affini coniunctissimo

¹⁸ The manuscript copy of Grotius, *De imperio* (1647), **32j**, **34i**. It was accompanied by John Cosin's letter to Grotius, dated 21 06 30. In an unretrieved letter enclosed with letter **35**, Grotius had probably asked Andrewes to have the manuscript returned through Willem van Stoutenburg (1590–1634) and Reinier van Groenevelt (d. 1623), sons of the late Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, in case of Junius' absence from London, **34i**, **35i**. No details on what van Oldenbarnevelt's sons were doing at the time were found. Cf. *BWGrotius* 2.660, *NNBW* 5.393–95.

¹ *o*: BL, Hl. 7012, f. 24. *p1*: Colomesius 2.50. *p2*: *Epp. Vossius* 43; not collated. Dated November, as noted in *ICVossius* (1993:69).

² Junius probably addressed Vossius as “magister” [master], in reference to the latter's position as lecturer at the Leiden *Collegium Oratorium*, **37a**.

³ Cf. **37a–b**.

⁴ George Abbot (1562–1633), archbishop of Canterbury from 1610/11 until his

g I hope that your treatise *On the Authority of the Highest Magistracy concerning Church Affairs* has been delivered to you through the Oldenbarnevelt brothers in good order.

39 21 12 11 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]

A To Master Gerardus Johannes Vossius, dearest Brother.

a Dearest Brother,

Although the recent news of your wife's, my sister's, sickness troubled my concerned heart with a sad image, I still do not complain of fear, since Allgood and Almighty God turns manifold concerns into happiness. What remains, I pray the eternal God to keep her strong and cheerful for you and your promising children for a long time.

b It can hardly have happened that an affair incited by many people's rumours was told to you already before. More than three months ago the archbishop of Canterbury was aiming at a stag when hunting, and pierced a man with an arrow, when the shot missed. There is no need for guessing hard with how serious a blow such a grievous accident cast down both that archbishop's pious heart and the hearts of all right-minded people. That grief had not yet passed, when a great difficulty originating from it immediately agitated everybody's ears and mouths, for among the four bishops who had to be consecrated some began to doubt whether hands stained with blood of manslaughter could perform this consecration in accordance with religious observances, and there were also several others who, in silent decision, would substitute Winchester in place of the archbishop,

death. While hunting at Bramshill Park, Hampshire, he shot at a buck, but accidentally killed a gamekeeper. In order to cleanse himself from the homicide he fasted for a month on Tuesdays, the day of the casualty. Yet, three bishops-elect refused to be consecrated by his stained hands; John Williams, nominated to Lincoln, **57c**, William Laud, nominated to St. Davids, **43b**, and Valentine Cary (d. 1626), nominated to Exeter, whereas only the fourth bishop-elect, John Davenant (1576–1641), nominated to Salisbury, and one of the English delegates at the Synod of Dordrecht, **41c**, was on Abbot's side. A committee, which included the three bishops-elect and Bishop Andrewes, had to decide whether Abbot had acted sacrilegiously. Even though the verdict was in favour of Abbot, the three bishops-elect still refused to be consecrated by him and had to be consecrated by the bishop of London, future archbishop of York, George Montaigne (1569–1628), instead. Cf. **b–c**, *DNB* 1.5–20, Welsby (1962:91–104).

(ut putabant) dignitate exuendi, Wintoniensem sufficerent; Wintoniense ipso multum obnitente, et nihil non obnixè pro Archiepiscopo faciente.

- c Vidit tandem Rex ad curam suam negotium hoc pertinere; oculosque circumferens, decem spectatissimae sanctitatis ac fidei viros elegit, qui eruditionem suam intenderent, et genus quaestionis aut non satis tritum aut etiam inexpertum ad liquidum perducerent. Erexerat ea res publicam expectationem omnis morae impatientissimam; summisque viris hinc inde, dum antiquae Ecclesiae Canones conferunt et excutiunt, in studia per aliquot dies diductis, abruptam undique gratam saluberrimi consensus spem timida sollicitudine non pauci augurabantur; donec *reverendus* Wintoniensis Episcopus infinitam hanc sententiarum diversitatem unico allegato Canone diremit. Clericus, de quo dubitatur an sit regularis, non est irregularis.⁵ Modestia gravitasque *reverendi* viri mirifice commendavit dicti opportunitatem, praecipue acceptam diutina quasi altercatione fessis. Sententia itaque haec non praevaluit modo, sed omnino post tantas dissensiones sola fuit frequens. Magnam sibi tam notabili aequissimae moderationis exemplo, vir *reverendus* admirationem, tam apud ipsum Regem, quam apud omnes bonos comparavit. Monuit certe Archiepiscopum Rex, ut conservatae gratiam dignitatis ad unum Wintoniensem referret.
- d In his erat curis *reverendissimus* Dominus, cum tuas ei litteras offerrem; quibus ille iam dudum, ut longe gratissimis, respondisset, nisi priores hasce curas eximproviso Parliamentum exceperisset;⁶ quod res quoque meas nonnihil moratur, copia *illustrem* Comitem Arundelium conveniendi negata, qui iam pridem unice petiit ut sibi operam meam integram reservarem.⁷ Brevi itaque, si Deus annuat, de omnibus meis

⁵ Andrewes had said, "Brethren . . . be not too busy to condemn any for Uncanonicals according to the strictness thereof, lest we render ourselves in the same condition," according to Thomas Fuller, *Church History of Britain* (1655), 10.5.16, quoted after Welsby (1962:99).

⁶ Vossius' letter to Andrewes is dated 21 10 25, **36a**. The parliament of 1621 had reconvened on 20 November and continued until 28 December, **32c**. Cf. Russell (1979:85–144).

⁷ Thomas Howard, second earl of Arundel (1585–1646), the Earl Marshal of England since July, and England's "father of vertu," its greatest patron of the arts and collector of antiquities. The dignity of Earl Marshal, a title also held by his ancestors, placed him in rank immediately below the king. Five years Junius' elder, he was loyal to and intimate with King James as Knight of the Garter and privy councillor for England and for Scotland, and member of numerous committees. King James was godfather of Arundel's eldest son, James, lord Maltravers (d. 1623), and Queen Anne (1574–1619) godmother of his second son, Henry Frederick, **70a**.

who should be removed from the highest dignity (as they thought), although Winchester himself much resisted this and did everything in his power in favour of the archbishop.

c Eventually, the king saw that this affair belonged to his concern and with his eyes darting about he elected ten men of deeply respected virtue and faith to apply their learning and bring such a problem, which is neither quite common nor even precedented, to clarity. This roused public expectation, which cannot bear any delay, and when the most high gentlemen were considerably discussing it for some days, while they were consulting and investigating the Canons of the ancient church, quite a few people predicted with fearful anxiety that the hope for a most salutary consensus, welcome everywhere, had been broken, until the reverend bishop of Winchester ended this unlimited diversity of opinions by mentioning a single Canon, "The clergyman about whom one doubts whether he is regular, is not irregular." The reverend lord's modesty and seriousness wonderfully commended the appropriateness of the Canon, which was especially welcome to people tired at the lengthy debate, so to speak. So, this opinion not only prevailed, but it became absolutely the only current one after such a great discord. The reverend lord has acquired great admiration for himself both with the king himself and with all right-minded people because of such a noteworthy example of most patient modesty. The king plainly reminded the archbishop to render thanks for the preservation of his dignity to Winchester alone.

d The right reverend lord was involved with these concerns when I presented him your letter, to which he would have answered long ago, since it was most welcome, if Parliament had not unexpectedly heard of those earlier concerns, which have also somewhat delayed my affairs, because there has been no opportunity to meet the illustrious earl of Arundel, who had expressly asked of me already before to reserve all my service for him. So, if God favours, I will soon inform you about all my circumstances. As I am about to copy the small

Having spent his youth deprived of his titles and possessions due to his parents' Roman Catholicism, Arundel had been restored to dignity only after James' accession, and been able to set up a court in accordance with his rank thanks to his marriage to Lady Aletheia Talbot, the daughter and coheirress of the powerful and rich earl of Shrewsbury, **62c**, in 1606. This had also allowed him to develop into a renowned connoisseur, patron and collector. In the autumn, Andrewes had moved Arundel to ask Junius into his service, and Junius commenced his duties in June 1622, **36b**, **42b**. Cf. **44a**, Hervey (1921, esp. 35–37, 49, 190–91), Howarth (1985), *Literature* 1.xxxiin20, also for further references.

rebus te faciam certiozem. Exemplar litterularum ad virum magnum datarum descripturus,⁸ hic me prae temporis angustia sistere cogor; neque necesse habeo quicquam super hac re scribere, cum tute omnia perspicias.

Raptim; Londinii, anno 1621, *kalendis Decembris stilo vetere*.

Tuus omni officio, Fr. Iunius F.F.

³⁸ 40 [0] 21 12 15 GROTIUS (PARIS) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

- A** Viro clarissimo doctissimoque Francisco Iunio Londinii. Cum libello.²
- a** Avidum me iam pridem de te nuntios expectantem, optime ac doctissime Iuni, summa voluptate affecerunt dulcissimae et eius quem semper in te agnovi affectus indices °litterae.³ Rogo hunc mihi animum conserves; ego ne eius te unquam poeniteat operam dabo.
- b** Librum quem olim, cum de proceribus nostris optima quaeque °mihi pollicerer, de imperio summarum potestatum circa sacra conscripseram, ex Hibernia in Angliam remissum per fratres Barneveldios recte accepi.⁴ Esse illic qui adversus tot calumnias tantumque fortunae impetum invictam nobis amicitiam praestant, magnum mihi contra tot mala solatium est.⁵ Neque dubito quin eius boni partem studio tuo debeam; scio enim quam certum in te habeam innocentiae meae et testem et patronum.
- c** Ego te vicissim credere illud firmissime iubeo, ita me sanctissimi viri, parentis tui, memoriam revereri, ita me optimi amicorum Vossii suavissima consuetudine illigatum, ita me tuis tuorumque omnium

a litterae: \litterae/ | **b** mihi: [- *per*] mihi

⁸ Junius' letter to Bishop Andrewes is unretrieved.

¹ *o*: UBA, S 19. *e*: *BWGrotius* 2.712. Presumably replied by an unretrieved letter, *e*^a.

² Enclosed booklet or pamphlet unidentified.

³ Letter 38.

⁴ Willem van Stoutenburg and Reinier van Groenevelt had delivered the manuscript copy of Grotius' *De imperio* (1647). Evidently, Grotius believed Junius' interpretation of the circumstances of the manuscript, that is, that it had been recovered from Ireland, 34h, 38g.

letter I wrote to the great earl, I am forced to check myself here due to lack of time. And I do not think it necessary to write anything at all about this, because you yourself will understand everything. In haste. London, 1621, on the Kalends of December old style [11 Dec.].

Obligingly Yours, Fr. Junius F.F.

40 21 12 15 GROTIUS (PARIS) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the widely renowned and learned Francis Junius in London. With a booklet.

a The sweetest letter, testifying to the affection which I have always noticed in you, my best and most learned Junius, has given me the greatest delight, when I had eagerly been looking forward to news from you already for a long time. I beg you to preserve this inclination for me; I will take pains that you will never feel sorry for it.

b The book *On the Authority of the Highest Magistracy concerning Church Affairs*, which I had written some time ago when I was promising myself the best of our dignitaries, I received through the Oldenbarnevelt brothers in good order, after it had been sent back from Ireland to England. It is a great comfort to me against so many misfortunes that there are people there who cherish a firm friendship with us in the face of so many false accusations and such a great attack on fortune. And I do not doubt that I owe part of that bounty to your assiduity, for I know how steadfast a witness and protector of my innocence I have in you.

c I, in turn, entreat you to believe most firmly that I so deeply revere the memory of the most blessed gentleman, your father, and that I am so deeply bound by the sweetest companionship of my best friend Vossius and that I am so much obliged by the favours of you and all your family, that besides my ancestral home none can be dearer to me than yours. Therefore, never believe that anything that affects you can be strange to me; and really to my pleasure

⁵ Grotius must be referring to Bishop Andrewes and John Cosin, who had recovered the manuscript, **34h**.

officiis obstructum, ut vestra domo post paternam meam nulla mihi esse possit carior.⁶ Quare noli unquam credere quicquam a me alienum esse quod ad vos pertinet, quod te sentire meo sane cum gaudio ostendis cum me curarum vestrarum participem facis.⁷ Atque utinam tam consilii sapientia usui vobis esse possim quam vota precesque meae vobis inserviunt. Neranum, quem nominas, probitatis et eruditionis nomine qui novere commendant. Neque vero ego nescio quantum sit viri tam eximii filiam, adde et mariti nunquam satis laudandi (scis quanti eum fecerim) viduam ambire. Tum quae exsulum sit fortuna expertus disco. Sed, ni fallor, virtutis ipsius interest ne, si praestantissima femina ad secundarum nuptiarum cogitationem flecti potest, spernatur is in quo praeter fortunam nihil accusari potest. Video Auratum nostrum satis ex voto hic vivere; quod si alia terra Neranum non recipit, haec ipsi quoque alendo, ni fallor, sufficet. In bona causa divinae providentiae fiducia adversum fortuita fulciendus est animus. Fieri vix potest ut post rem tam solenni iudicio definitam plane medium se quisquam gerat.⁸ Sed etiam partem, ut Solon voluerat, eligentibus constare potest aequitatis fama; quin utile est utrinque conspici qui non aversos a pace animos habeant si quando ulla eius spes sese ostenderit.⁹

d Literas has *reverendo Domino* Wintoniensi cum officiosa salute tradas rogo.¹⁰ Alterae quomodo ad Cosinium, Lichfeldensis episcopi intimum, curari possint ex ipso Wintoniensi aut eius domesticis facile disces.¹¹ Da veniam, si te utor familiaris. Schaelkius noster ad sororem aegrotam visendam abiit.¹² Caeteri atque uxor mea te et Doubletum resalutant. Vale, optime Iuni.
XV Decembris MDCXXI, Lutetiae.
Tuus tibi addictissimus, H. Grotius.

⁶ Junius the Elder and Vossius. Grotius had boarded as a student with the Junius family, **19a**. He also intimated to Maria Junius, “Naest myner ouders huis en isser geen dat ick meer bemin dan het uwe, gedenckende de goede onderrechtinge die ick van mijn Heer U.E. vader zal. ged. heb ontfangen, de broederlycke vrundschap van d’Heer Vossius, ende de soete kennisse die ick heb gehad ende noch hebbe met U.E. broeder Franc. Junio” [besides my parental home there is none which I love more than yours, recalling the good education which I received from your father of blessed memory, Mr. Vossius’ brotherly friendship and the sweet acquaintance which I have had and still have with your brother Francis Junius], 21 11 20, *BWGrotius* 2.706.

you show that you feel this way, when you make me share your concerns. I wish I can be of use to you with such wisdom of advice, as my wishes and prayers serve you. Naeranus, whom you mention, is recommended by those who know him because of his uprightness and learning, but I do not fail to see that it is quite something to aspire to such a distinguished man's daughter, and add, the widow of a husband who is never praised enough—you know how much I valued him. Then, I have come to know by experience what the fate of exiles is. Yet, if I am not mistaken, it is of importance to her own virtue—if the most distinguished lady can be persuaded to a consideration of a second marriage—that someone in whom nothing can be blamed besides fate is not rejected. I see our D'Or living here quite to his liking, and if another country does not receive Naeranus, this one will also provide for his support, if I am not mistaken. For a good cause, the heart must be supported by faith in divine Providence against accidents. After a matter determined by such solemn judgement, hardly anyone can remain wholly neutral. But a reputation of moderation can even last for those who do take sides, as Solon wanted; it is even useful that on both sides those who have hearts not averse to peace stand out, if any hope for it is dawning now at last.

d I beg you to deliver the enclosed letter to the reverend lord Winchester with due greetings; you will easily hear from Winchester himself or from his court how the other one can be forwarded to Cosin, the bishop of Lichfield's intimate friend. Excuse me if I use you rather easily. Our Schaelkens left to see his sick sister. The others and my wife return warmest regards to you and Doublet. Farewell, my best Junius. 15 December 1621, Paris.
Devotedly Yours, H. Grotius.

⁷ Junius had asked Grotius' advice on the desirability of a marriage of Maria Junius, widow of Isaac Diamant, and Samuel Naeranus, **38d–e**.

⁸ An allusion to the Synod of Dordrecht, which had condemned the Remonstrants, **25d**.

⁹ Cf. Plutarch, *Solon* 20.1.

¹⁰ Grotius' letter to Andrewes is unretrieved. In it, he presumably thanked him for having recovered the manuscript copy of *De imperio*, **35i**.

¹¹ Grotius' letter to Cosin is unretrieved. In it, he presumably likewise thanked him for the recovery the manuscript. Thomas Morton (1564–1659), bishop of Lichfield and Coventry from 1618 until 1632, when he became bishop of Durham. He had sat on the committee determining Archbishop Abbot's position after the latter's casual homicide, **39b**. Cf. *DNB* 39.160–65.

¹² Willem Schaelkens' sister unidentified.

e Sex libros meos pro Christiana religione conscriptos prodituros propediem arbitror.¹³ Multi optant eorum librorum sensus Latino sermone exprimi; quod scio a nemine quam a te rectius praestari posse.¹⁴ Sed an res tuae et tempora id ferant, tu rectius iudicabis.

³⁹ 41 21 12 24 VOSSIUS [LEIDEN] TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Fr. Iunio F.F., Londinum.

a Carissime adfinis,

Heri vesperi literas tuas accepi; iis nunc respondeo.² “Hui tam cito,” inquires, “qui tardus adeo in hoc esse °officio scribendi soles.” Ita est; sed quod nunc praeter morem °meum agam, occasio fecit. Nec enim pati potui, ut qui has ad te defert, sine meis literis veniret.³ Praesertim cum °ipse epistolii aliquid ad te postularet. Nempe ex sorore tua, ubi esses, et quo loco res tuae °forent, certior factus erat.⁴ Cur vero °idem in Britanniam °nunc °cogitet, caussa haec est.

b Ante sesquiannum, vel praeterpropter, infeliciter cecidit ei °istic negotiatio libraria.⁵ °Historiam omnem scire te arbitror. Nunc °per librarium speculae °aliquid ei affulget, quasi libros vel pretium recuperare possit.⁶ Ego multum metuo, ne spes sua eum fallat. Nam

a officio scribendi: \officio scribendi/ | meum: \meum/ | ipse epistolii: [etiam literarum > ipse epistolii] | forent: [essent > forent] | idem: \idem/ | nunc: \nunc/ | cogitet: cogitet [- idem] | b istic: \istic/ | Historiam . . . te: [ut te iam intellexisse ex aliis > Historiam \omnem/ scire te] | per librarium speculae: [speculae > per et > nescio unde > per librarium [- aliquem] speculae] | aliquid: aliquid[o > i]d

¹³ Grotius, *Bewijs van den waren godsdienst. In ses boecken gestelt* (n.p., 1622), an irenic defense of Christianity aimed both at persuading non-Christians to embrace Christianity and at appeasing the strife within the Christian Church. Grotius had written it in prison. Junius' copy cannot be identified in UBL. Cf. *BGGrotius*, no. 143ff., Heering (1992).

¹⁴ Junius promised to translate *Bewijs* for Grotius, as the latter indicated to Willem de Groot, “Hexabilus ubi prodierit, fac quaeso ut Vossius exemplum sibi habeat et alterum quod statim ad Franciscum Iunium transmittat, qui paraphrasin Latinam pollicitus est” [As soon as *Bewijs* has come out, I pray, let Vossius have a copy for himself and another one to send immediately over to Francis Junius, who has promised a Latin translation], 22 04 08, *BWGrotius* 2.737. Grotius also intimated to de Groot that he wanted Junius to have the translation published in England, “Franciscum Iunium incitari velim ut properet nobis dare Latinam liberiolem para-

- e** I believe my six books written on behalf of the Christian religion will appear soon. Many people wish the contents of these books to be translated into Latin, and I know that this can be executed by no one better than by you. But you can better estimate whether your condition and situation allow you to do so.

41 21 12 24 VOSSIUS [LEIDEN] TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To Francis Junius F.F., London.

a Dearest Brother,

Yesterday night I received your letter and I am answering it now. “Oh, how quickly,” you will say, “you, who are always so slow in this duty of writing.” So it is, but a good opportunity makes me act now contrary to my habit. For I could not let him who delivers this to you arrive without my letter, especially since he requested a letter for you. He had actually been informed by your sister of where you are staying and in what condition your situation is. But the reason why he now intends to go to England is as follows.

b A year and a half ago, or thereabouts, a book transaction turned out unfavourable for him there. I think you know the whole story. A spark of hope that he can recover the books or their value is now gleaming for him through a bookseller. I deeply fear that his hope is deceiving him. For he has an opponent whom no one of the common people can oppose. For this reason those who wished to do

phrasin. Puto nihil obstitutum quominus ea in Anglia edatur” [I would wish to urge Francis Junius to hasten to make a rather free Latin translation for us. I think that nothing will prevent it from being published in England], [22] 06 20, *BWGrotius*, 2.767. However, nothing came of either translation or publication. Junius presumably made his promise in an unretrieved reply to the present letter, dated before 22 04 08, when Grotius informed Willem de Groot of it. Cf. **44c**, **45a**, **c**, **46c**, Heering (1992:20–21).

¹ *d*: UBA, III E 5, p. 155.

² Letter **39**.

³ Vossius’s acquaintance, whom he had known from the 1590s, possibly from his schooldays in Dordrecht, is unidentified, but cf. **d**.

⁴ Probably Elizabeth Junius.

⁵ Probably in the summer of 1620. Affair unidentified.

⁶ Bookseller unidentified.

°adversum habet eum, cui obniti nemo °minorum gentium valeat.⁷ Quare qui aliquid hac in re caussa °huius amici nostri vellent, nihil possent; vel siqui nonnihil possent, tanti hoc negotium non putabunt, ut iccirco suspectiores se reddere velint.

- c** Idem ille amicus °extra has terras anquirit honestam vitae conditionem. Dixi me putare °fortasse in Gallia ei, vel Germania, melius hoc negotium successurum. Nec enim ex tua suam metiri caussam debet. °Quippe tu °linguam Anglicam °apprime calles, et cum istuc ires, enixus eras summi viri commendatione, et °maximi patris °nomen non parum potest apud viros praestantes.⁸ Quae °omnia amico nostro desint. Omitto, quod nunquam te °partium studiis immiscuisti, quod an satis amicus caverit, nescio.⁹
- d** Sed tamen cum °idem vir sit, et integer vitae, et indolis optimae, et bene eruditus, siquid possis, ne desere, ac vel auxilio vel saltem consilio iuva, dummodo ne °incommodes tibi, et rebus tuis; quod °sane ut facias nec amicus velle debet. Iam anni sunt 30, et amplius, quod familiariter satis eo utor. Itaque me boni viri miseret. °Spero si non istic, at alibi saltem °Deo favente reperturum, °condicionem qua honeste °saltem annum unum alterum transmittere possit.
- e** De Dubletio ne salutem quidem tu adscripsisti.¹⁰ Et literis meis hactenus non respondit. Quare scire aveo an adhuc in Britannia agat. Salutem plurimam tibi dicit uxor, quae non optime, sed nec

b adversum . . . cui]: [*quia ei negotium est tantae est autoritatis \virum/ ut > [- simul ei] adversum . . . cui] | minorum gentium: \minorum gentium/ | huius amici nostri: [\veius/ amici nostri > huius amici nostri] | **c** extra: [- [noli]que] extra | fortasse: \fortasse/ | Quippe tu: [*Tu gnarus es > Quippe tu [- probe]*] | linguam Anglicam: lingu[ae > am] Anglic[ae > am] | apprime . . . ires: \apprime . . . ires/ | maximi: [maximi > maximi] | nomen . . . praestantes: [*fulgere magis conspicuus es > nomen [- tui commend[asti]] non parum potest apud viros praestantes*] | omnia: \omnia/ | partium . . . cuisti: [*publice rebus immiscuisti > partium studiis immiscuisti*] | **d** idem: [ille > idem] | incommodes tibi: [- tibi] incommodes \tibi/ | sane . . . debet: [*nec ipsum petere \eum/ arbitror > sane ut facias nec amicus velle debet*] | Spero: [- *Tu ecquid possis, cogitabis*] Spero | Deo: [- *sedem stabilem imo*] Deo | condicionem qua: [- *quo condicionem*] (condicionem *should not have been deleted*) qua | saltem: [*vita > saltem*]*

⁷ The acquaintance's influential opponent unidentified.

⁸ Junius' chances in England were indeed good. He had learnt the language from Martha Greenston and had practised it on his tour in 1615, when he had also familiarized himself with English habits, **10**. He was a well-educated Protestant,

anything in this respect on our friend's behalf could not do anything, or if any one were able to do something, they will not consider this business worth so much that they would wish to make themselves somewhat suspect by it.

c This same friend is looking for an honest position abroad. I said I thought his business would perhaps be more successful in France or in Germany, for he should not judge his case on the basis of yours. You, for sure, are well versed in the English language and when you went there, you advanced by the recommendation of a most exalted gentleman, and your excellent father's name can avail much among distinguished men. All of this our friend lacks. Not to mention that you never associated with any faction and I do not know whether our friend took sufficient care of that.

d But still, because he is a man of spotless conduct and excellent character, and most learned, if you are able to do anything, do not fail him, but assist him in deed or at least in word, as long as you do not inconvenience yourself or your interests, which our friend truly must not wish you to do either. I have been friends with him for more than thirty years now, so I pity the good gentleman. I hope he will find [a position], if not there, then at least somewhere else, in which he can spend at least a year or two in an honest way, God favouring.

e You actually did not write greetings from Doublet, nor has he answered my letter yet. So I wish to know whether he is still staying in England. My wife, who is not doing fine, but not badly either,

whose father's name, Junius the Elder, rang pleasant bells to English ears, **1a^a**, **68c^a**, and a friend of Vossius and Grotius, both of whom had influential acquaintances in England. Grotius had written letters of recommendation for Junius to Marcantonio de Dominis and Bishop Andrewes, **32c-i**, while Vossius had had contact with members of the English delegation at the Synod of Dordrecht, George Carleton, then bishop of Llandaf, **57c**, Joseph Hall, John Davenant, then professor at Cambridge, Samuel Ward, **57c**, and Walter Balanqual (c.1586–1645), future dean of Rochester. Cf. van 't Spijker *et al.* (1987:62–63), Rademaker (1981:127), George Rataller Doublet to Vossius, 22 08 16, Colomesius 2.51.

⁹ That is, Junius had avoided association with both Remonstrant and Counter-Remonstrant factions, **25d**.

¹⁰ George Rataller Doublet had presumably continued his tour elsewhere in England, **36a**.

male tamen valet.¹¹ Spero °aspera hieme hac °exacta melius meliusque
valituram.

Pridie Natalem Domini MDCXXI.

Tuus quem nosti.

⁰ 42 [22 06 10] JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHANNA JUNIUS (MIDDELBURG)¹

A Aen de eerbaere ende deughden-rijcke juffrouwe Johanna du Jon, huys-vrouwe van Sr Isaac de Brune, coop-man. woondende in de Booghaert-straet, tot Middelburgh. loont den brengher.

a Vrede in Christo.

Hert-grondelick beminde suster, 't en kan V.E. niet on-bekent wesen met hoe grooten vreughd ick beyde wt V.E. schrijven, ende °wt het ver-hael bij Jacob Joosten gheschiedt ver-nomen hebbe °de goede ghesondheyd van V.E. en alle d'uwe.² de Heere geve dat V.E. in korten aen mij dier-ghelijcke tijdinghe van V.E. lieven man magh over-schrijven.³

b 't is met mij nu teghen-wordighlick nae wensch ghestelt; 't en waer ick ditte bij-broght °dat het mij quelt dat ick nu niet so ten vollen aen V.E. en aen Mr Roels nae mijne belofte schrijven kan.⁴ doch dese swaerigheyd is kleyn, over-mids ick deselvighe nae twee of drij daeghen, so 't de Heere toe-laet, tot ruste ghekomen sijnde, verbeteren kan.⁵ Ick stae vast op mijn ver-treck; niet om buyten 's lands, so ick te vooren schreef, te reysen; want de woedende raesernije der oorloghen, die in alle landen even seer ont-brandt, sulcks niet ver-draeghen wil;⁶ maer dese mijne reyse is maer alleen ontrent Norwich ghelegghen, al-waer ick desen somer 8 of 9 Engelsche mijltijens van

e aspera: \aspera/ | exacta: [- aspera] exacta.

42a wt: \wt/ | de: [- ve] de | **b** dat ... quelt: \dat ... quelt/

¹¹ Elizabeth Junius had been ill in the autumn, **37a**.

¹ *o*: BLO, Rawl. 79, f. 58. Begun the day before letter **43** and finished on the same day, **b**, **g**. Letter **43** is written on its verso.

² Johanna Junius' letter to Junius is unretrieved. Jacob Joosten is unidentified; he may have been a Middelburg merchant.

³ Isaac de Brune had left for the Indies in 1621, **37d**.

gives you her warmest regards. I hope she will recover little by little when this severe winter has passed.

On the day before the Lord's nativity, 1621 [24 Dec.].

Yours, whom you know.

42 [22 06 10] JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHANNA JUNIUS (MIDDELBURG)

A To the honourable and virtuous Mrs. Johanna du Jon, wife of Mr. Isaac de Brune, merchant, residing at the *Booghaertstraet* in Middelburg. Pay the courier.

a Peace in Christ.

Dearly beloved Sister, it cannot be unknown to you with what great happiness I have learnt of your and all your family's good health both from your letter and from the account given by Jacob Joosten. May the Lord grant you to be able to write to me soon similar news of your dear husband.

b I am doing as planned now, although I add that I feel sorry that I cannot write as fully to you and Mr. Roels now in accordance with my promise. But the worry is slight, because I will be able to make amends when I have settled down, if the Lord grants me, after two or three days. I am about to leave, not in order to go abroad, as I wrote before, because the violent fury of wars, which has flared up so much in all countries, does not permit so, but my trip is directed only to Norwich, where I will have my accomodation this

⁴ Willem Roels must have sent Junius an unretrieved letter.

⁵ Junius had probably expected to leave for Ludham the day after writing this, so when he was prevented from finishing this letter in one day, he quickly added **g-i** on the prospective day of departure, **g**. Since letter **43** must have been written on the prospective day of departure as well, **43a**, the present letter was finished on 22 06 10, the date of letter **43**.

⁶ Junius' letter to Johanna Junius is unretrieved. No further information was found as to where Junius had been supposed to go. The destination was not somewhere where he could meet his relatives, for he would not have mentioned the change of plans so casually then.

de stad in 't land mijne wooninghe hebben sal in 't huys van den E. Bisschop van °Norwich; 's winters in de stad.⁷

- c Ick bidde slechts den aller-hooghsten God dat hij de ruste deses bloeyenden Koningh-rijcks ter eeren sijnes naems en onser ver-troost-inghe meer en meer seghene ende bevestighe. Nae al dat ick sien kan is het hier in 't rijck gantsch wel ghestelt, wat oock t'uwent bij dese en gene magh worden wt-ghestroyt. hope gheleghenheyd te hebben om de ruste deses rijcks langhe te ghenieten.⁸ wenschte wel dat onsen broeder tot Leyden met noch twee of drij andere goede vrienden hier in 't land een goede conditie bekomen konden.⁹ 't dunckt mij niet buyten hope. den goeden God weet wat ons en sijne H. kercke saeligh is.
- d Immers, dit bidde ick V.E. wilt doch nimmer-meer nae der Puriteynen quaed-willighen praet luysteren; want, in der waerheyd, 't is maer praet 't ghene sij V.E. wel eer hebben ghesocht wijs te maecken, als of men de E. Bisschoppen so heel wel niet betrouwen mocht.¹⁰ Mr Doublet en andere die mijne gheleghenheyd al-hier kennen, sien menigh-mael hoe mij hier in eenen dagh meer eere ende vriendschap wordt aen-ghedaen, dan ick wel oyt in ons land alle den tijd mijnes levens ont-fanghen hebbe.¹¹ ja in-dien ettelicke onder de E. Bisschoppen die mij en mijne gheleghenheyd kennen, mij niet ghetrouwer vrienden waeren, dan wel mijn eyghene ooms gheweest sijn, ick soude misschien nimmer-meer sulcken gheleghenheyd hebben bekomen om mijne studien in rust, eere, ende profijt te voorderen, als mij nu wel ver-schijnt.¹²
- e Den E. graeve van Arundell heeft een soontijen van ontrent 10 jaeren in 't hof des E. Bisschops van Norwich,¹³ de beghinselen der Latijnscher taele leert het van andere, d'opperste sorghe komt maer

b Norwich: Norwich hebben sal

⁷ Samuel Harsnett (1561–1631), bishop of Norwich, and a friend of the earl of Arundel, by whose agency he had become a privy councillor. He had his residence in Ludham. In 1628 he became archbishop of York. In the autumn and winter Junius stayed at Arundel House in London, **46c**, **47A**. Cf. **e**, **44a**, *DNB* 25.52, Hervey (1921:119).

⁸ Evidently, Junius had lost all intention to return to his fatherland soon, **32e**, **35h**. He came to feel so well at home that Grotius observed to Willem de Groot in 1630, "nobiles, qui hic sunt Britanni, ita beatum praedicant, ut Hollandiam dudum ex animo proiecerit" [the English noblemen who are here (in Paris) call him so happy, that he abandoned the thought of returning to Holland already long ago], 30 01 04, *BWGGrotius* 4.1467.

summer at the reverend bishop of Norwich's house eight or nine miles from town in the country; in town in winter.

- c I just pray Allgood and Almighty God more and more to bless and consolidate the peace of this flourishing kingdom to the honour of his name and our comfort. As far as I can see, it is most prosperous here in this country, whatever information may be rumoured among various people with you. I hope to have the opportunity to enjoy the peace of this country for a long time. I would wish our brother in Leiden and two or three other good friends to be able to obtain a good position here in this country. It seems not beyond hope. The good God knows what is best for us and his holy Church.
- d Indeed I pray you, do no longer listen to the Puritans' malicious talk, for, in truth, it is just silly talk what they tried to make you believe before, as if one ought not to trust the reverend bishops too much. Mr. Doublet and others who know my situation here repeatedly see how more honour and friendship is granted to me here within a single day than I ever received in our country during my whole lifetime. Even, if several among the reverend bishops who know me and my situation had not been more faithful friends than my own uncles have been, I would perhaps never more have obtained such an opportunity to further my studies in quiet, honour and profit, as has now appeared to me.
- e The honourable earl of Arundel has a small son of about ten years at the reverend bishop of Norwich's court. He learns the basics

⁹ Vossius and, probably, Grotius and Samuel Naeranus, **37a, 38d–e, 40c**.

¹⁰ Radical Puritans had seceded from the Church of England because of its episcopacy, and groups of them had settled in the Low Countries. The English Church in Middelburg was particularly zealous. They were the Englishmen from whom Johanna Junius could have been informed of the character of English bishops. Cf. **f, 30b**, Sprunger (1982:187–97).

¹¹ George Rataller Doublet must have returned to London, **36a, 41e**.

¹² Junius must be referring to Bishop Andrewes and Bishop Laud, whom he mentioned in **108a** as having recommended him to Arundel. Junius' uncle Abraham Muysenhol, because he had presided the meeting of the Synod of South Holland which had verdicted Junius' appointment to the ministry illegal, and, presumably, his uncle Franciscus Gomarus, because he seems not to have supported Junius at that time, **25b**.

¹³ William Howard (1614–1680), future viscount Stafford, the youngest son of the earl of Arundel and Countess Aletheia, was fostered out in Harsnett's family. The system of fostering children out, that is, of raising them away from home, was peculiar to England. Cf. *DNB* 28.81–83, Stone (1977:106–08).

alleen op mij aen, so dat ick anders niet te doen hebbe dan op hem en sijne meesters te letten, en over mael en sommighe andere tijden als ick niet te studeren heb, eenighe Historien voor te houden die hem tot de liefde der deughd souden kunnen ver-wecken, en tot so-daenighen kennisse bereyden als daer in de ghene die van so grooten af-komst sijn °en tot groote diensten op-groeyen ver-eycht wordt.¹⁴ Dit is in 't korte de gantsche gheleghenheyd mijnes aen-staende levens; twijffele niet of V.E. sal mede met vierighe ghebeden des Heeren seghen over mijnen arbeyd aen-soecken. Hope onder-en-tusschen dat mij dese conditie allenghskens verder brengen sal, en met der tijd gheleghenheyd geven om aen V.E. end' uwe kinderen, als oock aen d'andere broeders en susters mijnen schuldighen plight nae f te komen.¹⁵

onder so een deel kleyne voddachtighe boeckskens die ick van Rouen in een houte kasken aen V.E. over-sond was een kleyn Enghelsch boeckskens in-houdende eenighe brieven van den Brownisten aen vader zael. gheschreven, met sijne and-woorde schimps-wijse bij hun over-ghehaelt, °ick bidde V.E. sendt mij het selvighe met d'eerste gheleghenheyd over.¹⁶ V.E. sal misschien wel ieman kunnen vinden die te Norwich eenen vriend heeft daer hij aen schrijft, door welcken het mij soude worden toe-ghesonden. in-dien niet, so sal ick sien wat ordre ick dies aen-gaende te Norwich stellen kan om V.E.

e en: [- bereydt werd ver-eycht wordt] en | f ick: [- ick] ick

¹⁴ Humphrey, Harsnett's chaplain, taught William Latin, **44b**. According to William Howard, Junius was initially only a valet to serve him at the table, and until the latter half of the 1620s was expressly not permitted to do any teaching. Junius' tutorship included horse riding, hunting and fowling, and, in general, being in almost constant attendance to William, **65b**. The tutorship lasted for nine years, until the boy had grown to be viscount Stafford and was regularly at the king's court, from the spring of 1631 onwards, **69e**, **76b**, **81a**. In 1629, William required already less of Junius' attention, **62a**. Contrary to recurrent suggestions in secondary literature, there are no indications that Junius was employed as Arundel's librarian before 1639, **131a**. Cf. ARA, pp. 8–9.

¹⁵ Junius presumably meant pecuniary support. He possibly succeeded Henry Peacham (1578–c.1643), who dedicated *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), which was currently being published, to his former pupil William. *The Compleat Gentleman* describes the education a young noblemen such as William should get, and may consequently provide some insight in what was expected of Junius. Comprising chapters on style, cosmography, geometry, poetry, music, drawing and painting in oil, armory and “blazing arms,” physical exercise, reputation and “carriage,” and work, it argues that tutors must imbue their pupils with wisdom and a proper fear of God, which the noblemen will later need to perform their governmental duties (ch. 2), as well

of the Latin language from others; only the chief care is resting with me, so that I have nothing else to do than looking after him and his teachers and impressing on him some stories, which could rouse him to love of virtue and prepare him to such knowledge as is required in people who are of such noble birth and grow up into honorable offices, over supper and on certain other occasions when I need not study. This is in short the whole situation of my prospective life. I do not doubt that you will also pray for the Lord's blessings over my work by devout prayers. Meanwhile, I hope this position will gradually advance me and in due time grant me the opportunity to fulfil my due obligation towards you and your children, and also towards the other brothers and sisters.

f Among a number of small ragged booklets I sent to you in a wooden casket from Rouen was a small English booklet containing several letters written by the Brownists to Father of blessed memory, and his answers scoffingly renounced by them. I beg you, send this to me at the first possible opportunity. You may be able to find someone who has a friend in Norwich with whom he corresponds, through whom it could be sent to me. If not, I will see what measures

as exercise them in such pastimes as horse riding and hunting. Junius' tutorship included horse riding, hunting and fowling, and being in almost constant attendance to his pupil, **42e**, **45b**, **65b**. Cf. Hervey (1921:170); Peacham did not dedicate only the second edition of 1634 to William, as *Literature* 1.xxxviii suggests.

¹⁶ Junius had been in Rouen in the spring of 1621, **31a**. The chest of books may have been accompanied by the unretrieved letter to Maria Junius, **31a**. No other accompanying letters by Junius were retrieved. *Certain Letters, translated into English, being first written in Latine. Two, by the reverend and learned Mr. Francis Iunius, Divinitie Reader at Leyden in Holland. The other, by the exiled English Church, abiding for the present at Amsterdam in Holland* . . . (n.p., 1602), a correspondence, dating from 1589–99, between Junius the Elder and the Brownists, an English congregation which had seceded from the Church of England because of its episcopacy and subjection to the authority of the state. The congregation had sent their confession to Junius' father to have it tested against Scripture, but the latter had considered their writing superfluous, because they had refuted the Church of England on the basis of inessentials, and thus threatened the unity of the Christian Church. Junius may have wished to show the booklet to Harsnett, Andrewes and Laud. No copy of his can be identified in UBL. Cf. de Jonge (1978; 1980:120–24).

schrijven t'ont-fanghen. Laet mij oock eens weten of Purbachii theoria planetarum onder de boecken die in 't kasken waeren te vinden is; V.E. broeder Mr de Brune sal u 't eene so wel als het andere weten aen te wijsen; °t is een boeck van Scaliger door en door aen de kant beschreven, dies het mij niet weynigh rouwen soude 't selvighe te missen.¹⁷ is het bij V.E. niet, so moet mij ieman hier 't selvighe hebben ont-futselt.

g Ick hadde wel ghaerne dit mijne schrijven kort ghemaect, om aen broeder Vossio ende aen suster Diamantia noch een briefken af te vaerdighen, doch over-mids ick gisteren den heelen dagh, nae dat ick desen teghen-wordighen brief meer als ten halven ghebraght hadde, ver-hindert ben gheweest een eynde daer van te maecken over-mids ick wt-ghehaelt wierd, so bidde ick V.E. laet broeder Vossio doch eens weten dat ick wel eenighe mijner boecken wenschte te hebben, °t is on-noodigh dat V.E. haer hoofd breken soude met het lesen van 't volghende. alleen sendt dit mijn schrijven aen broeder Vossio, ende al-hoe-wel ick nu in °grooter haest 't papier voor mij hadde om aen hem selver een letterken te schrijven, so bleef het noch-tans achter door de ver-anderlickheyd der sinnen die den haest mede brenghet.¹⁸

h als naemelick, Stephani Thesaurum Graecae Linguae,¹⁹ Demosthenem,²⁰ Isocratem,²¹ Anthologiam Epigrammatum²² voords Poëmata Grotii²³ die ick onder mijne boecken hebbe. sijnen Lucanum²⁴ hebbe ick niet, wete niet hoe hem hier in Engheland te bekomen, als oock

f 't: [- daer] 't | **g** 't... brenghet: \t... brenghet/ | grooter: [- -t papier] grooter

¹⁷ Johan de Brune. The mathematician and astronomer Georgius Purbachius or Peurbach (1423–1461), *Theoricae novae planetarum, id est septem errantium siderum, nec non octavi orbis seu firmamenti*, the standard academic astronomical textbook, which offered a conflation of ancient Greek and Ptolemaic theories. Joseph Justus Scaliger's copy is unretrieved. At Scaliger's death, the greatest part of his library was auctioned in Leiden on 11 March 1609. His annotated books proved especially popular—Vossius bought sixteen, and in 1656 Isaac Vossius (1618–1689), **99d**, possessed fifty-four of them. Before the auction, however, books had been chosen from the collection by friends and others. Since Purbachius' work does not feature in the auction catalogue, it must have been removed beforehand as well. The eminent humanist scholar Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609) had been invited for a generous stipend to Leiden in 1592 to add lustre to the university without obligation to teach. His philological approach in the editing of text, based on careful comparison of versions and the creation of stemmata, meant a great progress in textual criticism. Proficient in classical and Oriental languages, he made valuable contributions to the study of the Classics, chronology, and linguistics. Cf. *ADB* 25.559–61, de Jonge (1977), Grafton (1983–1993), Bremmer (1996), personal communication Anthony Grafton, Princeton.

I can take for this in Norwich in order to receive your letter. Please let me also know whether Peurbach's *Theory of the Planets* can be found among the books which were in the casket; your brother-in-law, Mr. de Brune, will be able to point out the one and the other to you—it is a book of Scaliger annotated in the margin throughout, which is why I would quite regret to miss it. If it is not with you, someone must have filched it from me here.

g I would have wished to keep this letter brief in order to send a short letter to Brother Vossius and to Sister Diamant, but since all day yesterday, after I had written this present letter more than half, I was prevented to make an end to it because I was disturbed, I beg you to let Brother Vossius know that I would like to have some of my books. It is unnecessary for you to rack your brains about reading the following; just send this letter to Brother Vossius, and although I had a sheet of paper in front of me to write him a short letter in great haste, it remained undone due to the change of intentions which haste entails.

h They are Estienne's *Thesaurus of the Greek Tongue*, Demosthenes, Isocrates, *Anthology of Epigrams* and Grotius' *Poems*, which I have among my books. I do not have his Lucan and do not know how to acquire

¹⁸ Junius wrote Vossius letter **43** after all, and must have done so after having finished writing the present letter, **43a**.

¹⁹ Henricus Stephanus, or Estienne (1528–1598), *Thesaurus Graecae linguae* . . . 5 vols. [Geneva]: H. Stephanus, [1572]. Junius' copy not identified in UBL.

²⁰ Orations of the Athenian orator Demosthenes (384–322 B.C.), first published in 1504. Junius' copy not identified in UBL. Cf. Ebert 1.5935f, *OCD* (1996:456–58).

²¹ The Athenian orator Isocrates (436–338 B.C.), *Orationes et epistolae/ Isokratous logoi kai epistolai. Cum Latina interpretatione Hieronymi Wolfii, ab ipso postremum recognita*, 2nd edn. (Geneva: Oliva Pauli Stephani, 1604). The copy UBL, 680 G 7 (from Isaac Vossius' collection), is annotated by Junius mostly with quotations from classical authors on the fly leaves and in the margins.

²² The *Anthologia Graeca*, a collection of Greek poetry in different genres, from riddles to Christian epigrams, spanning a period of fifteen hundred years. The so-called Palatine Anthology, the most comprehensive collection containing several earlier ones, had been first published in 1606. Junius' copy, in Greek or Latin—usually called *Florilegium*, not identified in UBL. Cf. *OCD* (1996, s.v.).

²³ Grotius, *Poemata collecta* . . . (Leiden, 1617=1616), edited by Willem de Groot. Junius' copy not identified in UBL. Cf. *BGGrotius*, no. 1.

²⁴ Grotius, *M. Annaei Lucani Pharsalia. Sive de bello civili Caesaris et Pompeii libri X. . . opera Theodori Pulmanni et aliorum cinnonati* (Leiden, 1614), an edition of Lucan (39–65), *Pharsalia* or *De bello civili*, an influential epic poem in ten books relating Caesar's feats. The copy UBL, 757 F 4 (from Isaac Vossius' collection), is collated with manuscript copies and provided with parallels in other authors by Junius. The binding includes Grotius, *In Lucani Pharsaliam notarum pars 2 nunc demum edita* (Leiden, 1626), also annotated by Junius. Cf. *BGGrotius*, nos. 423, 425, *OCD* (1996:94–95), Bremmer (1998b:232).

Scriverii Senecam cum *Fragmentis veterum Tragediarum*²⁵ noch wilde ick wel wt mijne bibliotheke hebben Augustini de *Civitate Dei*,²⁶ Optatum Afrum,²⁷ Salvianum²⁸ et Minucium.²⁹ Epitheta *Textoris* bij Hadr. Iunio over-sien,³⁰ *Epistolas Turcicas Busbequii*³¹ et Clenardi,³² Sleidanum in 12^o.³³ met so een deel Fransche boecken die ick te Delft ghelaeten hebbe,³⁴ voor-naemelick de Politijcken,³⁵ ende boven al de *Histoire* van Serres.³⁶ ick hadde wel eerst moghen noemen Plutarchum *Graeca*³⁷ en *Geponica*.³⁸ maer dit is ghenoegh, te veel dient mij niet.

- i broeder Vossius sal de selvighe bij onsen neve Johannes wel konnen doen packen; wenschte deselvighe wel wat vroegh te hebben, daer-om om tijd te ghewinnen, schrijve ick noch eer ick van London ver-treke, ver-hopende dat den schoon-sonne van Pieter Dirckss. Carre over-mids sijne ouders tot Norwich wonen misschien wel eenighe gheleghenheyd weten sal om deselvighe boecken wat vroegh over te senden.³⁹ wensche wel dat onsen broeder tot de voorighe boecken

²⁵ Petrus Scriverius, *L. Annaeus Seneca Tragicus . . . Collectanea veterum tragicorum* (Leiden, 1620/21), in four volumes, the first of which contains an edition of Seneca's tragedies by the antiquary Scriverius (1576–1660), the second commentaries by several humanist scholars, the third *Collectanea veterum tragicorum . . . fragmenta et circa ipsa notae breviores*, which Scriverius had dedicated to Vossius, and the fourth Vossius' commentary to the fragments. Junius' copy not identified in UBL. Cf. Rademaker (1981:169).

²⁶ St. Augustine, *De civitate Dei libri XXII*. Junius' copy not identified in UBL.

²⁷ Optatus Afer, *Libri VI de schismata Donatistarum, adversus Parmenianum, multo quam antehac emendatioris, cum praefatione Fra. Balduini* (Paris, 1563). The copy UBL, 755 H 40 (from Isaac Vossius' collection), is provided with cross-references, catchwords and underlinings by Junius. Optatus (4th c. A.D.), bishop of Milevi in Numidia in northern Africa, wrote this Roman Catholic reply to the Donatists, a group of Numidian Christians who had seceded from the church, between late 364 and early 367, cf. Quasten 4.122–27.

²⁸ Salvianus Massiliensis (c.390–c.480), priest of the Church of Marseille, whose known works are "Ad Ecclesiam," "De gubernatione Dei" and nine letters, in which he criticised the abuses of his time, thus giving a valuable insight in contemporary circumstances. Junius' copy not identified in UBL. Cf. Quasten 4.528–37.

²⁹ Marcus Minucius Felix (fl. c.200), a Roman lawyer who wrote an elegant, broad-minded defense of Christianity in the form of a dialogue, "Octavius," which has been preserved as book eight of Arnobius (d. c.327), *Adversus gentes*. As Junius expressly asked for his Minucius, not an Arnobius, he may have had the work in a separate edition. Junius' copy not identified in UBL. Cf. Quasten 2.155–63.

³⁰ Hadrianus Junius, *Epithetorum Ioannis Ravisii Textoris epitome . . .* (Antwerp, 1564; Leiden, 1590), a compilation of the epithets collected by Joannes Textor, or Tixier, Seigneur de Ravisi (d. 1524). Junius' copy not identified in UBL. Hadrianus Junius (1511–1575), physician and humanist scholar, who wrote on subjects ranging from classical philology, medicine, and linguistics to Dutch history. He was not family of Junius. Cf. Jöcher 3.1929, *NNBW* 7.692–94, Heesakkers (1989; 1997).

³¹ Ogier Ghiselin van Boesbeeck, *Legationis turcicae epistolae quatuor . . .* (first pub-

it here in England, just as Scriverius' *Seneca with Fragments of Ancient Tragic Poets*. I would still like to have from my library Augustine, *On the City of God*, Optatus Afer, Salvianus and Minucius, *Abridgment of Textor's Epithets* published by Hadrianus Junius, Busbequius' *Turkish Letters* and Clenard's *Letters*, Sleidanus in 12^o, together with a number of French books which I had left in Delft, especially the political ones and above all de Serres' *History*. I should have mentioned first Plutarch in Greek and *On Agriculture*. But this will do; too much does not serve me.

- i Brother Vossius can have it packed by our nephew Joannes. I would like to get it rather soon; so, in order to save time, I am still writing before leaving London, in the hope of Pieter Dircksz Carre's son-in-law perhaps knowing of an opportunity to send these books quite soon, because his parents live in Norwich. I would wish our

lished in 1589), four letters with vivid impressions of Turkish customs and, in the fourth one, lists of Crimean Gothic words, by van Boesbeeck (1522–1592), ambassador of Ferdinand I of Austria in Constantinople, **203**. Junius' copy not identified in UBL. Cf. von Martels and Goldsteen (1994).

³² Nicolaus Clenardus, *Epistolarum libri II*, an edition of the correspondence of the French humanist scholar Nicolas Clenard (1495–1542), author of the standard school grammar of Greek, **1b^a**. Junius' copy not identified in UBL.

³³ Joannes Sleidanus (1506–1556), *Commentarius de statu religionis et reipublicae Germanorum sub Carolo V*, a contemporary history of the state and church in Germany. Junius' copy not identified in UBL.

³⁴ Junius had stayed with his sister Maria before leaving Holland, **25b**. He had presumably inherited these French books from his father. Junius the Elder had left his books to his sons, as Vossius explained, "Quibus (Francisco et Iohanni Casimiro) bibliothecam scriptaque omnia legavit pater," [To whom (Francis and Johan Casimir) their father left his book collection and all his writings], 10 03 27, quoted after Rademaker (1998:9n).

³⁵ French political books, treatises or pamphlets unidentified.

³⁶ Jean de Serres, or Serranus (1540–1598), *Commentariorum de statu religionis et reipublicae in regno Galliae libri XV*, a contemporary history of the state and church in France. Junius' copy not identified in UBL.

³⁷ Plutarch, *Parallela*, a popular work which presented biographies of great men and a hoard of information on the ancient world. Junius' copy not identified in UBL. Cf. *OCD* (1996:1200–01).

³⁸ *Geoponica*, a tenth-century encyclopaedic collection of Greek texts on agriculture based on the sixth-century compilation of Cassianus Bassus. Junius' copy not identified in UBL. Cf. *DNP* 4.938–41, **221a**.

³⁹ Abraham van Bartem, or Barthem, Barten, Barthius, a Dutch merchant who did business with England and occasionally delivered parcels and letters for Junius, cf. below, **45e**, **107c**, **113b**, **129k**. He was a relative of Junius via Isaac Diamant, and a son-in-law of Pieter Dircksz Carre from Rotterdam. His parents lived in Norwich; his father may have been Jacques van Berten, or Barten, a resident of St. Mychell at the Plea in 1598 and Captain of the Company of the Dutch Congregation of Norwich in 1621. Cf. **45e**, **84g**, **109a**, Moens 2.177, 225–26.

voeghde *Historias Pelagianas* en *Refutationes Ravespergeri* want ick deselvighe *Domino* Tileno wt sijnen naem ver-eert hebbe, ende wat daer noch nieuws van hem wt-ghekomen is.⁴⁰

43⁴⁷ 22 06 10 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

a Coniunctissime *Domine* affinis,

Heri sub vesperam reverendo *Domino* Wintoniensi adfui, litteras ad reverendum Episcopum Norwicensem petii, °et statim obtinui; cumque tui honorificam, ut solet, in litteris hisce mentionem fecisset, addidit etiamnum se tibi litteras debere, sperare tamen brevi futurum ut per curas regni liceat paria facere.² Ignorare non potes quantum viro isti debeam, futurum omnino est, ut gratas sibi fuisse litteras tuas ostendat, si iterato ad ipsum scripseris; vel unum hoc, quod me tam °diligenter primo Angliae Mareschallo commendavit, litteras tuas elicere potest.³ Nequeo satis gratus esse. Tu mihi operam hanc dabis, ut se tanta erga me benevolentia totam familiam Iunianam obligasse sentiat.⁴

b Ter quaterve reverendus Episcopus Menevensis, tui mentione facta, serio admodum a me petiit ne suum erga te affectum primis litteris dissimularem, plurimum is potest apud Principem Walliae; unum hunc Guilielmum Laud prae caeteris plerique totius regni magnates °amplectuntur.⁵ Futurum confido ut tandem aliquando uberius animi tam benevoli testimonium percipiamus.

a et: [- *apud*] et | diligenter: [- *felicite*] diligenter | **b** amplectuntur: \amplectuntur/

⁴⁰ Vossius, *Historiae Pelagianae* (1618) and *Responsio ad Ravenspergerum* (1618), **28c**, **30f**. For the other books Vossius sent to Junius, cf. **47e**.

¹ *o*: BLO, Rawl. 79, f. 58 verso; written on the verso of **42** and sent in the same cover.

² Bishop Andrewes's letter to Bishop Harsnett in recommendation of Junius is unretrieved. Vossius had written a letter to Andrewes, **39d**, but no letter from Andrewes to Vossius was retrieved. Junius' asking for a letter from Andrewes for Harsnett must have been part of his planned preparations before departure, and the fact that he had done so the night before writing the present letter indicates that he wrote this letter on the day planned for the trip at the latest. Since the actual moment of departure was postponed for a number of days, Junius made his trip to Norwich several days after the present letter, **45a**, **44c**. This also explains why initially he had not expected to have the time to write this letter, and had intended **42g-i** for Vossius instead. The present letter was then sent together with letter **42** in the cover of letter **42**. Cf. *ICVossius* (1993, s.v.).

brother to add to the previous books *Pelagian History* and *Refutation of Ravensperger*, for I honoured Mr. Tilenus with them on his behalf, and anything new by him that has been published.

43 22 06 10 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]

a Dearest Brother,

Yesterday towards the evening when I was with the reverend lord Winchester, I asked a letter for the reverend bishop of Norwich and received one immediately, and because he had mentioned you honourably—as he usually does—in that letter, he added that he still owes you a letter, but hopes that the affairs of the kingdom will soon permit him to do the same. You cannot fail to see how much I owe to this lord; he will certainly demonstrate that your letter was welcome to him, if you write him once more; even only the fact that he has so assiduously commended me to the earl marshal of England can elicit your letter. I cannot be sufficiently grateful. You must do this service for me, so that he feels he has obliged the whole Junius family by such a great kindness towards me.

b Three or four times when you were mentioned, the reverend bishop of St. David's quite seriously begged me not to conceal his affection for you in my first letter; he has great influence with the Prince of Wales; most dignitaries of the whole kingdom cherish just this William Laud above others. I trust we will before long finally get a more extensive testimony of such a kind person.

³ Andrewes had commended Junius to the earl of Arundel, **39d**.

⁴ Vossius wrote Andrewes a letter to thank him for his efforts, **47c**. Junius wished Grotius to do likewise, **44d**.

⁵ William Laud (1573–1645), bishop of St. David's from 1621, bishop of Bath and Wells from 1626, bishop of London from 1628, and archbishop of Canterbury from 1633 until his beheading in 1645. As revealed by his increasingly responsible episcopal duties, Laud rose to great power in England, becoming the principal adviser of Charles I (1600–1649), Prince of Wales and king of England from 1625. Both his political influence and fear of parliaments, and his continual endeavours to make the "Beauty of Holiness" apparent in the Church of England brought him many opponents among the puritan and parliamentary factions, which finally caused his downfall. Laud and Vossius became regular correspondents, and in 1628 Laud arranged a fellowship in Cambridge for Joannes Vossius and a canonry in Canterbury for Vossius, **59a–f**, **66**. While Laud and Junius did not maintain frequent contact, Junius had a supporter in Laud throughout his stay in England. Cf. Trevor-Roper (1940), *DNB* 11.626–35, *ICVossius* (1993, s.v.), Rademaker (1981:228–35).

c Mutuos sumpsit a *Domino* Doubletio florenos quinquaginta, ne inhoneste nimis in ipso statim novae conditionis initio pecunia indiguisset viderer.⁶ Posthac, Deo volente, nihil amplius defuturum est. Tu summam hanc, ubi commodum erit, fratri Doubletiii nostri restitues, et °reditum proximi anni totum tibi sumes, ut anni iam transacti lucrum sorori nostrae Diamantiae debetur.⁷ Ratiunculam aliquam discedens apud Ioh. la Maire persolvendam tibi reliqui, et istorum librorum pretium, et reliquorum, quos iam empturus mihi es, ut sunt *Seneca Scriverii*, *Lucanus* Grotii, suo tempore abunde restituam; meminisse °enim semper me oportet beneficiorum a te et sorore Diamantia in me collatorum.⁸ Vale.

Raptim; anno 1622, Londinii, ultimo Maii. Saluta, etc.

Tuus omni officio, Fr. Iunius F.F.

44₀ 22 [06 FIN] JUNIUS (LUDHAM) TO GROTIUS [PARIS]¹

A Eminentissimo viro *Domino* Hugoni Grotio.

a Undecimum iam diem, virorum maxime, in aedibus reverendissimi Norwicensis Episcopi ago postulatu illustrissimi Comitum ab Arundell, primi totius Angliae Marescalli.² Fieri non potest quin tanti Herois erga litteras et rariora venerandae antiquitatis monumenta studium

c nostri: nosti | reditum: [- ex] reditum | enim: enim enim

⁶ Evidently, Junius commenced his duties in Arundel's service with his tutorship at Harsnett's court.

⁷ Philips Doubleth (c.1600–1674), lord of Groenevelt, who had studied at Leiden from 1618 and was to be a lawyer of the Supreme Court of Holland from January 1623. Junius enjoyed a yearly revenue, 7f. The year before, he had asked Maria Junius to pay the fifty guilders he had borrowed from a merchant for his stay in Paris and his journey, 31b. Cf. *NNBW* 7.379.

⁸ Jean le Maire (1567–1642), printer and bookseller active in Leiden from 1617 until 1656, who also published work of Grotius and Vossius. Scriverius' *Seneca* had been published by le Maire. Junius had asked Vossius for Petrus Scriverius, *Seneca tragicus* (1620/21), and Grotius, *Lucanus* (1618), in 42h, because he had expected to lack the time to write the present letter, 42g. Cf. *NNBW* 7.834–35.

¹ o: KB, 121 E 4. In the margin in Grotius' hand, "Menevensis. Norwicensis. Christ. Wren. Wintoniensis. Iunius," that is, the names of people mentioned in this letter. e. *BWGrotius* 2.782. Written at the end of June, no earlier than 26 June, a.

- c I received fifty guilders in loan from Mr. Doublet in order not to appear to need money too dishonourably right at the very beginning of my new position. From now on, God willing, nothing else will be wanting. You will return that sum to our Doublet's brother as soon as is convenient and take the whole revenue of next year for yourself, just as last year's profit is due to Sister Diamant. On my departure I left a small bill with Jean le Maire to be settled by you and in due course I will generously return the price of those books and of the other ones you are about to buy for me, such as Scriverius' *Seneca* and Grotius' *Lucan*, for I should always remember the kindnesses which you and Sister Diamant have showered on me. Farewell. In haste. In London, in the year 1622 on the last day of May [10 Jun.]. Please, greet etc.
Obligingly Yours, Fr. Junius F.F.

44 22 [06 FIN] JUNIUS (LUDHAM) TO GROTIUS [PARIS]

A To the most eminent gentleman Mr. Hugo Grotius.

- a For eleven days now, greatest man, I have stayed at the right reverend bishop of Norwich's house by order of the most illustrious earl of Arundel, the earl marshal of all England. A frequent and constant rumour must have announced to you already long ago this hero's ardour for literature and the rare monuments of great antiquity. Although otherwise "Fame may gain strength by going" as it flies,

Erroneously dated end of August 1622 in *BWGrotius* 2.782. Replied by an unretrieved letter, **d**^a.

² "virorum maxime" is a pun on Grotius' surname in Dutch, **19a**. Junius had become tutor to William Howard, the youngest son of the earl of Arundel, the Earl Marshal of England, at the court of Bishop Harsnett in Ludham, **42b, e**. Although the prospective day of departure from London to Ludham seems to have been 22 06 10, and the expected moment of arrival two or three days later, the actual departure was postponed five days at the least, **42b, g, 43a, 45a**. Accordingly, Junius can have arrived in Ludham no earlier than 15 June. The date of the present letter is further supported by **46b**.

ad vos iam dudum celebris et constans rumor pertulerit.³ Aliis tamen in rebus, ut volet, “vires eundo acquirat Fama,” hic certe deficit.⁴ Parva enim sunt quae audire potuisti, prae iis quae videas; totam certe Graeciam veterem et antiquum omne Latium oculis usurpare te credas. Adhaec immenso quotidie sumptu libros rariores omnibus terrarum oris diligentissime conquisitos in antiquissimae domus suae ornamentum et usum publicum seponit; bonarum denique litterarum, et litteratorum portus, sinus, praemium est. Nolo ultra quicquam addere. Res enim quae ad omnes pertinet, nunquam uno teste contenta est;⁵ praeterquam quod cavendum mihi video ne impar tanto viro praedicatio, neque eum cui defertur aequiparet, et meam operam devenustet. Ad rem redeo.

b Filiolus eius decennis in reverendi Domini Norwicensis familia Latinae linguae primordiis assidua opera Humfredi cuiusdam, qui reverendo Domino a sacris est, fidelissime imbuitur; mihi reliqua morum atque educationis cura relicta.⁶ Dabit spero divinus favor ut egregiae indoli annitente me °incrementi aliquid adiciatur. Interea nunc non poenitendum simplicissimae °temeritatis errorem eadem referam simplicitate, qua commisi. Quaerente inter °alia honoratissimo Angliae Marescallo an unquam antehac nobilium adolescentum cura commissa mihi fuisset, ut res erat, negavi; minime tamen desperare me obiter dixi quin diligentia mea, tuis praesertim consilii adiuta, huic oneri abunde sit suffectura;⁷ tum ille ad levissimam hanc tui mentionem (ut semper nominis tanti famam dignissima veneratione prosequi solet) propositum hoc meum unice probavit, meque serio hortatus

b incrementi aliquid: increment[+ i a]liquid (*Sheet torn*) | temeritatis: temeri[+ tat]is | alia: a[+ lia]

³ The earl of Arundel, called “father of vertu,” was a grand patron and collector of contemporary art and classical antiquities, **39d**. He was the embodiment of the *doctus amator*, the learned connoisseur promoted by Junius in *De pictura* (1637), **93a**, **108e**, **k**, combining a serious interest in the visual arts with a desire to collect and display objects of art and to attract and support a circle of artists and scholars—Junius among them. Through William Petty’s endeavours in Italy and Greece, Arundel acquired an unparalleled collection of classical artefacts, notably the so-called Arundel marbles, **56a–b**. His love of contemporary painting led him not only to commission works by Peter Paul Rubens, **114**, and Anthony van Dyck, **110**, but also to collect paintings of Holbein, Dürer and others. At Arundel House these were displayed in specially designed galleries, **45b**. For a summary and fur-

here this certainly fails, for what you could have heard is small compared with what you see; you would believe to enjoy with the eyes really all of ancient Greece and all ancient Italy. Besides, at enormous expenses he daily selects rare books, which have been most carefully collected from all countries of the world, for the embellishment of his most ancient house and for public use; in short, it is a haven, bosom and reward of literature and literate people. I do not want to add anything else, as something that relates to all is never satisfied by a single witness; except that I see I must take care that my praise is not inadequate for such a great gentleman, nor equals him to whom it is announced and impairs my effort. I get down to business.

b In the reverend lord Norwich's household his ten-year-old little son is most solidly being instructed in the first beginnings of the Latin language by the unremitting care of a certain Humfrey, who is the reverend lord's chaplain, and the remaining care for his manners and education is left to me. Divine favour, I hope, will grant my exertions to add some embellishment to his excellent character. Nevertheless, I will now relate my unobjectionable error of frankest thoughtlessness with the same plainness with which I committed it. When the most honourable marshal of England inquired, among other things, whether the care of noble boys had ever before been entrusted to me, I denied in accordance with reality, but casually added that I did not at all doubt that, supported by especially your advice, my diligence will amply meet the need of that burden. Then, at the slightest mention of your name—just as he always uses to honour the reputation of such a great name with most deserved veneration, he especially approved of my proposal and seriously urged

ther references on Arundel's importance as connoisseur and collector, cf. *Literature* 1.xxii–vii, esp. n. 20, Howarth (1985), Springell (1963).

⁴ Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.174–75, 12a.

⁵ Seneca, *Controversiae* 7.5.1.13, "aliquis non est uno teste contentus;" 7.5.1.2–3, idem.

⁶ Humphrey, Harsnett's chaplain, unidentified, but cf. 45b. For Junius' tutorship, cf. 42e, 45b.

⁷ In 1615, Grotius had written a letter of instruction with general educational advice to Benjamin Aubéry du Maurier, which was published as *Epistola de studio politico vel iuris publici recte instituendo* (Uppsala, 1626). It enjoyed many re-editions, one of which in a collection by Thomas Crenius, together with Junius' *Paraenesis* (1654), 152e^a. Cf. *BGGrotius*, no. 482f, *BWGrotius* 1.402.

est ut te super hac re per litteras consulerem. Scis fiduciam de simplici affectione surgentem, genus esse virtutis; itaque sollicitus esse non possum ne tu aliter ac velim accipias,⁸ si aperte sine ulla circuitione ex te quaesivero quibus bonarum artium compendiis ingenia ad magnae fortunae cultum possint excitari. Non est cur uberioribus precibus operam tuam exambiam, cum apud benevolas aures simplicitas efficacior sit, atque Amor libentius annuere soleat quod cum fiducia postulatur.

- c** Dici vix potest quantopere taedium itineris mei sublevaverit tua ad Christianam religionem introductio, quam triduo antequam Londinio discederem cum gratissimis fratris tui litteris recte accepi.⁹ Utinam vestrae expectationi aliqua saltem ex parte °respondere possem! Sed de his imposterum; nunc praecipiti nimis festinatione, prae nuntii abiturientis importunitate, litteris hisce finem video imponendum.
- d** Si negotiorum ratio permittet ut ad me litterarum aliquid exares, eas Christophorus Wren, vir pietatis infucatae, et eruditionis non proletariae, reverendissimo Domino Wintoniensi a sacris, fidelissime ad °me perferendas curabit; te °suspicit, me amat; et discessurum per sacrosancta amicitiae mutua iura obsecrare atque obtestari non destitit, ne te diutius suum pariter animum et nomen paterer ignorare.¹⁰ Idem serio quoque a me petiit Guilielmus Laud, Episcopus Menevensis, maxima apud Walliae Principem gratia pollens.¹¹ Reverendus Dominus Wintoniensis illustrissimo Angliae Marescallo sedulo me commendavit. Scis quo tendam; mihi ne quidem animus gratiis agendis

c respondere: [- p] respondere | **d** me: *unnecessarily supplied in e* | suspicit: suspic[i]t

⁸ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 9.37.1.3–4, **34a**.

⁹ Grotius' *Bewijs* (1622), which the author had asked Junius to translate into Latin, **40e**. Willem de Groot's letter to Junius accompanying the treatise is unretrieved, **45a**.

¹⁰ Christopher Wren (1591–1658), chaplain to Bishop Andrewes and subsequently to Charles I. He succeeded his brother Matthew, **57c**, as dean of Windsor in 1635. The famous architect Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1723) was his son. Grotius wrote him an unretrieved letter, which he accompanied with an unretrieved reply to the present letter and a book for Junius, as appears from Wren's reply to Grotius, "crevit mihi hos ignes integerrimus Iunius, ex cuius coniunctione fructum cepi suavissimum, quamdiu familiaribus Musis simul hic usi sumus. Nae ille vir est purissimae nivis aemulus, cuius provolutae moles congeneris candoris augmentum non possunt non acquirere, donec ipsa mole innotescant . . . Literas tuas ad Iunium una cum libro celerrime deferendas curo" [those flames (of desire to address Grotius) are

me to consult you about this in a letter. You know that confidence rising from a frank affection is a kind of virtue; so I could not be concerned that you take it otherwise than I wish, if, without any circumlocution, I openly inquire from you by which compilations of the fine arts talents can be raised to the refinement of great state. There is no reason to beg your assistance by more abundant requests, because plainness is more effective with kind ears and love usually favours more willingly what is being begged with confidence.

c It can hardly be expressed how much the boredom of my journey was relieved by your introduction to the Christian religion, which I received with a most welcome letter from your brother in good order two days before I left London. I hope I can at least in part answer to your expectations! But more about this later; now I see I must make an end to this letter in too much rash hastening, due to the inconvenience of the leaving courier.

d If the course of events allows you to write me a letter, Christopher Wren, a gentleman of unaffected piety and uncommon learning, chaplain to the right reverend lord Winchester, will have it most faithfully delivered to me. He admires you and loves me. On my departure he did not cease to beseech and entreat me no longer to let you be unaware of both his disposition and name through our joint inviolable bonds of friendship. The same was also seriously asked of me by William Laud, bishop of St. David's, who enjoys the greatest favour with the Prince of Wales. The reverend lord Winchester diligently commended me to the most illustrious marshal of England. You know what I am aiming at; even my heart falls short of expressing

increased by the most honest Junius, from whose friendship I have gathered the sweetest fruit, as long as we have enjoyed the well-known Muses here together. Really, that gentleman is a rival to the purest snow, whose rolled heaps cannot fail to acquire an increase of similar candour, until they become known as the heap itself... I will have your letter be brought to Junius as soon as possible together with the book], [22] 09 27, *BWGrotius* 2.788. The letter was delivered by Johan van Heemskerck, 107d. The book was presumably Grotius' *Apologeticus eorum qui Hollandiae Westfrisiaeque et vicinis quibusdam nationibus ex legibus praefuerunt ante mutationum quae evenit anno 1618...* (Paris, 1622), the Latin translation of his *Verantwoordingh* (1622), 34f. Cf. *DNB* 63.80, *BWGrotius*, no. 880f.

¹¹ Grotius sent Bishop Laud a letter soon, cf. *BWGrotius* 2.788.

sufficit.¹² Vale virorum maxime, cum °coniuge dilecta et spei non dubiae liberis. Saluta *clarum* Tilenum et *Dominum* d'Or.

Raptim; Ludhami, in aedibus *reverendi* Episcopi Norwicensis, anno 1622.

Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

- e Disquisitionis illius ante aliquot menses ad nos missae tertium exemplar *reverendo* Episcopo Menevensi (qui, ut dixi, inter cultores tuos recipi exoptat) ut °eius copiam sibi facerem petenti, libentissime obtuli.¹³ Si hic prostarent, nihil tibi molestus essem; nunc in usum Domini Norwicensis alterum mihi, si videbitur, exemplar mittes. Vir est pacis publicae amantissimus, controversiarum istarum satis intelligens, et a stolido partis adversae rigore tam alienus quam qui maxime. Versus tuos ad Fr. Thuanum domui Wintoniensi communicatos, nunquam exinde videre potui; repetenti quandoque, respondent non deesse mihi facultatem exemplar aliud consequendi.¹⁴

° 45 22 07 11 JUNIUS (LUDHAM) TO WILLEM DE GROOT [DELFT]¹

A Probo doctoque *Domino* Guilielmo Grotio, *iuris utriusque doctori*.

- a *Salutem plurimam*. Iam sarcinulis prope omnibus alligatis destinatum itineri diem tertium exspectabam, integerrime amicorum, cum acceptissimae tuae litterae una cum desideratissimo *clari* fratris scripto

d coniuge: [- *uxore*] coniuge | e eius: eius[- ..]

¹² Evidently, Junius hoped that Grotius would write a letter of thanks to Andrewes, as he had urged Vossius to do as well, 43a. No indications that Grotius did so were found.

¹³ [Grotius], *Disquisitio an Pelagiana sint ea dogmata quae nunc sub eo nomine traducuntur* (Paris, 1622), a treatise arguing that a doctrine such as Remonstrantism—yet without mentioning its name—was not a Pelagian heresy, but had actually been one of the accepted doctrines in the early Christian Church. The treatise had been published anonymously, because Counter-Remonstrants and French Protestants were likely to object to its contents. It seems to have come out before mid February, so Junius must have been sent the copies right after publication, presumably accompanied by an unretrieved letter. Quite probably, one of the three copies had been intended for Junius himself, one for Andrewes, and one for whomever Junius thought would be interested. Since the treatise was evidently not available in England, it was owing to Junius that such churchmen as Laud and Harsnett came to know it. Cf. *BGGrotius*, nos. 937–43, Nellen (1985b:150–53), 21b*, 28c.

my gratitude. Farewell, greatest man, together with your dear wife and promising children. Greet the renowned Tilenus and Mr. D'Or. In haste. Ludham, at the reverend bishop of Norwich's house, in the year 1622.

Obligingly Yours, F. Junius.

- e I most willingly presented the third copy of your *Disquisition*, which was sent to us several months ago, to the reverend bishop of St. David's—who, as I said, wishes to be included among your worshippers—at his request, to give him the opportunity to read it. If the book were available here, I would not be troublesome to you; now you must send to me another copy for lord Norwich, if it seems good. He is a gentleman deeply devoted to the public peace, quite acquainted with those controversies, and as averse as possible to the unmovable rigidity of the opposition. I have not been able to see again your poem for Fr. de Thou after I had shared it with the Winchester household. Whenever I ask it back, they answer me that I do not lack an opportunity to acquire another copy.

45 22 07 11 JUNIUS (LUDHAM) TO WILLEM DE GROOT [DELFT]

- A To the virtuous and learned Mr. Willem de Groot, doctor in both laws.
- a Warmest regards. Having already packed almost all my luggage, I was waiting for the day determined for the journey already for three days, when your most agreeable letter, most virtuous friend, together with your renowned brother's most welcome treatise, was delivered to me in good order. You urgently ask of me not to believe that this long interruption in writing has cast any coolness on our friendship. I will frankly say what I feel. This fear, proof of a most

¹⁴ Grotius, *Silva* (1621) for François de Thou, 35j. Junius does not indicate whether Andrewes himself or other members of the episcopal household wished to keep *Silva*. Again, the text seems to have been unavailable in England, so that it was at least partly owing to Junius that it became known.

¹ o: ARA, no. 33. Reply to an unretrieved letter, a. Presumably sent to Delft, where Willem had moved back, and where several people mentioned in section d lived at the time. Cf. Nellen (1998:233–34).

recte ad me perlatae sunt.² Obnixe petis ne cogitem longam hanc scribendi intermissionem ullum amicitiae nostrae frigusculum infudisse.³ Ingenue, quod sentio, dicam. Placet hic tenerrimi affectus index metus; quinimo decus est mihi haec tua sollicitudo. Amolior tamen iniquitatis invidiam. An ita vel mei animi fides in clara, vel tui meriti angusta momenta, ut huic de me opinioni locus esse potuerit? Vide, quaeso, ne communis amicitia plus accipiat iniuriae ex hac suspicione, quam ex diutino silentio; minus est enim iusta occasione ad tempus deserere officium, quam de iudicio hominis amicissimi perperam sentire.⁴ Amoris nostri fiducia non pendet ex litteris. Et securitas mea facit, ut diligere me etiam a tacente non ambigam. Bonae enim et exploratae amicitiae, vel si cesset officium, satis tutae aestimationes sunt. Quamquam vero mihi non sit metuendum, ne hic meus sermo negligentiam tibi suadeat scriptionis, neve posthac mutuae amicitiae munia iudicii mei securus omittas; rogo tamen quaesoque, ut illam potius cogites partem, quae assiduitati gratiam parit, non quae promittit veniam raritati. Fieri non poterit ut ingratum experiaris Iunium tuum, quem vides tanto litterarum tuarum desiderio teneri; cumque ea rerum natura sit, ut officii litterarii diligentia fructu vicissitudinis incalescat, crebrioribus quoque posthac epistolis amorem tuum ad rependenda colloquia sollicitabo. Nunc ubi sim, quid coeptem (nam praecipue talium rerum curiosa est amicitia), si placet, prosequar.

b Ludhami, octo circiter a Norwicensi emporio miliaribus, in familia reverendissimi Episcopi Norwicensis vivo, una cum filiolo decenni illustrissimi Comitis ab Arundell, primi totius Angliae Marescalli.⁵ Omnia dixi, quum Heroem nominavi. Neque enim dubium est, quin celebri iam olim fama perceperis qua apud potentissimum Britanniae Regem gratia polleat, quemadmodum erga bonas litteras et rarissima venerandae antiquitatis monumenta affectus sit.⁶ Ego certe licet in media Achaia, et antiqua illa Roma versari videar, cum aedes Arundellianas frequento, aegerrime tamen ferre soleo quod tecum pariter optimum coniunctissimumque mihi affinem Vossium praesentem

² Junius had received de Groot's unretrieved letter accompanying Grotius' *Bewijs* (1622) two days before leaving for Ludham, when he had evidently been expecting to depart already for three days, **44c**, **42b**, **43a**.

³ The letter opens by celebrating the topos of friendship, *amicitia*, cf. Introduction.

⁴ De Groot had probably written the letter after moving from Paris to Delft.

tender affection, pleases me. Actually, your concern is a grace to me. But I refute the odium of unfairness. Or is my heart's faithfulness so obscure, or the moment of your favour so slight that there could be room for this opinion of me? See to it, I pray, that our mutual friendship does not get more injury from this suspicion than from a long silence, for it is less serious to temporarily fail an obligation on account of a reasonable motive than to think wrong of a best friend's opinion. The sincerity of our love does not depend on letters, and my unconcern makes that I do not doubt to be loved even by someone who is silent, for good and sure friendships are safe enough estimations, even if the fulfilment of duty had ceased. But although I need not fear that my words here urge you to neglect writing, nor that you will forsake the duties of mutual friendship from now on because you are confident of my opinion, I nevertheless beg and beseech you rather to consider that part which produces gratitude for its constancy, not that which promises complaisance for its rareness. You will not be able to find your Junius, whom you notice to be held by such a deep desire for your letters, ungrateful; and because the nature of affairs is such that the alertness of a literary obligation is kindled by the enjoyment of reciprocity, I will also from now on invite your love of replying the conversations by rather frequent letters. Now I will proceed on where I am and what I have undertaken, if you please (for friendship is particularly curious of such matters).

b I am staying in Ludham, some eight miles from the market town Norwich, at the right reverend bishop of Norwich's court, together with the ten-year-old son of the most illustrious earl of Arundel, the highest marshal of all England. I have said all when I call him "Hero," for there is no doubt that by repeated rumour you have heard already long ago about the favour which he enjoys with the right powerful king of England, and about how he is disposed towards literature and the rare documents of venerable antiquity. Although I, at least, seem to be dwelling in the middle of Greece and that ancient Rome when I visit Arundel House, I generally bear with great difficulty that I do not look upon my best and dearest brother-in-law Vossius here, as you do. I hope it will be granted to see both

About a fortnight after the present letter, de Groot was arrested by the Holland magistrates and interrogated about Grotius' circumstances, cf. Nellen (1998:233).

⁵ Cf. 42b, e.

⁶ Cf. 39d, 44a.

non intueor.⁷ Utinam utrumque tandem aliquando Londinii videre liceat! Nihil addo. “Nimiis obstat Rhamnusia votis.”⁸ Et rata vota reor, quae moderata magis.⁹

c Interea alto hic et pingui perfruor otio, dum nobilissimae indolis tenella aetas primis Latinae linguae rudimentis pertinaci opera viri sic satis eruditi, qui *reverendissimo Domino Norwicensi* a sacris est, imbuitur.¹⁰ Unde et destinatis prima quaque occasione sedulo insistant, bonarumque horarum partem potissimam *clari* fratris tui scripto libentissime impendam.¹¹ Faxit Deus *optimus maximus* ut tenues mei conatus aliqua saltem ex parte bonorum omnium votis respondeant.

d Noli me quaeso rerum vestrarum expertem habere. Utque optimis parentibus tuis, ita et Graswinckelianis familiis, atque omnibus bonis unice cupio commendari.¹² Quid noster ille Theodorus Graswinckel rerum gerat, ubi locorum vivat, et an nostri etiamnum memor sit, scire desidero.¹³ Apud virum doctissimum Christophorum Wren, sacellanum *reverendissimi Domini Wintoniensis*, aliosque bonos, mentionem quandoque feci catecheseos cuiusdam a *claro* fratre tuo versibus amoeboeis conscriptae.¹⁴ Vin’ scire quid profecerim? Negligentiae meae non sine querela imputant, quod scriptum tam dignum Britannia hactenus videre non potuerit.¹⁵ Vale; meque, ut facis, amare perge. Raptim; Ludhami, in aedibus *reverendi* Episcopi Norwicensi, anno 1622, ipsis kalendis Iulii, *stilo vetere*.
Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

e Tuas ad me litteras tuto committes Abrahamo van Bartem, genero Rotterodamensis illius Petri Carre, quem nosti. Est huic Bartemio in

⁷ Arundel House on the Strand, London, was a museum of antiquities and works of art, which were displayed in specially designed galleries and cabinets, and open to visitors, **56b**. Vossius came to London in 1629, **66a**. Cf. *Literature* 1.xxxiiin.

⁸ Claudian, *Bellum Geticum* 631. Cf. Erasmus, *Adage* 1538, “Rhamnusia Nemesis,” “[t]his Nemesis some suppose to be a goddess, the scourge of insolence and arrogance, whose province it is to forbid excessive hopes and punish them,” *CWE* 33, II.vi.38; *Adage* 2450, Rhamnusius.

⁹ Magnus Ausonius, *Epistulae* 17.40.

¹⁰ Humphrey, Harsnett’s chaplain. For a notion of Junius’ tutorship, cf. **42e**.

¹¹ Grotius had asked Junius to translate *Bewijs* into Latin for him, but nothing came of it, **40e**.

¹² Johan Cornets de Groot and Alida Borren van Overschie, cf. *NNBW* 2.528–29.

¹³ Dirk Graswinckel made a grand tour at the time, **24c**.

¹⁴ Grotius, *Vraghe en antwoordt: over den Doop. Ghestelt in zijn ghevanckenisse voor zijn Dochter Cornelia de Groot. Int laer onses Heeren 1618* (n.p., 1618), its 1619 re-edition

of you finally in London one day. I add nothing; “Rhamnusia opposes excessive wishes,” and I believe that wishes which are more moderate are legitimate.

c Meanwhile, I am quite enjoying a deep and fruitful leisure here, while the somewhat tender age of the most noble character is being imbued with the first principles of the Latin language by the unremitting care of a thoroughly learned gentleman, who is chaplain to the right reverend lord Norwich. For this reason I will zealously set about my intentions at the first possible opportunity and most willingly devote the greatest part of my good leisure to your renowned brother’s treatise. May Allgood and Almighty God bring it about that my poor efforts fulfil the wishes of all right-minded people to at least some extent.

d Please, let me share in your situation, I pray, and I desire to be especially remembered to your best parents, as well as to the Graswinckel family and to all right-minded people. I like to know what our Dirck Graswinckel is doing, where he lives and whether he still remembers me. One time I mentioned the *Catechism* written by your renowned brother in rhymed couplets to the most learned Mr. Christopher Wren, the right reverend lord Winchester’s chaplain, and to other right-minded people. Do you want to know what I brought about? They reckon it to my negligence, not without complaining, that England has not yet been able to see such a dignified writing. Farewell and continue to love me as you do.

In haste. Ludham, at the reverend bishop of Norwich’s court, in the year 1622, on the very kalends of July, old style [11 Jul.].

Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

e You may safely entrust your letter to me to Abraham van Bartem, son-in-law of that Peter Carre from Rotterdam whom you know. This van Bartem has a relative in the town Norwich, called Keyser, a most obliging gentleman who is deeply devoted to me; he will

entitled *T’samensprake over den doop* . . . , a rhymed catechism with questions and answers in verse treating baptism and most Christian dogmas, cf. *BGGrotius*, nos. 59–60.

¹⁵ Junius probably meant that the Englishmen had urged him to translate the Dutch text into Latin. There are no indications that Junius ever embarked on the project, nor that Grotius heard of this implicit proposal of Junius to do so. Grotius himself translated the text into Latin, and had it included as *Baptizorum puerorum institutio alternis interrogationibus et responsionibus* . . . (Amsterdam, 1635) in his *Sophompaneas* (1635), 101j. Cf. *BGGrotius*, nos. 78–88.

oppido Norwicensi affinis, nomine Keyser, vir perofficiosus et mei amantissimus; is recte eas ad me deferendas curabit.¹⁶ Idem, si occasio se offeret, affini Vossio significabis; ad quem nunc quoque lubens litterarum aliquid dedissem, nisi me comites opportuni et iam instructus equus in urbem una cum tuis hisce litteris pertraherent.

46⁴⁷ 22 08 [12] JUNIUS (LUDHAM) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

A Spectatissimo viro *Magistro* Gerardo Vossio.

a Coniunctissime *Domine* affinis,

Si per sororem Brunaeam literas, quas Londinio discessurus ad te pariter atque illam raptim dabam, recte accepisti, omnino futurum brevi confido ut petitioni meae satisfactum esse gaudeam, praesertim, si iis quos ad me transmitti postulaveram libris faustum de tua, sororis, omniumque liberorum vestrorum prospera valetudine nuntium adiunxeris.² Miro certe res vestras cognoscendi desiderio teneor. Nam quod sororem natu maximam attinet, ne quidem ubi terrarum vivat suspicari possum.³ Latere te non potest, quam vario dubiarum opinionum aestu agitetur animus pro coniunctissimis sollicitus, eoque omnem mihi scrupulum festinata scriptione eximendum mihi esse cogitabis.

b Ego hic tertium iam mensem in aedibus *reverendi Domini* Norwicensis vivo, qui summis me in hac mea conditione non poenitenda honoribus dignatur.⁴ Adspiret modo Deus *optimus maximus* conatibus meis, et honoratissimum totius Angliae Marescallum ex gravi lapsu periculose satis decumbentem sanitati pristinae restituat.⁵

c Iamdudum boni otii partem Grotianae ad fidem introductioni impendissem, nisi nobile aliquod coniugandorum par illustrissimi

¹⁶ Possibly François de Keijser, listed as a musket of the Company of the Dutch Congregation of Norwich, whose captain was Jacques van Berten, in 1621, cf. Moens 2.225.

¹ *o*: BL, Hl. 7012, f. 25. *p*: Colomesius 2.52. Presumably erroneously dated 10 for 12 August new style, *d*.

² Letters 42 and 43, in which Junius asked books to be sent to him, 42f, h–i, 43c.

³ Evidently, Junius had not had regular epistolary contact with Maria Junius after having concerned himself with her marriage, 38d–e.

have it delivered to me in good order. If an opportunity occurs, you must intimate this to Brother-in-law Vossius—to whom I would willingly have written a letter now as well, if travelling companions and an already harnessed horse had not conveniently dragged me to town together with this letter for you.

46 22 08 [12] JUNIUS (LUDHAM) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]

A To the most respected gentleman, Master Gerardus Vossius.

a Dearest Brother,

If you have received the letter I wrote both to you and to Sister de Brune in haste when I was about to leave London through her in good order, I wholly trust I may soon rejoice that my request will be fulfilled, especially if you enclose favourable news of your own, Sister's, and all your children's good health with those books I asked to be sent to me. I am held by a truly extraordinary desire of hearing of your situation. For, as regards my eldest sister, I cannot even guess where she lives. It cannot be concealed to you by what fickle fervour of wavering fancies my heart, concerned about dearest relatives, is agitated, and so you will decide that all doubt must be removed from me by a speedy letter.

b For the third month now I have been staying here at the house of the reverend lord of Norwich, who deems me worthy of the highest honours in my unobjectionable position. May Allgood and Almighty God just favour my efforts and restore the most honourable marshal of all England, who is ill in bed in considerable danger from a nasty fall, to his former health.

c I would have devoted part of my good leisure time to Grotius' *Introduction to the Faith* already before, if a noble couple of spouses-to-be had not invited the most illustrious earl's little son to their

⁴ Junius seems to have settled with Bishop Harsnett not before 15 June, and was accordingly just about to enter the third month of his stay, 44a, 43a. This is a further indication that the present letter should be dated 12 rather than 10 August, d.

⁵ The earl of Arundel had fallen from his horse on one of the last days of July and it took some ten to twelve days before he was out of danger, cf. Hervey (1921:220).

Comitis filiolum ad nuptiarum suarum celebritatem advocasset; et nunc quoque, cum venationi aut equitationi nobilissima indoles intenta est, me comitem postulat.⁶ Post hebdomadas tres, quatuorve in urbem relictis agris migrabimus; ubi si, quod spero, plusculum a talibus exercitiis vacare continget, efficiam ut tibi otii mei ratio constare possit.⁷

d Deum precor ut te uxori liberisque incolumem diu conservet, meque familiae vestrae utilem quandoque praestet. Saluta omnes sanguinis et amicitiae necessitudine nobis iunctos.

Raptim; Ludhami, in aedibus *reverendi* Episcopi Norwicensis, anno MDCXXII, VI nonas *Augusti, stilo veteri*.⁸

Tuus omni officio, Fr. Iunius F.F.

e Rudem aliquam paterni sigilli imaginem ad me transmittas velim plumbo vel cera expressam.⁹

^{43,46} **47** 22 09 14 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A °Francisco Iunio F.F., Londinum.

a Carissime affinis Iuni,
Bene mihi, bene uxori, bene omnibus nobis est, quod tibi bene esse, et propediem fortasse melius fore intelligamus.² Melius tamen nobis hic erit, si saepius ad nos literas dederis. Quamquam enim nulla ἀπροσηγορία imminui amor noster potest, tamen multum nos recreat ac reficit his tristibus temporibus quando tui aliquid videmus, praesertim quod etiam Angliae statum meliorem esse testetur, quam aliqui

A: [*Io. Casimiro* > *Francisco*] Iunio \F.F./, [*Emdam* > *Londinum*]

⁶ This section is the last known reference to Junius' prospective translation of *Bevijs* (1622), **40e**. The noble couple whose wedding William Howard and Junius attended is unidentified.

⁷ Evidently, they would move to London early September, **47A**.

⁸ Junius presumably erroneously dated "VI nonas" for "IV nonas," as the sixth nones of August was 31 July, normally referred to as "pridie kalendas," while the fourth nones was regular for 2 August, so 12 August new style, **b**.

wedding feast; and now as well, because his most noble nature is eager for hunting and horse riding, he begs me to accompany him. In three or four weeks' time we will leave the country and move to town, where I will make the account of my leisure time able to prove right to you, if—as I hope—there turns out to be somewhat more spare time from such exercises.

d I pray God to leave you sound for your wife and children for a long time and keep me useful for your family from time to time. Greet everybody bound to us with the tie of blood and of friendship.

In haste. Ludham, at the reverend bishop of Norwich's house, in the year 1622, 6th Nones of August, old style [12? Aug.].
Obligingly Yours, Fr. Junius F.F.

e I would wish you to send me a rough copy of Father's seal pressed in lead or wax.

47 22 09 14 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To Francis Junius, London.

a Dearest Brother Junius,

I am doing well; my wife is doing well; all of us are doing well, because we understand that you are doing well and will perhaps soon be doing better. But we will be better here, if you write to us more often. For although our love cannot be diminished by any *unkindness*, we are nevertheless greatly revived and refreshed in these sad times whenever we see any news from you, especially because it also testifies that the state of England is better than some people want to make us believe here. I, indeed, wish the best for that

⁹ The seal bears the du Jon coat of arms, which depicts bulrush, that is, F. "Jon," or rather "junc," **30h**.

¹ c: UBA, III E 5, p. 169; heading in Vossius' hand.

² Junius expected to be able to advance in his career, **42e**.

nobis persuasum hic ire volunt.³ Equidem multis nominibus regno illi °optime cupio, cuius rei causas facile *per* te vides.

- b** Quinquaginta florenos °nonis sextilibus annumeravi Hagae Dubletio, prout petieras.⁴ Siquid ultra pecuniarum voles, significa. Non patiar tibi deesse quicquam, dum erit unde dem. Imo et siquid aliud officii praestare possim, mone.

Libenter hoc, et omne militabitur
Bellum in tuae spem gratiae.⁵

- c** Literas ad reverendum episcopum Wintoniensem scripsi.⁶ Eas mitto apertas, sed tu illas, ubi legeris, summo viro trades obsignatas. Mitto geminum ἔκτυπον sigilli, unum Casimiriani, alterum tui. Puto te non aliud postulasse.⁷ Sed si mentem tuam satis assecutus non sum, *p̄*scribe.

- d** In rebus meis nihil hactenus efficere Curatores °quiverunt; nec tamen per eos stat, quo minus tandem aliquid fiat.⁸ Interim ego aliquid effingere conor, quod [serfiat]⁹ meum. Nam caetera, quae posideo, alios et alios dominos °nanciscuntur, fortasse etiam hostes nostros, quod omen Deus avertat.¹⁰ Sed tamen, ut nostra iam aliquandiu retro ire caeperunt, interdum aliquid tale subvereor.

- e** Mitto partitiones nostras cum opusculo de Rhetorices οἰκονομῖα, deque veteribus rhetoribus.¹¹ Spero °hunc non displiciturum tibi laborem. Sane Italis ipsis ita ille placuit, ut ex longinquis istis oris versus ad me miserint, honori meo scriptos; summae etiam dignitatis

a optime: *c* optimae | **b** nonis: *c* nonnis | **d** quiverunt: quieverunt | nanciscuntur: nanciscuntar | **e** hunc: huic

³ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics* 8.1157b.10. For Vossius' situation, cf. **d**. For Junius' favourable description of England, cf. **42c–d**.

⁴ Philips Doubleth, **43c**.

⁵ Horace, *Epodi* 1.23–24.

⁶ Vossius wrote Bishop Andrewes a letter of thanks, "Imo eas inter literas unae quoque erant, quibus illud continebatur, non modo te ab affectu pristino nihil recessisse, sed vero novi etiam nominis auctario cumulare voluisse. Quippe qui minime se gravatus sis, de meliori nota commendare illustri ac nunquam sine laude nominando inclytae Angliae vestrae Mareschallo" [Even, among those letters (of Junius) there was one which contained the following, that you had not only not at all receded from your former affection, but also wished to accumulate it with the addition of a new reason, in that you did not feel harassed to recommend him as of superior quality to the illustrious Marshal, ever to be mentioned with praise, of your renowned England], 22 09 13, Colomesius 1.26. Cf. *ICVossius* (1993:71), **43a**.

⁷ Junius had asked for a seal in **46e**.

kingdom in many respects; you can easily see the reasons of this yourself.

- b** I paid fifty guilders to Doublet in The Hague on the 5th of August, as you desired. Please let me know if you want any more money. I will not have you lack anything, as long as I have something from which to give. And also, please tell me if I can render you any other service.

With pleasure this and any war will be waged
In the hope of your gratitude.

- c** I have written a letter to the reverend bishop of Winchester. I am sending it open, but once you have read it, you must hand it to the exalted lord sealed. I am sending two *imprints* of the seal, the one Casimir's, the other yours. I think you did not ask otherwise. But if I have not quite understood your intention, please write me.

- d** The trustees have not been able to do anything yet concerning my situation, but it is not their fault that nothing is being done in the end. Meanwhile, I am trying to make something that will [really be mine], as the rest that I possess finds ever other masters, perhaps even our enemies, which omen God may avert. But yet, just as our interests have begun to decline for a while now, I still somewhat fear such an event.

- e** I am sending our *Partitions* as well as the small work on the *arrangement* of rhetoric and on ancient rhetoricians. I hope this exertion will not displease you. It truly pleased the Italians so much that they sent me poems written in my honour from those distant regions; after that, also gentlemen of the highest dignity have entreated my friendship—I am saying this without vanity. The book *On the Nature of History and the Rules of Writing it* has also been printed now. Only

⁸ The trustees of Leiden University had invited Vossius for the professorship of rhetoric and world history in spring 1622, but it took until November before he could commence his new duty due to objections from the church. Cf. **37aⁿ**, **f**, Rademaker (1981:50).

⁹ A copying error, the correct original of which is not clear.

¹⁰ Cf. **63d**.

¹¹ Vossius, *Rhetorices contractae sive partitionum oratoriarum libri quinque* (Leiden, 1621), a practical work for students of rhetoric, and *De rhetorices natura ac constitutione, et antiquis rhetoribus, sophisticis, ac oratoribus liber* (Leiden, 1621), a book providing theoretical backgrounds and practical suggestions for rhetoric. Junius wanted to be sent any new publications from Vossius, **42i**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:177).

viri exinde amicitiam meam °ambiunt, quod praefiscini dixerim.¹² Excusus nunc quoque est liber de natura historiae, eiusque scribendae praeceptis.¹³ Sola praefatio abest. Absque eo esset, nunc mitterem. Studio vero eam distuli. Fervet nunc praelum altero opere de historicis Graecis, in quo de eorum aetate, argumento, stylo, ac fide etiam dissero.¹⁴ Nec de iis solum tracto, qui exstant, sed etiam longe plurimis, qui perierunt. Postea consequitur commentariolus eiusdem monetae de historicis Latinis.¹⁵ Talibus nunc occupamur, quia maioribus non licet per invidos, qui minus quidem negotii facesserunt, quam ante, sed tamen quiescere nondum possunt. Nempe irretortis oculis aspicere labores nostros non possunt homines, non eruditioni minus inimici, quam pietati et concordiae.

f Casimirus Iunius vendet bibliothecam omnem patris, me quidem non probante.¹⁶ Sed necessitate se ait compelli. Mitto praefatiunculam, quam catalogo edito praemisit.¹⁷ Quantum intelligere possum, taxat ea tempora, quibus sub imperitis centurionibus, qualem ipse nactus, militare ii coguntur, qui studiis sedulo operam dederunt.¹⁸ Perstringit quoque propinquorum aliquos imprimis Iacobum Corputium, et Iacobum Wittium, Ioannis Corputii generum.¹⁹ Sed potissimum conqueritur de ordinibus Drentanis, qui florenorum duo millia, vel amplius, soluturos se negant, eo quod culpam Casimiri praestare nolint; nimium aiunt, si malae fidei debitores essent, a quibus eum ordines pecuniam petere iusserant, ante decennium debuisse de hoc conqueri, non iam demum postquam sua decoxerint; et animam egerunt, quam debebant.²⁰

e ambiunt: ambient

¹² In the summer of 1622, Vossius received a letter from Domenico Molino (d. 1635), a Venetian patrician and trustee of the University of Padua, which marked the beginning of a regular correspondence. Through Molino, Vossius also came into contact with several Italian scholars, who gave him suggestions for his historiographic works. Cf. Rademaker (1981:219).

¹³ Vossius, *Ars historica, sive De historiae, et historices natura, historiaeque scribendae praeceptis, commentatio, ad illustrissimum virum Ioannem Berckium* (Leiden, 1623), a work on the theory of history, including practical advice for writing historical studies. The dedicatory letter was dated 24 February 1623. Cf. Rademaker (1981:181–82).

¹⁴ Vossius, *De historicis Graecis libri quatuor* (Leiden, 1623), a mostly chronological lexicon of historians who had written in Greek, cf. Rademaker (1981:185).

¹⁵ Vossius, *De historicis Latinis* (1627), 57b.

¹⁶ Johan Casimir Junius and Junius had each inherited part of Junius the Elder's library, 42h^a. No further information on the sale of Johan Casimir's part found.

¹⁷ Catalogue unidentified; preface included with the present letter unretrieved.

the preface is wanting. If that were not the case, I would have sent it now, but I delayed it on purpose. The press is red-hot now with another work on the Greek historians, in which I discuss their age, contents, style and also reliability. I treat not only of those who are extant, but also of even more who have been lost. A small commentary in similar vein on Latin historians will follow after this. I am occupying myself now with such subjects, because I am not allowed to occupy myself with more relevant subjects through envious people, who actually give me less trouble than before, but still cannot keep quiet yet. Indeed, men who are foes no less to learning than to piety and concord cannot watch our exertions without looking askance.

f Casimir Junius will sell his father's whole library, although I at least do not approve. But he said he is forced by necessity. I am sending the short preface he put in front of the printed catalogue. In as far as I can understand, he reproaches these times, in which those who zealously have applied themselves to their studies are forced to wage war under uncivilised captains, just as he had one himself. He also blames some of the near and dear, especially Jacob van den Corput and Jacob de Witt, Johan van den Corput's son-in-law. But most of all he complains of the District of Drenthe, who refuse to pay two thousand guilders or more, because they do not want to settle a debt to Casimir. They keep emphasizing that if those from whom the District had ordered him to ask the money were unreliable debtors, he should have complained of this ten years ago and not until after they had spent their possessions; and they have shown their true nature.

The catalogue is not recorded in the database of Gruys and de Kooker; personal communication Henk de Kooker, Leiden.

¹⁸ Captain under whom Johan Casimir had served, unidentified.

¹⁹ Jacob de Witt (1589–1674), Dordrecht magistrate and merchant, delegate at the Chamber of the Maas of the West India Company, and also curator of the Dordrecht Latin School and town librarian. He was repeatedly elected burgomaster of Dordrecht, and later became a delegated councillor for the Southern District at the States of Holland. In 1616 he had married Anna van den Corput (1599–1645), a niece of both Elizabeth van den Corput (1552–1587), Junius the Elder's second wife, and Johan van den Corput. Johan Casimir's grievance concerned Johan van den Corput's inheritance, the "lis Corputiana," 6b. Cf. *NBW* 3.1455–58, Rowen (1978:7–9), Rademaker (1981:443).

²⁰ Johan Casimir's garrison had been stationed at Coevorden in Drenthe, 3. No details on this particular case retrieved.

g Soror Brunaea cum omni familia sua nobis adest, nec poterat unquam oportunius, partim quia Diamantia propediem abitura, quam eadem opera invisit, partim quia nunc ob ferias auctumnales et alias, quae proxime consequi solent, plurimum sine victoribus vivimus.²¹ Uxor, puto, intra hebdomades duas, vel summum tres, prole me augebit, quod illi, et nobis, bene vortat.²² Quid nunc? Quid amplius? Nihil profecto aliud occurrit, nisi ex formula veteri, ut valetudinem tuam cures diligenter et nos amare pergas. Vale, carissime affinis. Lugduno Batavorum, MDCXXII, postridie eides Septembris.

48 24 06 17 JUNIUS (HORSLEY) TO N.N. [-]¹

a [- *compertissimum tibi est quid studiorum necessitas postulet. Futurum omnino est ut honoratissimus Marescallus petitioni tuae nihil negare sustineat.*² *Sin aliter res cadet, quod Fors feret, feremus aequo animo.*³ *Apud me vel inviti conatus gratia solidi beneficii momentum semper obtinebit. Vale vir nobilissime, et tribus verbis, si non erit grave, perscribe, quid spei relictum habeam.*⁴ *Raptim; Horsleae, anno 1624, 7 Iunii.*]⁵
Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

b Brevitatis studio et praecipitantia scriptionis obscurior mihi factus videor. Omnium itaque summam paucis complectar. Annus est et amplius, [- *quod ne unum quidem denarium beneficio domus Arundelianae teneam.*⁶ *Nummos petentem Spyllerum Dyxe, incertitudinem factionis obiectantes, inanem dimittunt.*⁷ *Bis terve Spyllerus quoque me amice quasi praemonere non destitit. "Non effugies," inquit, "iram illustrissimi Domini, si annua viginti ma[. .]um*⁸ *merenda te contentum non esse intelligat."* *Vides quales sibi per*

²¹ Maria (1614–1641), Jan (1616–1649) and Johanna (d. 1650) de Brune, cf. **152b**, **165c**, Worp (1890:84).

²² In the autumn Johanna Vossius was born, and baptised on 13 October, cf. Rademaker (1981:161).

¹ *d*: UBA, M 71 verso, on the same sheet as letter **50**. It is the latter part and a postscript of an otherwise unretrieved letter, which was presumably begun on the other half of the sheet but has been torn off. Most of the text has been crossed out, and the letter may never have been sent. Addressee, who seems to have been a nobleman in the earl of Arundel's service, unidentified.

² Junius seems to have urged the addressee to plead for payment of his stipend with the earl of Arundel, **b–c**.

³ Terence, *Phormio* 138, "quod fors feret, feremus aequo animo."

⁴ No answer has been retrieved.

⁵ The residence of Anne Dacre was in Horsley, Surrey. Cf. **b^a**, Hervey (1921:243).

g Sister de Brune is staying with us with her whole family, and it could never have been more convenient, partly because [Sister] Diamant, whom she has come to see at the same time, will leave soon, partly because we are mostly without boarders because of the autumn break and other holidays which usually follow next. My wife, I think, will bless me with child in two or three weeks' time at the most; may this turn out well for her and for us. What now? What else? Actually, nothing else occurs to me besides, in accordance with the old formula, that you take diligently care of your health and continue to love us. Farewell, dearest Brother.
Leiden, 1622, on the day after the Ides of September [14 Sep.].

48 24 06 17 JUNIUS (HORSLEY) TO N.N. [-]

a [- *It is well known to you what the price of studying is. The most honorable marshal will definitely be unable to deny anything of your request. But if it turns out differently, we will bear what Fortune brings with an even mind. With me the gratefulness for even an unwilling attempt will always acquire the weight of solid kindness. Farewell, most noble sir, and write in three words what hope I have left, if it is not a trouble. In haste. Horsley, in the year 1624, 7 June.*]
Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

b I seem to have become quite obscure in my eagerness for brevity and haste of writing. So I will sum up the chief points of everything in a few words. For more than a year, [- *I have not received even a single penny from the kindness of Arundel house. When Spiller Dyx begged for money, they dismissed him empty-handed, confronting him with the indefiniteness of the agreement. Twice or thrice Spiller also did not fail amicably to warn me in advance, so to speak; "You will not escape the most illustrious earl's wrath," he said, "if he understands that you are not satisfied with earning an annuity of twenty [. . .]."*] You see what fun they have made of my naivety and submission

⁶ Evidently, Junius had not been paid for his tutorship since early 1623.

⁷ Members of the Dyx, or Spiller, families had been in the service of the Arundel family for dozens of years—a gentleman named Dyx had been a servant to Arundel's father Philip Howard (1557–1595), first earl of Arundel, and Robert Spiller was steward of Countess Anne Dacre (d. 1630), Arundel's mother, and so may have been his son Henry, cf. Hervey (1921:91, 94, 171).

⁸ Illegible due to Junius' deletion; possibly "markarum."

*annum integrum de mea simplicitate et patientia ludos fecerint; quocirca obnixte rogo ut, quantum in te est, moras hasce, quas nectunt, discutias, ut aut mihi posthac melius sit, aut*⁹

- c Ignosce quaeso impatientiae, quae contra callidas artes libertate doloris exaestuat. Indignius enim totam hanc contumeliosi ludibrii scenam fero, quoniam non meam modo, sed communem litterarum caussam agi video.¹⁰ Sed scilicet existimant eos qui inter litteras nutriuntur, non magis sapere posse, quam bene olere, qui in culina habitant.¹¹ Sed quin ego nimium hunc animi mei impetum inhibeo, ne nova mihi rursus opus sit venia. Iterum vale.

⁰ 49 24 11 06 JUNIUS (HORSLEY) TO JOHAN DE BRUNE [MIDDELBURG]¹

- a *Salutem plurimam.* Ut nunquam absentem te, mi Brunaee, memoria colere destiterim, litterae tuae ex ipso titulo statim agnitae satis ostendunt.² Exosculaturus eas, haesi; non quod amaritudinem trahere de rebus anxiiis et sollicitis constaret, sed quod animus meus tristi praesagio nescio quid minari videbatur. “Ubi germana?” inquam. “Siccine hasce incomitatas ad me perferri passa est?” Donec reclusae totam luctuosissimae domus imaginem oculis atque animo subiecerunt.³
- b Nihil est profecto improvisorum dolore torrentius.⁴ Attonitus ergo, et ipse iam in mortem pene demersus, nihil aliud potui, quam tacere, mirari, et magnitudinem calamitatum pariter ingruentium relinquere suae caussae.⁵ Ducunt fata volentem, nolentem trahunt.⁶ Et inconcussam animorum tranquillitatem nulli constantius experiuntur et tuentur, quam qui se totos Deo tradiderunt.

49b et tuentur: \et tuentur/

⁹ The Arundel family’s slowness in paying Junius and other people in their service was a recurrent problem, **76b**, **83**, **188a**.

¹⁰ Junius seems to have wished to publish something for which he needed money, possibly his “Flagitium Batavum,” a satire in the form of a cento on Prince Maurice’s beheading of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt in 1619 and on Oldenbarnevelt’s sons Willem van Stoutenburg’s and Reinier van Groenevelt’s plotting to murder Prince Maurice in 1623, the manuscript of which is now The Hague, KB 133 M 108. Junius wrote it under the pseudonym Nabadus Agmonius, **30h**. Cf. Bremmer (1998b:235).

¹¹ Petronius, *Satyricon* 2.1.8, **20b**.

¹ ca. UBA, M 67a, on the same sheet as letter **56**. *z*. Worp (1890:86–87). Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**.

for themselves for a whole year. For this reason I earnestly entreat you to shatter these delays which they are contriving as much as you can, so that it will either be better for me in the future, or]

- c I pray, excuse my impatience, which is boiling up against cunning skills through unrestrained grief. For sure, I bear this whole parade of insulting mockery rather indignantly, because I see that not only my interest, but [also] the common interest of letters is concerned. But of course, they believe that those who have been nourished among literature cannot be wiser than those who live in a kitchen can smell well. But let me restrain this excessive urge of my heart, in order not to need a new pardon again. Farewell again.

49 24 11 06 JUNIUS (HORSLEY) TO JOHAN DE BRUNE [MIDDELBURG]

- a Warmest regards. My immediately recognising your letter from its very address, my de Brune, has clearly demonstrated that I have never ceased to cherish you in my heart when you are absent. I was about to kiss it fondly, but hesitated, not because bitterness would have to be drawn from anxious and troubled circumstances, but because my heart seemed to menace something with a sad portent. "Where is Sister?" I said. "So she allowed this letter to be sent to me unaccompanied by hers?" Until, once opened, it laid the whole picture of the most sorrowful family before my eyes and heart.

- b Surely, nothing is more consuming than grief over the unforeseen. So, stupefied and almost yet submerged in death myself, I could do nothing but be silent, be bewildered, and have the size of the disasters assailing us simultaneously take its course. The Fates lead away the willing and drag away the unwilling. Nobody feels and preserves a steadfast tranquillity of heart more constantly than those who have given themselves up wholly to God.

² Cf. Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* 15.21.5.2, "absentem memoria colam." Johan de Brune's letter to Junius is unretrieved.

³ Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana* 2.89.6.4–6, "universam imaginem principatus eius oculis animisque subiecimus."

⁴ Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 17.18.17–18.

⁵ Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 9.7.15–16, "his cogitationibus attonito, et in mortem iam paene demerso;" 19.6.6–7, "tacere, mirari et incredibilis relinquere suis causis."

⁶ Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 107.11.5, "Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt."

c Quod ad ancipitis morbi causas attinet, quamquam plurima, quomae coniectura ducit, °afferre possim, tecum tamen primum mali fontem arbitror esse irritae spei pudenda ludibria, et aestuantis animi solatia decepta.⁷ Nihil enim gravius quam destitutae spes torquent.⁸ Neque ulla vis morbi languida membra validius depascit, quam haec animum cura contundit atque infringit, “Unde nobis iterum res, fama, decus?” Nosti grande doloris ingenium; multa semper luctuosa, ut non quaerat, invenit.⁹ Praeterquam quod sexus natura invalidus diutina coniugum absentia suo pariter luxui et alienis cupidinibus expositus, mutuam maritorum fidem in fidei tam rarae praemium deberi sibi putat. Sed utinam ex incertis, ut speras, rumoribus istae falsarum sollicitudinum fabulae proruperint!¹⁰ Ego certe me libenter praebeo credulum.¹¹ Quamvis enim aequa mente ab uxore fidelissima et tot communium liberorum parente divelli potuerit, nunquam tamen, nisi me forte solum eventus melioris desiderium ad spem firmat, calcata summi numinis reverentia, dissolutis ac proiectis naturae legibus, dulcissimorum liberorum memoriam famae securus ex animo poterit delere.

d Interea nobis erigendus erit animus supra ipsas necessitates.¹² Proficient aliquid sollicitae preces, et ardentia anxiae pietatis vota. Mea messis etiamnum in herba nunc est;¹³ dabit Deus aliquando tandem ut necessariis in me nonnihil praesidii °sit. Animus certe integer innocentiam imminui putat, si °afflictis propinquorum rebus desit. Tu tantum officio litterario strenue defungere, ut ea sciam, quae sine summo timore nescire non possum.

Raptim; Horsleae, anno 1624, 27 Octobris stilo vetere.

Tuus omni officio.

c afferre: [- *habere possim*] afferre | d sit: sit [- *futurum*] | afflictis: [- *periculosus*] afflictis

⁷ Isaac de Brune’s public prosecutorship with the East India Company on Amboina and Banda was unsuccessful. He had been ignominiously discharged from office on Banda in 1623, but what he was doing at the time of the present letter is not known. He died on his return to the Low Countries in 1627. Cf. 37d, Worp (1890:84–86).

⁸ Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 12.17.21–22.

⁹ Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 5.16.7.2–3, “multa luctuosa dolor invenit.”

¹⁰ Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 11.3.7–8, “unde illae falsarum sollicitudinum fabulae repente proruperint.”

c What pertains to the causes of the hazardous disease; although I could adduce many factors where my guessing directs me, I nevertheless believe, just as you, that the principal source of evil is the shameful ridicules of vain hope and the deceived comforts of an excited heart. For nothing torments more severely than shattered hopes, and no powerful disease consumes feeble limbs more vigourously than the concern, “from where will we get possessions, a good reputation and honour again?” destroys and weakens the heart. You know the great ingenuity of grief; it always finds many sorrows although it does not look for them. Besides that the sex feeble of nature, confronted with equally their own extravagance and the desires of others during their partner’s lengthy absence, believe that their husband’s reciprocal faithfulness is owed to them in recompense for such a rare faithfulness. But I hope that these stories of spurious anxieties have originated from unjustified rumours, as you hope! I, at least, willingly show myself credulous. For although he could be separated from his most faithful wife and mother of so many joint children with an even mind, he will nevertheless never be able to expel the memory of his sweetest children from his heart without damage to his reputation, while despising the reverence for the highest Deity and refuting and renouncing the laws of nature—unless perhaps only the desire for a better outcome strengthens me in the hope.

d Meanwhile, we must cheer up our hearts beyond these exigencies. Concerned prayers and ardent wishes of anxious piety will help a little. Still, my harvest is in the blade now; God will finally one day grant my relatives to have some support in me. Surely, an honest heart believes its blamelessness to be violated, if it neglects the afflictions of its near and dear. You, just briskly perform your duty to write, so that I know what I cannot fail to know without the greatest fear.

In haste. Horsley, in the year 1624, 27 October old style [6 Nov.].
Obligingly Yours.

¹¹ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 15.16.1.5–6, “in hoc meque libenter praebeo credulum.”

¹² Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 4.8.21, “animum supra necessitates erigo.”

¹³ Erasmus, *Adage* 1189, “in herba esse,” “when we wish to convey that hopes are immature and success is still a long way off, we say that things are ‘in the blade’,” *CWE* 33, II.ii.89; Ovid, *Epistulae* 17.263, “adhuc tua messis in herba est.” Junius hoped finally to receive one year’s arrears of payment for his tutorship, and evidently to send his Johanna pecuniary support, **48c**, **63e**.

50₅₁ [25 00 00] JUNIUS (HORSLEY) TO RALPH GOODWYN [-]¹

A Virtutum splendore et studiorum elegancia instructissimo *Domino* Raphaeli Goodwin.²

a Relinquo verborum blanditias novis inter se amicis.³ Illos iuvent alterna praeconia usque ad speciosam fucati foederis fidem. Tuae erga me satis quondam spectatae benevolentiae cumulate me satisfacturum confido, si qualicumque dexteræ huius pignore tester gratam tui memoriam nulla temporis diuturnitate ex animo meo effluxisse. Verumtamen ut hactenus desiderium remotioris absentiae quoquo modo toleravi, ita nunc aegerrime patior, quod tam exiguo locorum spatio diremptos inimicum fatum a mutuo congressu arcuerit; ipsa enim vicinitate cupidum animum velut irritante, quo propius accesseram ad spem fruendi, hoc impatientius careo.⁴ Neque ullus me tormento huic eripiet dies, quam qui te mihi reddet.⁵ Tu modo valetudinem tuam interea temporis diligenter cura, °et vicissim quantum per occupationes licebit, °ad memoriam familiaritatis iam olim contractae revolvere. Etenim satis habebō, si me in aliqua saltem amicitiae tuæ parte haerere cognovero.

Raptim; Horsleae.

Tuus omni officio.

a et vicissim: [*et mei memoriam* > et vicissim] | ad: [- *vicissim*] ad

¹ *ca.* UBA, M 71, on the same sheet as letter **48**. Written some time before 25 11 24, when **51** was written.

² Possibly the Ralph Goodwyn who was MP of Ludlow Castle in 1624–25, 1625, 1626, 1628–29, April–May 1640 and 1641 (until being disabled in February 1644), as he replied to this letter from Hampton Court, **51b**. This was presumably the Ralph Goodwyn who had matriculated as pensionary from Trinity College, Cambridge, at Easter 1608—when Junius had matriculated at Leiden; who had been a fellow from 1614, did his bachelor’s degree in Arts in 1611/12 and his master’s in 1615, when he was incorporated at Oxford. He and Junius had met ten years before the

50 [25 00 00] JUNIUS (HORSLEY) TO RALPH GOODWYN [-]

A To Mr. Raphael Goodwin, well provided with excellence of virtues and refinement of studies.

a I omit the verbal flatteries for friends who are new to each other. Let reciprocal declarations please them up to an ostensible confidence in an artificial agreement. I trust I will abundantly satisfy your once amply manifest sympathy for me, if by any pledge of this right hand I testify that the happy memory of you has not slipped from my mind during this long stretch of time. But just as I have endured the regret for the quite long absence in some way up to now, so I bear now all the more reluctantly that ill-disposed fate has kept us from joint company, although we are separated by such a small spatial distance; for, as this vicinity excites a yearning heart, so to speak, the nearer I had reached the expectation of enjoying it, the more impatiently I am missing it. No other day will take me out of this torment, than that which gives you back to me. You, just diligently take care of your health in the mean time, and return to the memory of a friendship contracted long ago in turn, as much as is permitted by your occupations. I will be satisfied, if I know to have remained in at least some part of your friendship.
In haste. Horsley.
Obligingly Yours.

present letter, probably in Cambridge, **51a**. Junius had probably erroneously remembered Goodwyn's first name as "Raphael." Notwithstanding his efforts in the present letter and letter **52**, and Goodwyn's reply in letter **51**, Junius seems not to have managed to cultivate a friendship with him. Cf. *ALC*, s.v., *ALO*, s.v.

³ The letter is a celebration of friendship, *amicitia*, composed of *topoi* in accordance with epistolary conventions, cf. Introduction.

⁴ Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 6.1.1.4–2.1, "quod desiderium absentium nihil perinde ac vicinitas acuit, quoque propius accesseris ad spem fruendi, hoc impatientius careas."

⁵ Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 6.1.2.1–2, "Quidquid in causa, eripe me huic tormento."

⁵⁰ 51 ₅₂ 25 11 24 RALPH GOODWYN (HAMPTON COURT) TO JUNIUS
[HORSLEY]¹

A Omni literarum genere refertissimo *Domino* suo Francisco Iunio.

a Videas, quaeso, mi Iuni, quo me errore implicitum expediti. Credideram enim odia solummodo immortalia at nunc amicitiam haud brevioris vitae experior.² Refellisti vulgi commune scitum, et omnium huius saeculi fidem superasti. Siquidem modernis amicitis largissime datum credimus, si vel nominum meminisse dignemur, et nimii magnatum amores nil aliud quam nomenclatura. At me tandem beasti, mi Iuni, qui inter tot amicorum myriades te solum invenerim amicum. Παντες φιλοι, σὸ φιλος. Adeone fati nescia est tua amicitia, ut decennale spatium quo Troia periit, illaesa et intemperate emetiatur?³ Nihilne tot annorum intervallo, tam immani locorum distantia passa est, cum in angusto Hellesponti alveo omnes Leandri amores illico perierint?⁴ Certe aliquid maiestatis in se habet amicitia tua, nam maiorem e longinquo reverentiam acquirit. Reputanti mihi, quantilli sim ego miser, multiplex occurrit sensus. Nunc quod °tandem me te dignum invenerim aliquid nobilius solito spirare videor; nunc propria tenuitatis conscientia me meticulousum reddit, ne scilicet tantae amicitiae aut impar vivam aut ingratus moriar. Sic me Superbum, Iuni, sic timidum facis.⁵ |

b Macte autem amore tuo erga me, meque iam prolectum in hanc arenam literariam fortiter adorire, °et affectus °tui impetu, si poteris, prorue; quicquid mihi infligeris calamo, duplicatum reddetur, sic invicem gaudia faenerabimur. Quo propius a te °abfuit nascentis nostrae amicitiae causa (siquidem in te tota), eo minus quod de illa

a tandem: \tandem/ | **b** et: [- ..] et | tui: tu[o > i] | abfuit: [- abest] abfuit

¹ *o*: UBA, M 88.

² The letter is a celebration of friendship, *amicitia*, composed of *topoi* in accordance with epistolary conventions, cf. Introduction.

³ Evidently, Goodwyn and Junius had met ten years earlier, probably in Cambridge, where Goodwyn was studying at the time and Junius went during his tour, **50, 10a**. Epitomized in Homer's *Iliad*, the Trojan war had been fought for ten years between the Greeks and the Trojans because of the Trojan Paris' abduction of the Greek Helen. The Greeks won. Cf. *OCD* (1996:675, 718–20, 1244).

⁴ According to Ovid, *Heroides* 18.19, among others, each night Leander swam across the Hellespont to his love Hero guided by a lighthouse, but when the light

51 25 11 24 RALPH GOODWYN (HAMPTON COURT) TO JUNIUS
[HORSLEY]

A To his Mr. Francis Junius, brimful with varied learning.

a You must understand, my Junius, I pray, from what error in which I was ensnared you have released me. I had believed only hatreds immortal, but now I experience that friendship has as long a life-span. You have refuted the common decree of the people and surpassed the faithfulness of everybody of this time, since we believe to have given most generously to friendships nowadays, if we deem it worthwhile to remember just names—and excessive loves of dignitaries are nothing else than words. However, my Junius, you have finally made me happy, because among so many ten thousands of friends I found only you a friend. *All are friends; you are the friend.* Is your friendship so unaware of fate that it has survived unharmed and pure over a period of ten years, in which Troy was destroyed? Has it not at all suffered from a span of so many years, from such a vast spatial distance, when all Leander's love perished instantly in the narrow channel of the Hellespont? Truly, your friendship has something majestic in it, for it has acquired greater reverence over a long distance. When I consider how little miserable I am, an ambivalent feeling suggests itself to me—I now seem to breathe something more noble than usual, because I have finally found myself worthy of you; now a proper sense of insignificance makes me afraid, in that I must either live unequal to such a great friendship or die ungrateful of it. Thus, my Junius, you make me a Superbus; thus you make me timid.

b But please, trouble me with your love for me and vigorously attack me in this literary arena, now that I am provoked, and rush at me with an assault of your kindness, if you can. Whatever you inflict on me with a reed-pen will be returned twofold; thus we will be rewarded delights by turns. The more the cause of our nascent friendship was on your side (indeed, it was completely on yours), the less reason I had to doubt about it. All difficulty being remote now, let it begin to prosper more firmly from day to day, I hope, and more

was extinguished in a storm he drowned. Hero found his body and threw herself into the sea. cf. *OCCL* (1989, s.v.).

⁵ Seneca the Younger, *Troades* 270, "tu me superbum, Priame? Tu timidum facis."

dubitarem habui, nunc omni scrupulo semoto firmior °spero indies et maturior, innatum in se °solem non °aliunde recipiens, florescet. Et ut seges votis meis respondeat supplicabo °numini, ut diutissime te mihi, °reipublicae Christianae, omnibusque te dignis sospitet.⁶

Hampton Court, 14^o die Novembris 1625.

Tuus omni obsequio et necessitudine, Rodolphus Goodwin.

⁵¹ 52 26 01 11 JUNIUS (HORSLEY) TO RALPH GOODWYN
[HAMPTON COURT]¹

A Multiplici virtute et varia eruditione spectatissimo *Domino* Rodolpho Goodwin.

a *Salutem plurimam.* Non te latet, mi Rodolphe, quam validi argumenti locum apud Demosthenem passim obtineat tritum illud, “Vox populi, vox Dei.”² Quocirca, si Demosthenicum quid saperem, non impune commune vulgi scitum, antiquitate ipsa venerandum, amicae recordationis constantia refelli posse contenderes.³ Oggererem adhaec illud iudiciosissimi Nasonis, “Pro magno teste vetustas/Creditur; acceptam parce movere fidem.”⁴ Nunc vero, ne exilis et omni maiestatis pondere destituta dictio stolidè se torrenti orationis tuae obiiat, ipse potius, exemplum de te capiens, non in comparisonem curae ingeniivè, sed quia primus animi scripturientis impetus eo fert, candide fatebor litteras tuas suavitatum plenissimas effecisse, non ut a veteri verbo et ex obscuris forte initiis orto dissentirem, sed (absit invidia dicto) ab eo, cuius quot verba tot sententias esse Tullius affirmat,⁵ Euripide, cum in Hippolyto *Stephani* ait,⁶

Χρὴν γὰρ μετρίας εἰς ἀλλήλους
Φιλίας θνητοῦς ἀνακίρνασθαι

b spero: \spero/ | solem: sol[a > e]m | aliunde: aliu[d > n]de | numini: numi[tr > n]i | reipublicae: re\i/publicae

⁶ Vergil, *Georgics* 1.47, “seges demum votis respondet.”

¹ ca: UBA, M 72; written out very carefully.

² The letter is a topical celebration of friendship, *amicitia*, cf. Introduction. Place in Demosthenes not found.

³ In reply to Goodwyn’s “refellisti vulgi commune scitum” in **51a**.

⁴ Ovid, *Fasti* 4.203–04.

maturely, receiving a sunshine innate in itself, not from anywhere else. And in order for the fruit to correspond to my wishes, I will pray the Deity to save you very long for me, for Christianity, and for everybody worthy of you.

Hampton Court, 14 November 1625.

Yours with all obedience and friendship, Rudolph Goodwin.

52 26 01 11 JUNIUS (HORSLEY) TO RALPH GOODWYN
[HAMPTON COURT]

A To Mr. Rudolph Goodwin, well respected for manifold virtue and varied learning.

a Warmest regards. It is not unknown to you, my Rudolph, that the saying in Demosthenes, “The voice of the people is the voice of God,” has acquired the place of valid evidence everywhere. So, if I had anything Demosthenian, you would assert that the common decree of the people, respectable because of its very antiquity, cannot be refuted with impunity by the steadfastness of amicable memory; to this I could proffer the following saying by the most judicious Naso, “Old age is regarded as a great witness; be careful not to disturb the accepted faith.” But now, lest a meagre saying lacking all weight of magnificence does not stupidly oppose the torrent of your speech, patterning myself on you—not in comparison of concern or intellect, but because the first instigation of a mind desirous to write is inspiring me to it—I will quite frankly acknowledge that your letter abundant of sweetness has made me disagree not with an old saying that may have originated from secret sources, but (let envy be far from what I say) with that Euripides, of whom Tullius confirms that he has as many words as sayings, when he says in *Hippolytus*, edited by Estienne,

*For mortals must make
Moderate friendships with each other*

⁵ Place in Cicero not found, but cf. Cicero, *Orator* 215.1, “at eadem verba, eadem sententia.”

⁶ Euripides, *Hippolytos* 253–57, in Paulus Stephanus (Estienne), ed., *Euripidis Tragoediae quae exstant cum Latina Gulielmi Canteri interpretatione . . .* ([Geneva], 1602). Junius’ copy not identified in UBL.

Καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχῆς
 Εὐλύτα δ' εἶναι στέργηθρα φρενῶν
 Από τ' ὄσασθαι, καὶ ξυντεῖναι

et in Oreste,⁷

Καὶ ναῦς γὰρ ἐνταθεῖσα πρὸς βίαν ποδί,
 Ἔβαψεν; ἔσθη δ' αὐθις, ἦν χαλᾶ πόδα.
 Μισεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς τὰς ἄγαν προθυμίας.

| ἀλλὰ τοῦτο μὲν, ὦ Εὐριπίδη, μεταθῶμεν ἐπὶ τὰς ἔχθρας, καὶ κελεύω-
 μεν μετρίως ποιεῖσθαι τὰς διαφορὰς, καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχῆς.
 εὐλύτα δ' εἶναι μίση, καὶ ὀργὰς, καὶ μεμψιμοιρίαν, καὶ ὑπονοίας mihi
 certe nunquam persuadebit Euripides, ut meos amari a me nimium
 putem.⁸ Quippe, ut cum Plinio iuniore loquar, non vereor in amore
 ne modum excesserim; neque enim periculum est ne sit nimium
 quod esse maximum debet.⁹ Valeant itaque praecepta effusissimum
 liberrimi affectus impetum in arctum cogentia; utque voto meo respon-
 deat eventus,¹⁰ nunquam cessent litterae tuae, laetissimi planeque
 poetici ingenii philtro imbutae porro intendere meum erga te amorem,
 quem iamdudum ulterioris incrementi spem excessisse falso puta-
 veram.

b Plura de te aut litteris tuis addere vetat illud eiusdem Plinii, “Hoc ipsum amantis est, non onerare amicum laudibus.”¹¹

Αἰνούμενοι γὰρ οἱ ἄγαθοι, τρόπον τινα
 Μισοῦσι τοὺς ἀγνοῦντας, ἐὰν ἀγνώσ' ἄγαν.¹²

Ego hic de me facio coniecturam. Ut ut enim litteras tuas primum inspicienti iucundum erat videre quam grata aestimatione qualem-
 cunque tui memoriam pensares, nihilominus tamen tacito vellicantis animi morsu perstringebar, quod nullum benevolentiae modum tenere videbaris. Ibi ego continuo mecum. Itane tandem pertinacissimi expug-
 natae Troiae labores infra meam gloriam iacebunt? Ego vero quali-
 cunque in amicissimum pectus fide non eximiam gloriam meruisse me credo, sed tantum effu|gisse flagitium. Exinde tamen, tota re

⁷ Euripides, *Orestes* 706–08.

⁸ This sentence is macaronic, half in Greek, half in Latin; a paraphrase of the preceding verse lines.

⁹ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 8.24.10.3–4, **27a**.

¹⁰ Vergil, *Georgics* 1.47, **51b**.

¹¹ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 1.14.10.5–6, “Hoc ipsum amantis est, non onerare eum laudibus.”

*And not to the innermost of the soul.
Loves are easily torn from the mind
By rejection and attraction.*

and in Orestes,

*For also a ship capsizes if forcibly drawn tight by the sheet,
But straightens itself again if one eases the sheet.
For god hates zealots and the citizens do so too.*

But let us, oh Euripides, apply this to enmities and let us command to keep differences moderate and not to the innermost of the soul. That hatred must be released and that tempers and suspicion are easily released, of this Euripides will surely never persuade me, so that I would believe my friends to be loved too much by me. In fact, to speak with Pliny the Younger, I do not fear to have gone beyond the limit in love, for there is no danger that what should be the greatest is too much. So, farewell to rules that force a most lavish outburst of most unrestrained affection into a straightjacket; and in order for the result to correspond to my wish, let your letters, moistened with the juice of a most joyous and truly poetic intellect, never cease to further extend my love for you, which I had erroneously thought to have long before gone beyond the hope of further increase.

b This saying by the same Pliny forbids to add more about you or your letter, “It is characteristic of a lover not to burden a friend with praise.”

*For if they are praised, the good tend to be ill-disposed
To the ones who praise, if they are praising too much.*

Here I make a guess about myself, for although at my first inspection of your letter it was pleasant to see with how happy an estimation you counterbalanced my modest memory of you, I was nevertheless lightly hurt by a silent sting of a twitching heart, because you seemed to keep no limit to benevolence. I said to myself there, “So are the most persevering troubles of captured Troy really below the level of my glory?” But I believe not to have deserved a distinguished glory because of my modest faith in a dearly befriended soul, but only to have avoided slander. Yet next, having examined it all more deeply, I began to mark with a white stone—as they say—your most honest error, because the mention of captured Ilium

¹² Euripides, *Iphigenia in Aulis* 980–81.

penitius inspecta, coepi album, quod aiunt, calculum honestissimo errori tuo adiacere, propterea quod Ilii capti mentio me veluti manu quadam eo quo volueram perducebat.¹³ Et nimirum, inquam, dignum operae pretium exciso Ilio consecutus est Agamemnon victor. Est quod decem annis ferox ignoscat horrens ac squallidum lentae urbis cadaver oculis ex alto metiens. Meus triumphus iustior, meum solidius gaudium, quod post tanti temporis intercapedinem tantum non praesentem intueor amicum rediviva mutui amoris flamma iuxta mecum flagrantem, et Troia, sed stante, potiozem.

εὖ δ' ἴσθ', ὅτου τις τυγχάνει χρείαν ἔχων,
τοῦτ' ἔσθ' ἑκάστῳ μείζον ἢ Τροίαν ἐλείν.¹⁴

- c Persequeretur nunc reliquam elegantissimarum litterarum tuarum partem et morosum absentiae nimis diuturnae taedium alloquio in longum producto mitigarem, si per communem amicum itineri iam paratum liceret.¹⁵ Vale.
Ipsis kalendis Ianuariis, anno 1626, Horsleae, multa iam nocte.
Tuus omni officio.

53 26 08 31 DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS [LEIDEN] TO JUNIUS [-]¹

A Nobili et praestantissimo viro Francisco Iunio, avunculo charissimo.

- a Vir clarissime ac avuncule charissime,
Iam dudum est quod aveo aliquid ad te literarum dare, non quod meas litteras tanti fore existimem, ut te recreare possint (quid enim a me, nisi puerile, °proficiscatur?), sed ut hac ratione meum amorem erga te testarer. Quem enim post parentes dulcissimos charissimosque, maiori affectu me prosequi decet, quam avunculum meum, eumque avunculum, qui ut parentem °habuit virum summum, avum meum,

a proficiscatur: profi[- s]ciscatur | habuit: hab[ea > ui]t

¹³ Erasmus, *Adage* 453, “album calculum addere,” “[t]his means to vote approval . . . It comes from the custom in Antiquity of placing pebbles in an urn to signify the opinions of the judges: white stones meant acquittal, black condemnation,” *CWE* 31, I.v.53, **54a**, **61b**.

¹⁴ Euripides, *Andromache* 368–69.

took me by the hand, so to speak, to where I wished. Surely, I say, Agamemnon the victor won a prize worthy of the effort after the destruction of Ilium. There is reason to believe that, judging with his eyes from the high sea, the bold man pardoned the horrid and squalid corpse of the tough town after ten years. My triumph is more just and my pleasure more solid, because after such a long stretch of time I only see an almost present friend glowing as much as I do with a renewed flame of reciprocal love, and stronger than Troy, but when it was still standing.

*Know this well: something which someone happens to need
Is more important for him than capturing Troy.*

- c I would now pursue the rest of your most elegant letter and relieve the morose boredom of too lengthy an absence by a speech prolonged at length, if a mutual friend who is ready for the journey now allowed me to. Farewell.
On the very Kalends of January in the year 1626 at Horsley, already deep into the night [11 Jan.].
Obligingly Yours.

53 26 08 31 DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS [LEIDEN] TO JUNIUS [-]

A To the noble and most distinguished gentleman Francis Junius, dearest Uncle.

- a Most illustrious sir and dearest Uncle,
For a long time I have wished to send you a letter, not because I believe my letter to be worth so much that it could amuse you (for what would originate from me except something childish?) but in order to testify my love for you in this way. For to whom should I grant deeper affection, after my sweetest and dear parents, than to my uncle—and just as he had as his father an exalted man, my grandfather, so this uncle is heir not only to his father's name, but

¹⁵ Junius' and Goodwyn's mutual friend unidentified.

¹ o: UBA, M 98.

ita non tantum nominis, sed etiam °virtutis doctrinaeque paternae haeres sit; eum item avunculum, qui semper, ut parentes meos, ita nos, °eorum liberos, maximi fecerit. Haec igitur dum sedulo mediator, tandem ita statui mecum, subrusticum illum pudorem exuere me debere. Fiduciam igitur sumsi (ut orsus eram dicere) aliquid literarum dandi. Sed quid tibi scribam? Non male esse patri, non optime matri, nec sorori Corneliae, peius minimae sorori ex variolis laboranti, optime mihi, et fratribus aliis? At haec, ut puto, melius ex matris literis scies.² Quid igitur? De studiis meis? Vix ea tanti sunt, ut iis immerer.

- b** Attamen cum fas sit nihil te rerum mearum ignorare, de aliquibus te faciam certiore. Scito igitur me nunc, post navatam linguae Latinae Graecaeque mediocriter operam, Hebraicae, Arabicaeque linguae vacare, ac in Syriaca, Chaldaica, et Rabbinica, Deo volente, brevi idem agam.³ Quod ad duas priores attinet (Hebraicam dico et Arabicam), in his eos progressus iam feci, ut mediocriter illas intelligam. Biblia quidem a principio usque ad Psalterium cum cura Hebraice legi. In Arabicis autem Proverbia, et Psalmos 80 absolvi, nec non Azoaras duas Alcorani editas ab Erpenio, °ac idem in reliquis Azoaris facerem, si exemplum eius libri mihi suppeteret.⁴ Nam hic rari libri Arabici tam manuscripti, quam impressi, inveniuntur.
- c** Quod si paulo impudentiori mihi esse liceret, magnopere rogarem, ut exemplar tuum⁵ (quale °tibi satis nitidum esse, ex parentibus saepe intellexi) ad menses aliquot utendum dares; ac eo magis id desiderem, quod Hendricus Zwaerdecroonius (vir in °linguis Orientalibus optime versatus ac pridem praeceptor meus) moliatur eius libri editionem, °et idcirco omnia exemplaria quae in orbe Christiano invenire potest

a virtutis: [- do] virtutis | eorum: eius | **b** ac: [- id] ac | **c** tibi: [- esse] tibi | linguis: [- his] linguis | et: ad

² Elizabeth Junius' letter to Junius, presumably written around the same date as the present letter, unretrieved.

³ Dionysius was exceptionally talented and was to develop into an important scholar of Oriental languages, c, **69b**, **77a**. For his edition and commentary of Maimonides, cf. **94a**.

⁴ The edition of psalms in Arabic was probably Vittorio Scialac and Gabriel Sionita, *Liber psalmorum Davidis regis, et prophetarum. Ex Arabico idiomate in Latinum translatus* (Rome, 1614), which had the Arabic text and Latin translation side by side I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer. Thomas Erpenius, *Kitab al-am t hal, seu Proverbiorum*

also to his father's virtue and learning; this uncle also, who has always esteemed my parents as well as us, their children, most highly. So, when I carefully considered this, I finally decided by myself to cast off that somewhat clumsy bashfulness. So I took courage (as I had begun to say) to write a letter. But what shall I write to you? That Father is doing not badly, Mother not too fine, nor Sister Cornelia; my youngest sister, who is suffering from pustules, worse, and me and my other brothers fine? But that, as I reckon, you will better learn from Mother's letter. What then? About my studies? They are hardly worth so much that I may dwell on them.

b Yet, as it is right for you not to be unaware of my situation, I will inform you of some matters. So, you must know that I am now devoting myself to the Hebrew and Arabic language, after having reasonably applied myself to the Latin and Greek language, and will shortly do the same, God willing, to Syriac, Chaldaic and Rabbinic. What pertains to the first two (I mean Hebrew and Arabic), I have already made such progress in them, that I reasonably understand them. I have actually read the Bible from the beginning up to the Psalms in Hebrew with diligence. And in Arabic I have finished the Proverbs and eighty Psalms, and also two Suras of the Koran, edited by Erpenius, and I would do the same with the remaining Suras, if a copy of that book were available to me. For Arabic books, both in manuscript and in print, are rarely found here.

c If I am allowed to be somewhat more impudent, I would urgently ask of you to give your copy (I have often heard from my parents what a beautiful one you have) in use for some months, and I would desire this all the more, because Hendrik Zwaerdecroon (a gentleman well versed in the Oriental languages, and formerly my teacher) endeavours to make an edition of that book, and for this purpose collects all copies which he can find in the Christian world. I do

Arabicorum centuriae duae ab anonymo quodam Arabe collectae et explicatae; cum interpretatione Latina et scholiis Iosephi Scaligeri I. Caes. F. et Thomae Erpenii (Leiden, 1614); *Pentateuchus Mosis, Arabice* (Leiden, 1622); *Rudimenta linguae Arabicae. Accedunt eiusdem Praxis grammatica; et consilium de studio Arabico feliciter instituendo* (Leiden, 1620), which contains the 64th Sura of the Koran with translation and commentary, and *Historia Iosephi Patriarchae, ex Alcorano, Arabice. Cum triplici versione Latina, et scholiis Thomae Erpenii, cuius et Alphabetum Arabicum praemittitur Iosephus* (Leiden, 1617).

⁵ Junius' copy of the Koran not identified in UBL.

conquirat.⁶ Nec dubito, °quin ubi contulisset exemplar tuum cum caeteris, ac variantes annotasset lectiones, beneficium hoc tuum publice in opere suo sit praedicaturus. Sed fortasse honos iste exiguus non tanti apud te est, ut periclitari exemplar per terras mariaque velis, et credo etiam metues ne sordium aliquid contrahat.

d Quare urgere nolo, tantum dico, optare me quam maxime, ut aliquando his in terris te videam, imprimis quidem propter amorem meum erga te, sed nonnihil etiam quod sperarem °te eum, quem dixi, codicem una allaturum. Nam (nequid dissimulem) ingenti ardeo desiderio lustrandi ac devorandi omnia, quae ad Orientales linguas pertinent. Usque adeo ut pater interdum me sufflaminandum putet. Nam instare iam tempus praedicat, ut prius quidem Philosophiam cum Eloquentia, dehinc Iurisprudentiam cum Theologia coniungam.⁷ Grandia haec dices, et fortasse etiam Thrasonica, equidem non diffiteor me imparem tantis rebus, sed tamen grandes illae spes parentis, et stimuli, quos mihi subdidit paterna avitaeque gloria, et adhortationes, quibus me suscitant viri, et doctrina egregii et dignitate praeclari, non patiuntur me penitus desperare.⁸ Excidam fortasse ausis, sed pulchris ausis.

e Tu interim, *charissime* avuncule, siquid pueriliter iactasse videar, vitio id quaeso ne vortas, sed °cogita raram esse sapientiam ante pilos.⁹ Parentes, fratres, sororesque te magnopere salutant. Tuae dilectae sororis filius, Dionysius Vossius.
Pridie kalendas Septembris, MDCXXVI.

54⁵⁵ [26] 10 23 GEORGE FORTESCUE [-] TO JUNIUS [-]¹

a Iuni doctissime meique amantissime,
Pervenit iam pridem in ocio meo oratorio ad metas usque mihi propositas consuluique oraculum meum, Famianum Stradam, de illo

c quin: \quin/ | d te: \te/ | e cogita: cogita[- s]

⁶ Hendrik Zwaerdecroon (1594–after 1655), former deputy headmaster of the Latin school in Leiden, until his forced resignation owing to his Remonstrant sympathies in 1619. He became headmaster in Noordwijk in 1627 or 1628, and in Rotterdam in 1634. No information on his Oriental studies or intended edition of the Koran found. Cf. *NBW* 5.1182–83.

⁷ Dionysius matriculated at Leiden in 1628, 37c^a.

⁸ Thraso, a braggart soldier in Terence's *Eunuch*. For the image of the braggart soldier in literature, cf. Seigneuret 1.191–98, esp. 192–93.

not doubt that he will publicly praise your kindness in his work when he has collated your copy with the others and noted down the variant readings. But this slight honour may not be worth so much to you that you wish your copy to be put in peril over land and sea, and, I believe, you must also fear it will get somewhat dirty.

d So I do not want to urge you; I just say that I wish as much as possible to see you in this country one day, actually first of all because of my love for you, but also somewhat because I would hope you to bring this codex, which I mentioned, at the same time. For (in order not to conceal anything), I am burning with an ardent desire to examine and devour everything that pertains to the Oriental languages. So much so, that Father believes I must be curbed now and then. For he announces that the time is already drawing near to actually first combine philosophy with rhetoric and law with theology after that. You will say that these are rather grand and perhaps even Thrasonics; for my part, I do not deny being no match for such great subjects, but yet, Father's great expectations, as well as the encouragements which my father's and grandfather's glory have given to me and the adhortations with which gentlemen distinguished in learning and illustrious in dignity encourage me do not allow me to despair completely. Perhaps I will fail in the attempt, but it is a glorious attempt.

e Meanwhile, I pray you, dearest Uncle, not to reckon it a fault if I seem to have boasted childishly, but to remember that wisdom is rare before the beard. My parents, brothers and sisters greet you most warmly.

Your dearest sister's son, Dionysius Vossius.

The day before the Kalends of September, 1626 [31 Aug.].

54 [26] 10 23 GEORGE FORTESCUE [-] TO JUNIUS [-]

a My most learned and dearest Junius,
In my rhetorical exercises I had already long ago reached the goal I had set myself for now and asked my Oracle, Farnian Strada, what he thought of it. I received this answer, and indeed, it is from the

⁹ Cf. Persius, *Saturae* 4.4–5, “scilicet ingenium et rerum prudentia velox ante pilos venit.”

¹ o: UBA, M 85. Written in 1626, a.

quid sentiret; hoc responsum °accepi, et quidem e tripode.² Namque ut solent oracula, ita ille in bivio ita voces suas collocavit, ut quem calculum mereatur opus colligere ex verbis haud liquet, adeo miscuit laudes et vituperationes, easque ingeniosissime confudit.³ Solve, te oro, mi Iuni, gorgonium hunc nodum, et praeterea quid “illustrior, constantior castigatioque” °in iis literis sint, enuncia, namque illa explicata °licet videantur hisce, “obscurus, abruptus, et liber,” haec tamen ipsa explicatione sua indigent; quis namque proprie dicitur stilus liber?⁴ In caeteris oraculum paulo est (ut cum illo loquar) illustrius. Vale.

13 Octobris.

Addictissimus tibi, Georgius a Forti-scuto.

- b** Unam e schedis quas ad Famianum ad te etiam mitto, ut ea perlecta, quid °sibi velit eius de ea sententia facilius colligas.⁵ Et literas et schedam remittas oro, namque exemplaria mihi desunt.

⁵⁴ 55 [26 11–12 00] JUNIUS [-] TO GEORGE FORTESCUE [-]¹

- a** Nobili iuxta atque erudito *Domino* Georgio à Forti-scuto F.F.F. Iunius *salutem plurimam dicit*.
Ut ut verissime quondam in Oedipo suo Seneca, priscorum oraculorum funesta multis gentibus ludibria tangens, dixerit

Ambage nexa Delphico mos est Deo
Arcana tegere²

^{54a} accepi: [- *quod*] accepi | in: [- *sint*] in | licet: [- *et*] licet | **b** sibi . . . sententia: *o* (sibi . . . sententia)

² George Fortescue (1578?–1659), Roman Catholic essayist and poet, who had received his education in Douay and Rome. He corresponded with such Italians as Strada, the scientist Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), and the Papal delegate in London Gregorio Panzani. In the late 1640s he was arrested and banished. He had probably met Junius via the Arundel family, most of whose members were Roman Catholics. Fortescue was probably working on what was to be his principal text, *Feriae academicae* (Douay, 1630), a small collection of Latin essays, dated London, 30/31 02 1/10, and dedicated to Rome University. Famiano Strada (1572–1649), a celebrated Italian rhetorician and professor of rhetoric in Rome, renowned for his elegant Latin. He also wrote a history of the Dutch revolt, *De bello Belgico* . . . (1632–1647). Strada’s letter to Fortescue is dated 26 08 12, so that the present letter must also have been written in 1626. For Junius’ copy of it, cf. **App2**. Pythia, the priestess of Apollo at Delphi, sat on a tripod when making characteristically

tripod. For just as oracles usually do, so he put his words at the crossroads in such a way that it cannot at all be clearly concluded which stone for voting the work deserves from the words, so much he mixes praises and blames and ingeniously jumbles them together. I pray, my Junius, untie this Gorgonian knot and especially explain what “clearer, more constant and more restrained” mean in that letter, for although they seem to be explained by the words “obscure, abrupt and free,” these themselves need an explanation, for what is properly called “a free style”? Otherwise, the oracle is a bit clearer (to speak like him). Farewell.

On 13 October.

Dedicately Yours, George Fortescue.

- b** I am also sending you one of the sheets which I sent to Famian, so that, having read it through, you can more easily conclude what his judgement of it means by itself; I pray you to return both letter and sheet, for I have no copies.

55 [26 11–12 00] JUNIUS [-] TO GEORGE FORTESCUE [-]

- a** F.F.F. Junius gives warmest regards to the noble and learned Mr. George Fortescue.

Although Seneca once most rightly said in his *Oedipus*, touching on the old oracles’ jests fatal to many peoples,

It is the custom of the god of Delphi to cover secrets
In obscure ambiguity

ambiguous prophesies. Cf. *DNB* 20.41–42, Fortescue (1880, 2.436–41), *NBG* 44.541–42, *OCD* (1996:445–46).

³ “in bivio,” **8a**; Erasmus, *Adage* 453, **52b**.

⁴ “Gorgonium” presumably for “Gordionum,” for Gorgo is the demonic Medusa, who had curling snakes instead of hair, but was not associated with knots, while Gordios, the mythical founder of Phrygia, is said to have made an inextricable knot, which could be released only by, and thus indicate the identity of, the prospective ruler of Asia. Alexander the Great cut it with his sword. The quotations are from Strada’s letter, **App2**. The terms might be used to indicate various *genera dicendi* in rhetoric. For Junius’ explanation of the terms, cf. **55b**. Cf. *DNP* 4.1146, 1149, 1154–55, Lausberg, s.vv., Jansen (1995, s.vv.).

⁵ The sheets were probably Fortescue’s manuscript *Feriae academicae*, **a**.

¹ *ca*: UBA, M 69b, on the same sheet as Junius’ copy of Strada’s letter, **54a**.

² Seneca the Younger, *Oedipus* 214–15, “Ambage flexa Delphico mos est deo/ Arcana tegere.”

non ausim tamen quemquam Apollineorum vatum (inter quos Famianus tuus antistitis locum sibi vindicat) insimulare praevaricationis usque adeo pudendae.³ Utor nunc hac voce ea notione, qua apud Plinium iuniorem libri 1, *epistola* 20 habes, “Praevaricatio est transire dicenda.”⁴ Non hoc eo dico, quod ignorem passim occurrere homines fidei parum seriae, qui super aliqua re consulti responsa sua per varias ambages indeprehensibilem spargentes errorem confundant turbentque; etenim ipse quandoque expertus sum nusquam deesse, quorum tota fallendi ratio in eo est, ut non exhibeant consulentibus quod deprecant, sed spissa caligine et perplexissimarum sententiarum varietate suspensos sic dimittant, ut quidquid casus attulerit putent esse praedictum.⁵

b Longe aliter, mea quidem sententia, *clarus* Famianus nihil ita locutus est, ut illud amicissimi capitis interpretatio | traheret dirigeretque quo mallet, quorsum enim auribus tuis quidquam daturus iudicium suum “amice et patienter accipi” postulasset?⁶ Sed videtur mihi recta via in rem ipsam descendisse. Quandoquidem manifesta ubique antithesis, obscuro opponitur illustrior stilus; abrupto, constantior; libero, castigatior. At quis proprie stilus liber?⁷ Liberum stilum, nisi me prorsus ratio fallit, dixit stilum plus quam par est audacem, et auctoritate classicorum scriptorum non ubique subnixum suffultumque.⁸ Ut sic sentiam facit primo proprietates vocis “castigatior,” constat enim stilum castigatum, quem Famianus opponit libero, eum tantum dici, qui limatus, tersus, ornatus, et ad ingeniosae atque incorruptae antiquitatis exemplum compositus est.⁹ Video deinde ipsum Famianum potissimum ea penitus adhuc excutienda tibi proponere, quae auribus perpurgatis forte non satis Latine dicta videri possint;¹⁰ hinc est quod ambigit, an satis tutum sit dicere “concatenata” et “a longe,”

³ Fortescue had called Famiano Strada his oracle, and the latter’s judgement on his writing as ambiguous as a prophesy from Apollo’s priestess, **54a**, **App2**. At the Delphi oracle, prophets interpreted Pythia’s prophesies and performed rituals together with priests, cf. *OCD* (1994:445–46).

⁴ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 1.20.2.2, “praevaricatio est transire dicenda.”

⁵ Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 4.15.3–9, “homo, qui de partu consulabatur, non confudit turbavitque responsum, nec per varias ambages indeprehensibilem sparsit errorem; nihil ita locutus est, ut illud audientium interpretatio traheret dirigeretque, quo mallet. atquin in eo tota ratio fallendi est, non dare consulentibus quod deprecant, sed caligine magnaue promissorum vanitate suspensos sic dimittere, ut, quicquid casus attulerit, putent esse praedictum.”

⁶ The quotation is from Strada’s letter, **App2**.

still, I would not dare accuse any of Appollo's seers (among whom your Famian assumes the place of high-priest for himself) of such a shameful transgression. I am using this word now in the sense in which you find it in Pliny the Younger, book 1, letter 20, "It is a transgression to pass over matters that must be said." I do not say this, because I would not know that everywhere exist people of too little serious trustworthiness, who mingle and confuse their answers when consulted about something by scattering undiscoverable deception through varied ambiguities; after all, I myself have once experienced that nowhere are lacking people whose whole method of deceiving is in the fact that they do not reveal to those consulting them what they ask, but send them away so undecided in a thick fog and in a variety of the obscurest of meanings, so that whatever an event will bring about they believe it to have been predicted.

b Quite differently, according to my opinion, the renowned Famian said nothing in such a way that the explanation of the dearly beloved gentleman drew and directed it where he wished; for to what purpose would he have demanded that whatever he will give as his judgement be "received amicably and patiently" by your ears? But he seems to me to have directly penetrated to the very point, because there is a manifest antithesis everywhere; to an obscure style a clearer one is opposed; to an abrupt one, a more constant one; to a free one, a more restrained one. But what is properly called a free style? Unless my reasoning completely fails me, he said that a free style is a style which is more daring than is fitting and not everywhere depending on and supported by the authority of classical authors. The reason that I think so is firstly induced by the meaning of the word "more restrained." For it is certain that a restrained style, which Famian opposes to a free style, is called only that style which is polished, pure, adorned and composed in accordance with the example of ingenious and undefiled antiquity. Furthermore, I see that Famian himself proposes you above all still more deeply to examine these phrases which could perhaps appear to be said not well enough in Latin to very keen ears; because of this it is that he

⁷ Fortescue asked this in 54a.

⁸ Cf. Lausberg 1.538.

⁹ For this rhetorical terminology, cf. Lausberg, s.vv., Jansen (1995, s.vv.).

¹⁰ Plautus, *Miles gloriosus* 774, "Perpurigatis . . . auribus."

etc.¹¹ Obversatur denique animo meo stomachus Italarum politiore litteratura praedictorum et nasus Transalpinorum quorundam Celtarum; aegre concoquunt ac prorsus aversantur quidquid ex limpidis probatissimorum auctorum fontibus haustum esse non arbitrantur.¹²

- c Pluribus tecum egissem, si per tempus et molestissimam, quae mihi incumbit, provinciam licuisset.¹³ Nunc totam paginae huius seriem necessario stringo compendio, quamquam neque dubium mihi potest esse, quin satis superque copiosum iudicabis, si pro temporis angustia et negotiorum mole abunde sedulum me fuisse cogitabis. Tuus omni officio.

56 [27 01 00] JUNIUS [–] TO WILLIAM PETTY [–]¹

A Virtutum splendore et bonarum litterarum elegantia ornatissimo Guilielmo Petty.²

- a *Salutem plurimam.* Quod sero ad te scribo, amicitiae tenacis indicium est, cuius memoria repetitis ex intervallo probatur officiis. Ipse quoque tuum silentium non aliter accipio. Etiamnum itaque huic meo silentio indulsissem, securus interim de mutuae fidei integritate, si vehementissimum exuberantis gaudii impetum intra me tacitum continere potuissem.³

¹¹ Fortescue must have used these phrases in his Latin, **App2**.

¹² Of the two principal styles of Latin humanist writing, the one encompassed careful imitation of the language of distinguished classical writers such as Cicero, Quintilian, Ovid, Horace and Vergil, and the other the development of one's own language on the basis of classical examples. Both at Vossius' Latin School and Leiden University, Junius must have been made more accustomed to using the latter type of style, whereas the former was generally preferred by Italian and French humanists. Cf. IJsewijn and Sacré (1998:377–81), Jensen (1996:74–76), Jansen (1995:266–71).

¹³ No particularly troublesome task Junius had to fulfil at the time has been identified.

¹ *ca.*: UBA, M 67b, on the same sheet as letter 49. Possibly written in January 1627, **a**. Without adducing reasons, Nativel (1996:49) suggests it may have been written in 1626.

² The Rev. William Petty, chaplain of the earl of Arundel, and his most successful collector of antiquities and art. In 1624, he was sent to the Mediterranean and the Levant in particular to collect treasures. On his travels he collected statues, among which the Arundel marbles, **b**, inscriptions and manuscripts, assisted by Sir Thomas Roe (c.1581–1644), English ambassador in Constantinople. The marbles arrived in London in 1627, and have become known as the "Arundel

doubts whether it is safe enough to say “*concatenata*” and “*a longe*,” etc. Finally, the stomach of Italians provided with quite a refined style and some Frenchmen’s noses comes to mind; they digest with difficulty and wholly reject whatever they do not consider to have been derived from the clear sources of the best approved authors.

- c I would have spoken more to you about this, if time and the most troublesome task which is burdening me had allowed me to; now I have necessarily touched on the whole sequence of this page in only a few words, although I cannot have any doubt that you will judge it sufficient and more than enough, if you believe me to have been quite industrious, given the shortness of time and the bulk of occupations. Obligingly Yours.

56 [27 01 00] JUNIUS [–] TO WILLIAM PETTY [–]

A To William Petty, deeply respected for the splendour of his virtues and the elegance of his scholarship.

- a Warmest regards. My writing you rather late is an indication of persistent friendship, the memory of which is demonstrated by repeated obligations after breaks. I myself interpret your silence no otherwise either. So I would have been indulgent to my silence even now, feeling meanwhile certain about the soundness of reciprocal faithfulness, if I had been able to keep a most vehement impulse of exuberant happiness silent to myself.

Marbles,” b. For a brief impression of Petty’s adventures in the search for antiquities in the Mediterranean, cf. 63c. Petty was with Vossius in Leiden in June 1629, in London again by November, with Junius and Vossius in Holland in December and January 1629–30, and at least intended to move on to Sorø, to be back in London again by March, 63b, 66a, 67c. In 1633 he travelled to Italy and Greece again. He was a friend of Junius, although they seem not to have corresponded with each other. Indeed, their friendship demonstrates the need to relativize the importance of correspondence for the unravelling of social or scholarly networks, cf. Introduction. Cf. Hervey (1921:265–80, 336–39), *Literature* 1.xxxvii, Nativel (1996:47–49), Howarth—treated with care, for he proves unreliable at times (1985:89–92; 127–48).

³ Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 30.17.5.1–2, “tacitum continere gaudium non poterant.” The present letter was probably written soon after the arrival of the “Arundel Marbles” at Arundel House on Epiphany, 6/16 January, yet before Petty himself had returned there, b, c. However, if Petty did return to Arundel House at the very same time as the marbles, the present letter must have been written on the occasion of an earlier arrival of antiquities collected by him, and in that case, Nativel’s tentative suggestion of the year 1626 (1996:49n) would be more appropriate; but cf. b. Cf. Hervey (1921:280n).

- b** Etenim ut saepe alias oculis, ita nunc quam maxime animo totus in dignissimos fructus peregrinationis tuae conversus.⁴ Gratulor huic nostro saeculo, gratulor Britanniae, gratulor denique nobilissimae familiae Arundellianae, quod sine respectu tui quaevis pericula per terras et maria adire atque omnia loca explorare, perscrutari non dubitaveris, ut erudita stupendaque venerandae antiquitatis monumenta ex Orci faucibus erepta saeculum, patriam, et illustrissimam domum exornarent.⁵ Tam crebri certe viri eruditi et artifices nobiliores undique ad hanc domum spectandi studio confluunt, tanta omnium gratulatio, ut tanti beneficii ministro pariter atque auctori non falso aeternitatem famae paratam °augurer.⁶
- c** Tu modo propositum studioso animo inchoatum, obi maximo.⁷ Erit quod coelo imputemus, si summi Numinis indulgentia tandem aliquando te nobis, post navatam praeclare operam, reducem sistat. ἔξεχε ὦ φιλ' ἥλιε.⁸
Tuus omni officio.

57₅₈ 27 08 13 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS [-]¹

A Francisco Iunio Fr.F.

- a** *Salutem plurimam.* Optime et doctissime affinis, nihil magis me urit, quam quod rarae mihi adeo a te literae, imo pene nullae.² Plurimum rogo, ut culpam hanc corrigas. Nihil enim mihi gratius epistolis esse poterit. Nec quaeso te tuere cessatione mea. Scis tantas esse occupationes meas, ut iis ne par quidem esse possim.

b augurer: [- *arbitror*] augurer

⁴ Junius presumably refers to the famous “Arundel marbles,” an impressive collection of Greek and Roman antiquities comprising thirty-seven statues, 128 busts, 250 inscriptions in marble, sarcophagi, altars and fragments, which arrived in London in January and had been collected by Petty. The inscriptions in the Arundel marbles explain why Junius not only feasted his eyes on them, but also his mind. Cf. Michaelis (1882:540–72, 580–92), Ellenius (1960:44), Haynes (1975), *Literature* 1.xxxvii–viii, Nativel (1996:49).

⁵ The phrase “orci faucibus” was current in antiquity, **102a**.

⁶ The Arundel marbles attracted excited attention of scholars, for instance of Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631), who summoned John Selden, **58b**, to go and see them right on their arrival. The Arundel collection was open to the public, which is why people making a tour of England were eager to be introduced to Junius, **73a***, **74a**, **113a**, **134b**, **139a**, **[000]**. Cf. Nativel (1996:49), *Literature* 1.xxxxiin20.

- b** For just as I was otherwise often directed to the most dignified fruits of your travel with my eyes, so I am now absolutely and wholly directed to them with my mind. I congratulate our times; I congratulate England; I finally congratulate the most noble Arundel family that you did not hesitate to undergo whatever hazards on land and at sea without consideration for yourself and to explore and investigate all places, so that learned and amazing documents of venerable antiquity, seized from the jaws of the Underworld, adorn our times, the fatherland and the most illustrious house. Surely, so many learned men and noble artists are flocking to this house from everywhere with a desire to examine them, so great is everybody's rejoicing, that I predict the immortality of fame to be validly prepared for the servant as well as for the instigator of such a great kindness.
- c** You, just fully accomplish the uncompleted design you began with diligent intention. There will be reason for us to credit it to heaven, if the bounty of the highest Divine Power has now at last set you on your return to us, after you have brilliantly done your duty. *Shine out, fair sun.*
Obligingly Yours.

57 27 08 13 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS [-]

A To Francis Junius F.F.

- a** Warmest regards. Best and most learned Brother, nothing is vexing me more than that your letters to me are quite rare, or rather, that there are almost none. I earnestly ask you to correct this flaw. For nothing can be more welcome to me than a letter. And do not defend yourself by my own delaying, I beg you. You know that my occupations are of such a size that I am even unable to cope with them.

⁷ Evidently, Petty had almost, but not yet returned.

⁸ Aristophanes, *Fragmenta* 389, 28c.

¹ c: BLO, Rawl. 84b, f. 58.

² Junius' apology in 58a reveals that he had not sent letters for quite some time.

- b** Mitto ad te exemplar operis novi de historicis Latinis.³ Prioris enim, quod de Graecis erat, iamdiu te exemplar nactum censeo.⁴ Bene de me mereberis, si perscribas, quae viri docti in hisce commentariis desiderent.⁵ Scis enim me hominem qui discendo scribam, et scribendo discam.
- c** Misi et exemplaria ad alios multos. Primum ad serenissimum Britanniae Regem. Alterum ad illustrissimum Buckinghamiae Ducem, cui et opus nostrum dicavi.⁶ Utrumque hoc opus holoserico schemate procedit. Tertium est ad Comitem Pembrochianum.⁷ Quartum ad Episcopum Cantuariensem.⁸ Insuper alia 4 ad Episcopos quatuor, Lincolnensem, Dunelmensem, Cicestrensem, et Bathoniensem, qui et Wellensis.⁹ Adhaec ad Baronem Broock, et *Dominum* Boswellum, qui ei a secretis.¹⁰ Insuper ad Vicecancellarium, et Senatum universum academiae Cantabrigiensis. Aliud ad Sam. Wardum, Theologum Cantabrigiensem.¹¹ Item ad Iodocum Rous, bibliothecarium Oxoniensem, ad Hieronymum Belum, aulae Pembrochianae praefectum, ac denique ad Matthaeum et Christophorum Wrennos.¹² Literas

³ Vossius, *De historicis Latinis libri tres* (Leiden, 1627), a work discussing more than 1600 historians, including humanists, who had written in Latin, cf. Rademaker (1981:186), **47e**.

⁴ Vossius, *De historicis Graecis* (1623), **47e**. No letters relating to the sending and receipt of the book, presumably in the autumn of 1623, have been retrieved, **59h**.

⁵ Although it was a massive work, Vossius felt it was still incomplete and asked several people for additions, cf. Rademaker (1981:186).

⁶ George Villiers, first duke of Buckingham (1592–1628), as King Charles' champion one of the most powerful political figures in England, and chancellor of Cambridge University. Like the king, he had built an excellent art collection, with which he tried to emulate the earl of Arundel. Buckingham intended to grant Vossius £300 for the dedication, which is dated 31 May 1627, but was murdered before having had a chance to do so. Cf. *DNB* 20.327–37, Rademaker (1981:228–29).

⁷ William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke (1580–1630), Lord Steward, member of the Council of War and Committee of Foreign Affairs and chancellor of Oxford University. A poet himself, he was a patron of such men of letters as the poet and playwright Ben Jonson (1573?–1637) and the architect Inigo Jones (1573–1652), and the dedicatee, together with his brother, of the first folio of Shakespeare's works (1623). He was Countess Aletheia's brother-in-law and a nephew of Sir Philip Sidney, who had probably met Junius the Elder, **68c**, **71c**. Vossius went to see Pembroke on his journey to England in 1629, **66a**. Cf. *DNB* 26.226–31.

⁸ Vossius went to see Archbishop Abbot on his journey to England in 1629, **66a**.

⁹ John Williams (1582–1650), bishop of Lincoln from 1621, **39b***, future archbishop of York (1641). Buckingham's adviser and William Laud's rival, he was to chair the committee for innovations in religion in 1640. Richard Neile (1562–1640), bishop of Durham and privy councillor since April. He was to be bishop of Winchester from December 1627, and became archbishop of York in 1631. He was a patron of John Cosin and William Laud. George Carleton (1559–1628), bishop of Chichester, one of the English representatives at the Synod of Dordrecht, where Vossius had

- b** I am sending you a copy of my new work on Latin historians, for I think you received long before a copy of the previous one, which was on the Greek historians. You will oblige me, if you tell what learned men find wanting in these commentaries. For you know me to be a man who writes by learning and learns by writing.
- c** I have also sent copies to many others. The first to the serene king of Britain; the second to the most illustrious duke of Buckingham, to whom I have also dedicated my book. Both copies appear in a cover all of silk. The third is for the earl of Pembroke; the fourth for the bishop of Canterbury. Furthermore, four other copies for four bishops, Lincoln, Durham, Chichester and Bath, who is also bishop of Wells; in addition, for Baron Brooke and Mr. Boswell, who is his secretary; furthermore, for the vice-chancellor and the whole senate of Cambridge University. Another one for Samuel Ward, the Cambridge theologian. Also for John Rous, the Oxford librarian, for Jerome Beale, master of Pembroke Hall, and finally,

met him. He was a kinsman of Sir Dudley Carleton. William Laud was bishop of Bath and Wells from 1626 until 1628. Cf. *DNB* 9.90–91, 40.171–73, 61.414–20, Rademaker (1981:127), van 't Spijker *et al.* (1987:62)

¹⁰ Fulke Greville, first baron Brooke (1554–1628), statesman and courtier poet. He had created a lectureship in history and political science at Cambridge, to which Vossius had been invited in 1624, **59a**. An intimate friend of Sir Philip, he had edited his “Arcadia” in 1590, **68c**, and was a distinguished poet himself. Together they had been in Heidelberg in 1577, when they had probably met Junius the Elder, **68c**. Sir William Boswell (d. 1649), diplomatist. From 1620, he had been secretary to Lord Herbert of Cherbury, the English ambassador in Paris, whom Junius had met there, **220g**, and he was at present secretary to Sir Dudley Carleton. In 1632, he succeeded Carleton as the English resident at The Hague. Boswell was a scholar interested in subjects ranging from Oriental languages to Anglo-Saxon. No indications that he was officially baron Brooke’s secretary were found. Together with Carleton, he had acted as intermediary between Brooke and Vossius concerning the Cambridge lectureship. Cf. *DNB* 2.902, 23.159–163, Rees (1971:45–77), Rademaker (1981:226–27), Rademaker (1981:226–27), Schutte (1983, no. 79), Bekkers (1970:xviii–xxii).

¹¹ Samuel Ward (d. 1643), master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and professor of Divinity. He was one of the translators of the Authorised Version of the Bible (1611), mainly the Apocrypha. He had been a representative of the Church of England at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618–19, where Vossius had met him. Cf. *DNB* 59.335–36, Rademaker (1981:127).

¹² John Rous (1574–1652), librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Vossius’ gift elicited an exchange of letters. Jerome Beale (d. 1630), master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, cf. *ALC* 1.116, *ICVossius* (1993, s.v). Christopher Wren, and Matthew Wren (1585–1667), master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, from 1625 until January 1635, and chaplain of King Charles. As a protégé of Lancelot Andrewes and later William Laud, Matthew Wren held several positions in the church and at court; in 1628

ad singulos addidi, praeterquam quatuor eos primo nominatos, quibus serenissimae maiestatis legatus *Dominus* Carletonus procurabit exemplaria.¹³

d Coniugis valetudo dubia est. Sed quod pene insolens est, iam annus et ultra est, quod non ultra diem lectulo affixa fuit. Quo nomine Deo gratias ago, qui spero paulatim eam pristinae restituet valetudini. *Lugduno Batavorum*, MDCXXVII, *eidibus sextilis*; raptim. Tuus totus, G.Io. Vossius.

e Dubletius te plurimum salutatur, qui scribenti aderat. Idem facit universa familia nostra.

⁵⁷ **58** 28 04 29 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

a °*Salutem plurimam*.

Optime ac doctissime affinis, facis ut te dignum est, quod litteras meas frequentiores efflagitas, nec tamen de tam pertinaci silentio grave quidpiam suspicaris.² Non metuo itaque ne me patientiae tuae illudere putes, si continui huius silentii culpam tibi quoque purgare parem. Non confugio ad solenne isthoc genus defensionis, “Diu abfui et multos subinde menses in secessu ruris exigens fidis tabellariis destitutus,” etc. Haec si vera essent, tamen assiduitate nimia detrita in invidiam mendacii iam olim inciderunt. Mitto igitur decantatos

a *Salutem plurimam*: *p* Spectatissimo viro *Domino* Gerardo Ioanni Vossio, affini coniunctissimo, *Salutem plurimam*

he was made dean of Windsor, in 1633 clerk of the closet, in 1634 governor of the charterhouse and bishop of Hereford, in 1635 bishop of Norwich, in 1636 dean of the Chapel Royal, and in 1638 bishop of Ely. Vossius must have known the brothers through Junius, who had befriended them via their patron Lancelot Andrewes. Matthew Wren explained to Vossius that he thanked him for the book only in March 1628, because “interea dum ad Doctorem Bealem . . . ad D. Iunium, adque fratrem meum . . . transmittendi quaeruntur opportunitates, aliquot menses praeterfluxere” [meanwhile, several months have passed while opportunities to send them to Dr. Beale, to Mr. Junius and to my brother were sought], 28 03 31 (not 27 03 21, which *ICVossius* (1993:91) suggests, because the copies had not yet been sent then, and Wren dated in English style), Colomesius 2.88. The present letter might accordingly also have been sent to Junius via Wren. Cf. 71, *DNB* 49.322, 68.94, *ICVossius* (1993, s.v.), Rogers (1991).

¹³ Sir Dudley Carleton (1573–1632), future viscount Dorchester (1628), English ambassador in The Hague from 1616 to 1625, and envoy there from 1626 to 1628. As a spokesman of King James, he had denounced the Dutch Remonstrants in a

for Matthew and Christopher Wren. I added a letter to each of them, except for the four mentioned first, for whom the ambassador of his serene majesty, Mr. Carleton, will take care of the copies.

- d** My wife's health is feeble. But what is almost unusual: already for a year or more she has not been confined to bed for longer than a day. For this I give thanks to God, who, I hope, will gradually restore her to her former health.

Leiden, 1627, on the Ides of August [13 Aug.]. In haste.

Yours Truly, G.Jo. Vossius.

- e** Doublet, who was with me when writing, gives you his warmest regards. So does our whole family.

58 28 04 29 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]

- a** Warmest regards. Best and most learned Brother, you are doing as is proper for you, because you demand more frequent letters of me, but still do not suspect anything serious from such a long-lasting silence. So I do not fear that you think I am mocking your patience, if I decide to excuse the fault of this continuous silence also with you. I do not take recourse to this usual type of defense, "I was away for a long time and continually passing many months in a country retreat without reliable couriers," etc. If this had been true, it had fallen into the ill-will of a lie by too much worn-out repetition already long ago. So I dismiss the often repeated pretexts of lazy minds and come up with the nocturnal exertion which I owe to the duty assigned to me, against your contriving an accusation. Those who are here know how it has hardly been granted to me to get my breath back during these six successive years, so much

speech in 1618, thus offending Grotius, yet arousing Johan Casimir Junius' support, who defended him in a pamphlet, titled *Wederlegginge van de weegschaal* . . . ([Leiden?], 1618), **32i**. Together with Boswell, he had acted as intermediary between baron Brooke and Vossius concerning the Cambridge lectureship, and was to concern himself with Vossius' Canterbury canonry in 1629, **66a**. For Vossius' letters to these men, all dated 27 08 07, and their answers to Vossius, cf. *ICVossius* (1993, s.vv). Cf. *Literature* 1.xcxcn, *DNB* 3.996–99, Rademaker (1981:226–27).

¹ *o*: BL, Hl. 7012, f. 32. *p1*: Colomesius 2.94. *p2*: *Epp. Vossius* 121; not collated. Vossius' exceptionally late address of matters brought up in **b** suggests that he may not have received the present letter, **63d**.

² Cf. **57a**.

desidiosarum mentium obtentus, et accusationem paranti obiicio vigilem operam quam provinciae mihi impositae debeo. Sciunt qui hic sunt, quam continuo hoc sexennio vix respirare mihi detur, ita veteribus negotiis nova quotidie ad crescunt, ac prioribus vixdum peractis, maius indies occupationum agmen occultis nexibus extenditur.³ “At omne negotium,” inquires, “alternis otii vicibus distinguitur.” Verissime id quidem, sed illae ipsae feriae quas nobilissimo adolescentulo honorantissimorum parentum indulgentia facit, tanquam iniecta manu me ab otii portu retrahunt.⁴ Neque enim patiuntur illum parentes optimi venationibus et aucupiis animum laxare ac reficere corpus, ut non me perpetuum comitem prodituro addant.⁵ Non haec eo dixi, ut quasi cum venia deinceps negligam desiderium affinis coniunctissimi, cum quo mihi maximum vinculum sanctoris alicuius necessitudinis esse gaudeo; sed ut missa praeteritorum querela, crebriores posthac litteras exspectes.⁶ Enitar enim posthac ut assiduitate officii litterarii cogitationes tuas quomodocunque vincam.⁷

b En tibi hic marmorum Arundellianorum specimen a *Domino* Seldeno editum.⁸ Fertur nescio quis Iesuita Gallus edidisse opusculum *De Plastica, statuaria, et pictura veterum*, quod ad me transmitti velim, si forte in manus tuas incidet, nam ad nos hic rari e Gallia libri nunc deferuntur.⁹ Non exhiberem occupatissimo tibi hanc molestiam, nisi iam pridem, ut ardentissimo Arundelliae Comitis desiderio satisfacerem,

³ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 2.8.3.1–3, “veteribus negotiis nova accrescunt, nec tamen ac priora peraguntur: tot nexibus, tot quasi catenis maius in dies occupationum agmen extenditur.”

⁴ Cicero, *Epistolae ad Atticum* 4.6.2.5–6, “in otii portum;” idem, *Pro Sestio* 100.1. William Howard; his parents, the earl and countess of Arundel.

⁵ For an impression of Junius’ duties as a tutor, cf. 42e.

⁶ Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares* 13.17.1.6–7, “maximum autem mihi vinculum cum eo est quasi sanctoris cuiusdam necessitudinis.”

⁷ Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares* 3.10.1.19–20, “omnia volo a me et postules et <ex>pectes. Vincam meis officiis cogitationes tuas.”

⁸ John Selden, *Marmora Arundelliana, sive saxa Graecae incisa . . . Accedunt inscriptiones aliquot veteris Latii . . .* (London, 1628), comprising transcriptions of the inscriptions in the Arundel Marbles he had made with the aid of Patrick Young (1584–1652), **70b**, and Richard James (1592–1638), librarian of the Cottonian library, **56b**. John Selden (1584–1654), lawyer and steward to the earl of Kent, noted for his exceptionally wide learning and intellect, pursued various studies besides his public duties as parliamentarian. His *De diis Syris* (London, 1617), which Vossius used for his work on idolatry *De theologia gentili* (1641), **118i**, testifies to his scholarship in Oriental studies. His frequent use of the Cottonian library is evidenced in his edition of the medieval chronicle *Spicilegium in Eadmer* (1623), and his controversial *History of Titus*

new affairs have daily been added to old ones, and when the earlier ones had hardly been accomplished, a larger bulk of occupations has been extended by intricate entwinings from day to day. "But every duty," you say, "is separated by alternate moments of leisure." This is most true indeed, but these holidays, which the complaisance of the most honourable parents grants to the most noble little young man, draw me back from the haven of leisure, as if by a hand laid on me. For the best parents do not have him relax his mind and refresh his body by hunting and fowling without adding me as a continuous companion when he goes out. I do not say this so that in the future I can neglect the desire of a dearest brother with whom I am glad to have the strongest tie of an almost sacred bond, as if with permission, but so that you can expect letters more frequently from now on, after the complaints of the past have been passed over; for from now on I will try to surpass your expectations with a humble unbroken correspondence.

- b** Here is for you a copy of the *Arundel Marbles* published by Mr. Selden. It is said that some French Jesuit has published a little work *On the Art of Plastics, Statuary and Painting of the Ancients*, which I would wish you to send me, if it comes to your hands, for books are rarely brought to us here from France now. I would not cause this trouble to you, because you are most busy, if I had not long ago begun to devote some spare hours to compiling a catalogue of this kind of artists in order to fulfil the earl of Arundel's most ardent wish. And

(1618), which disputed the divine right of tithes for the clergy on historical and legal grounds, and hence was officially suppressed, **189c**. Furthermore, he wrote *Mare clausum* (1635) in response to Grotius' *Mare liberum* (1609), **117c**, and a historical treatise on the medieval legal text *Fleta* (1647). A member of Arundel's circle, he was granted an annuity by the earl in 1634. He was legal advisor to Countess' Aletheia's sister the countess of Kent, with whom he lived together after the earl of Kent's death in 1639, **178a**. Selden was a friend of Junius, and their being able to see each other frequently enough probably explains the rareness of their exchanged letters. Their friendship shows that correspondence does not tell all about the extent of contacts in social or scholarly networks, cf. Introduction. Cf. *DNB* 29.218, 51.212–24, Hervey (1921, s.v.), Parry (1995:95–129).

⁹ Julius Caesar Bulengerus, *De Pictura, plastice, statuaria libri duo* (Lyons, 1627), which explains classical art terminology, and provides French translations, on the basis of excerpts from classical texts on painting, **63d**. Junius' copy not identified in UBL. Since the previous year, England and France had been at war, and remained so until April 1629. Cf. Nativel (1996:92–93n), Smith (1997:231).

horas aliquot subcisivas impendere coepissem Catalogo artificum huius generis.¹⁰ Sed unde quaeso *Divum* Lucam pictorem fuisse liquet?¹¹ Aut unde ortum quod pictores hoc patrono glorientur?¹² Imparties, scio, quidquid hac de re certo statui posse cognoscas.¹³

- c Apochas redituum annuorum intra paucissimas hebdomadas ad mei amantissimam sororem, coniungem tuam, perferri curabo. Vale, et omnibus tuis plurimam meis verbis salutem dices. Ego, quantum in me erit, curabo ut valeam, ac Deum *optimum maximum* longum vitae spatium precabor, non ob aliud magis, quam ut me tandem aliquando tibi tuisque gratum exhibeam.

Raptim; Londinii, in aedibus Arundellianis, 1628, Aprilis 19 *stilo vetere*.

Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

59₆₁ 28 09 22 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

- a *Salutem plurimam.* Cum Cantabrigiam ante annos paucos vocarer, si Taurosthenis columbam habuissem, omnino consuluissem, quid facto *usus foret.*² Nunc ob loci intervallum, et quia certo satis procurare literas non possem, coactus sum absque te omnia agere *meo unius arbitrio.* Venissem facilius, si et uxori valetudo melior fuisset, et Anglicae linguae intelligens forem, et ad mores externos mihi visus essem habilis magis ac paratus. Scis enim *mihi in omni vita placuisse hactenus mores Batavos, planeque simplices, utpote homini scholastico et musaei umbrae adueto convenientiores.*

a usus: *ca, p* opus | meo: *me[i > o]* | mihi: *c, p* –

¹⁰ This is the first attested mention of Junius' studies of classical art. The catalogue was to become Junius' *magnum opus* on classical art, posthumously published as *Catalogus . . . architectorum, mechanicorum, sed praecipue pictorum, statuariorum, caelatorum, tomatorum, aliorumque artificum, et operum quae fecerunt, secundum seriem litterarum digestus* (Rotterdam: R. Leers, 1694), edited by Johann Georg Graevius, 224a, an extensive encyclopaedia of classical art and artists "with entries in alphabetical order, a lexicon of artists, mechanics, engineers and architects, lovers and patrons of the arts, and, on occasion, works of art whose authors remained anonymous, and of certain types of artistic manufacture . . . The artists' lives . . . are represented in chronological order and the rest of the information available is . . . arranged according to topics," as *Literature* 1.xlix describes it. Significantly, the book kept the title Junius had given to it in this letter. For an introduction to and English translation of the complete *Catalogus artificum*, cf. *Literature* 2; for a discussion of the genesis of the book and of this section, cf. Nativel (1996:87–90); for Joannes Vossius' description of the project, cf. 63d^a.

I ask, from where is it clear that St. Luke was a painter? Or what is the origin of painters priding themselves with this patron? I know, you will communicate everything you accept can be determined for certain about this.

- c I will have the receipts of the annuity brought to my dearly beloved sister, your wife, within very few weeks. Farewell, and you must give warmest regards to all your family on my behalf. I will take care as much as I can to be doing fine and pray Allgood and Almighty God for a long length of life for no other reason than to finally show myself grateful to you and your family one day.

In haste. London, at Arundel House, in the year 1628, 19 April old style [29 Apr.].

Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

59 28 09 22 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

- a Warmest regards. When I was invited to Cambridge some years ago, I would absolutely have consulted the dove of Taurosthenes about what had to be done—if I had had one. Now, because of the distance and because I could not forward a letter safely enough, I am forced to do everything after my own opinion without you. I would have come more easily, if both my wife's health had been better, and I had understood the English language and had appeared more ready and prepared for foreign customs. For you know that Dutch and altogether plain manners, in that they are more suited to a schoolman accustomed to the darkness of his study, have pleased me up to now during all my life.

¹¹ In *Catalogus artificum* (1694, s.v. "Lucas, pictor"), Junius quoted from Nicephorus, *Historiae ecclesiasticae* 2.34, "Luke [the Apostle] was . . . extremely talented at painting . . . They say that by means of his painting talent he was first to give the world a likeness of Christ, and of her who marvellously bore Him, and of the chief of the apostles, and that his work, so pious and venerable, was thence propagated all over the inhabited earth," quoted after *Literature* 2.225–26. Cf. *Literature* 1.li.

¹² Junius did not discuss this in *Catalogus artificum*.

¹³ Cf. 63d.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 99d; no address, but cf. *c. c*: BLO, Rawl. 84b, f. 99–100; heading in Vossius' hand, "Francisco Iunio F.F. Londinium." *p1*: Colomesius 1.93, after *c*, including heading. *p2*: *Epp. Vossius* 130; not collated.

² Vossius had been invited to a lectureship in history and political science, created by baron Brooke, at Cambridge in 1624, 57c. Aelian, *Varia historia* 9.2, observes that in 444 B.C. Taurosthenes made his victory known to his father on the same day by means of a message sent with a pigeon. Cf. Rademaker (1981:226–27), Wilson (1997:280–83).

- b** Sed quia venire ipse non potui, filium nunc Cantabrigiam mitto, ut in Collegio aliquo, ex *Domino* Episcopi Londinensis sententia, studiis operam navet, virtuteque sua et eiusce reverendissimi Domini, aliorumque amicorum favore, fortunam aliquam sibi paret, vel si canina aliqua scaeva °spes hasce intercipiat, saltem postquam, quantum profecerit non poenitebit, tum pietate tum °doctrina, ad suos redeat instructor.³
- c** Atque eo fidentius mitto, quia tu, carissime adfinis, in Anglia vivas, cuius sapientissimo consilio, vel praesenti auxilio, si ita res ferat, iuvari adolescens possit. Scio enim te tam omnia nostri caussa velle, quam parati nos sumus ad praestandum tibi debita officia arcissimae coniunctionis nostrae. Quare etsi reverendissimus Episcopus se patrem ei fore promiserit, etsi Doctor Stewartus, Ecclesiastes Regius, vir mei amantissimus (quo hic familiariter usus sum, dum menses aliquot cum Legato Carletono in Batavia agit), °magno me amore complectatur, etsi etiam aliquid fiduciae pono in Doctore Beale, Pembrochianae aulae in Academiae Cantabrigiensi praefecto, qui et ipse nos nostraque alicuius facere solet, tamen desipiam, si affectum cuiusquam cum tuo comparandum putem, qui arcissimo °sanguinis vinculo liberis meis, per matrem sororem tuam, iunctus sis.⁴ Eum igitur tibi de optima nota commendo; sic age cum eo, quasi natura pater fores. Eum de manu tibi in manum trado. Et coram et per literas illum mone, obiurga, iuva. Nihil mihi gratius facere possis, praesertim hac ingravescente aetate, qua interdum de colligendis sarcinulis et | migratione in patriam aurem mihi mors vellit.⁵
- d** Annum unum parentum erit sumtibus alendus. Exinde vel non multo post socium collegii fieri posse, sperat reverendissimus Episcopus.⁶

b spes: *c, p* - | doctrina: doctrina[- *m*] | c magno . . . complectatur: \magno . . . complectatur/ | sanguinis: \sanguinis/

³ As an act of kindness towards Vossius, William Laud, bishop of London, had arranged with the duke of Buckingham to have a vacant fellowship at Cambridge allotted to one of Vossius' children, cf. Rademaker (1981:230).

⁴ Richard Stewart (1593?-1651), fellow of All Soul's, Oxford, and rector of Harrietsham, Kent, from 1626. He became chaplain in ordinary and clerk of the closet to King Charles in 1633 officially, but was evidently already connected to him at the time of the present letter. In 1639 he was to succeed Sir Henry Wotton, **84d**, as provost of Eton. A fervent defender of episcopacy, he was noted for his learning. Actually, Junius was no blood relative of Joannes, who was the son of

- b** Yet, since I could not come myself, I am now sending my son to Cambridge to apply himself to studies in a college, after the lord bishop of London's advice, and prepare good fortune for himself with the help of his virtue and the favour of this right reverend lord and other friends; or, if some beastly omen thwarts these expectations, that without regret for the measure of progress he has made, he will return to his family at least better provided with both piety and learning.
- c** I am sending him all the more confidently, because you, dearest Brother, by whose most wise advice or personal assistance the young man can be supported, if the situation requires so, live in England. For I know you want to do everything for our sake as much as we are prepared to fulfil the due obligations of our very close bond for you. So, although the right reverend bishop has promised to be a father to him; although Dr. Stewart, the royal preacher, a gentleman deeply devoted to me (with whom I was on friendly terms here, when he spent some months in Holland with the ambassador Carleton) is kindly disposed to me; although I have also some confidence in Dr. Beale, master of Pembroke Hall at Cambridge University, who also generally esteems us and our interests to some extent himself, I will still behave foolishly, if I believe that anyone's affection can be compared to yours, who are bound with the closest bond of blood to my children through their mother, your sister. So I commend him to you in best manner; do with him, as if you were his natural father. I commit him from my hand into yours. Warn him; reprove him and support him in person and through letters. You can do nothing more pleasing to me, especially at my increasingly burdensome age, in which death is sometimes plucking my ear about packing my luggage and leaving for my fatherland.
- d** He will have to be sustained at his parents' expenses for one year. After that, or not much later, the right reverend bishop hopes he can become a fellow of a college. Even so, I do not consider it a problem to make whatever expenses, as long as my son does not spend anything without need, but remembers that I have *many children*

Vossius' first wife Elizabeth van den Corput, not of Junius' half-sister Elizabeth Junius. Cf. *DNB* 54.258–60.

⁵ Vossius was fifty-one, yet was to live until 1649.

⁶ Joannes initially stayed at Peterhouse, under Matthew Wren's mastership, and was elected fellow of Jesus College on 29 June 1629, cf. Rademaker (1981:230–31).

Equidem grave non ducam, hoc quicquid est sumtuum facere, dummodo filius nihil inutiliter profundat, sed memor sit, esse me πολύπαιδα, nec optimam parentibus haereditatem relictam, quin nec me, nec uxorem, anxie °autem de congerendis opibus laborasse; imo mutationem illam *Reipublicae* ante octennium aliquot millibus mihi stetisse⁷— et quid singula persequar, quae tibi ignota non sunt? Et in hac tamen fortuna mea malo aliquanto maiores facere impensas, ut inter doctiores et honoratiores vivat filius, quam ut cibum capiens inter rudes adolescentes erudiatur minus. Audio mensam in collegio non stare amplius, quam ducentis. Et tamen, si aliter est, vel trecentos persolvam.

e Et ingenii et iudicii filio abunde est. Vellem in utraque lingua progressus fecisset maiores.⁸ Magis id foret ex re eius, et familiae honore. Et ea propter non parum haesi, num eum mitti oporteret. Verum miro Angliae amore rapiebatur. Et metus erat, ne mater suorum, quam privigni, studiosior videretur, si iuniorum aliquis praelatus primigenito foret.⁹ Accessit, quod hic usu aliquo rerum pollet, atque ad unguem factus videtur in rebus, quae conversationem spectant civilem. Et defectum in φιλολογία compensat peritia rerum aliarum, praesertim earum, quae partes °aliquas Mathesios spectant, etiam τὴν στρατηγικὴν; item scientiam naturalem, botanicen, anatomicen, in qua parte sane progressus fecit egregios. Et propter ista ad *Medecinae* studium idoneus maxime videbatur. Sed nescio quae caussans, vel *Theologiae*, vel *Iuris* utriusque studium praeoptabat. Et iam in *Iure* utroque *Baccalaurei* gradum est consecutus.¹⁰ Ac professorum iudicium erat, intra semestre vel circiter, modo parem industriam adhiberet, licentiatus honorem consequi posse.

f Et factum esset, nisi oblata haec occasio foret visendi Angliam, linguam eius moresque addiscendi, tentandi ecqua et sibi istic spes

d autem: c [autem > unquam] (*In an unidentified hand*); p unquam | e [- etiam] aliquas

⁷ Vossius had been dismissed as Regent of the Leiden States College as a result of the Synod of Dordrecht in 1619, **29a**.

⁸ Joannes' command of Latin and Greek was such that he wrote to his father in Dutch when he did not have his reference books with him, **App3**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:161–62).

⁹ Joannes was the only still living child of Vossius' first marriage, cf. Rademaker (1981:161).

¹⁰ On 8 September, little more than a fortnight before the present letter, Joannes had become bachelor of law by defending propositions "De Tutela et Cura" under

and that the inheritance left to his parents is not excellent and, indeed, that neither I nor my wife have strenuously toiled to accumulate riches; rather, that this change in the Republic eight years ago cost me several thousands—but why do I continue on all these topics, which are not unknown to you? Still, in my present situation I prefer to make somewhat greater expenses, so that my son may dwell among quite learned and honourable people, than that he may be educated less when boarding among unrefined young men. I have heard that board in a college does not cost more than two hundred. Even, if it is otherwise, I will also pay three hundred.

e My son has both sufficient talents and discernment. I would have wished him to have made greater progress in both languages. It would have been more to his own interest, and more in accordance with the honour of the family. For this reason, I have quite hesitated whether he should be sent at all. But he was seized by an extraordinary love for England. It was also feared that the mother would appear fonder of her own children than of her stepson, if one of the younger children were favoured over the first-born. Besides, he is valued for his practical talents and seems to have performed perfectly well in matters pertaining to social life. He compensates the deficiency in *philology* with his knowledge of other subjects, especially those pertaining to certain aspects of mathematics, including *strategics*, as well as physics, botany and anatomy, in which field he has truly made excellent progress. Because of all this, he seemed best suited to the study of medicine. But, adducing one reason or another, he has preferred either the study of theology or of both laws. He has already acquired the bachelor's degree in both laws, and in the professors' judgement he could obtain the honour of licentiate within half a year or so, if he showed similar diligence.

f That would have happened, if there had not been offered this opportunity to visit England, to learn its language and manners and to try whether also he has a chance of advancing himself there, or if he is deceived in this hope, at least to return to his family with greater prudence and learning after some time. He seems to wish to devote more than a year to philosophy, in which he hopes to be able to acquire the master's title. The number of years which the

professor Petrus Cunaeus (1586–1638) at Leiden, cf. Rademaker (1981:162), *NNBW* 1.658–60.

foret emergendi; sin spe excideret, saltem cum maiore et prudentia et doctrina post aliquod tempus redeundi ad suos. | Videtur annum ultra philosophiae velle impendere, intra quem se Magisterii gradum consequi posse sperat. Nec obstabit ratio annorum quos numerant Angli; ut qui octennium egerit in Academia nostra. Et puto in exteris non omnia ad vivum rescari. Postilla ad *Sacram Theologiam* appellat animum, sed sic, ut non negligat Iuris notitiam, quantulacunque sibi paravit, sed potius eam adaugeat, quantum licet. Seu ad sacras literas, seu iuris studium potissimum collimet¹¹ (de quo post menses aliquot statuere melius poterit) annum unum sacris operam dedisse, non inutile erit.¹² Quin turpe sit, Christianum, et tot annos in studiis versatum, in hoc certamine animorum, quod per orbem obtinet Christianum, non mediocriter intelligere religionis controversias, sed in omnibus omnino ab alieno pendere iudicio, ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.¹³ A filio ad alia venio.

g Rarae admodum mihi a te literae, atque utinam saltem raritatem earum longitudine compensares. Scis, quod olim Symmachus aiebat, odisse se parsimoniam bonorum verborum; et scribendi brevitatem, fastidio, quam officio, propiorem esse.¹⁴ Non tamen id in te locum habet, qui quam mei et meorum amans sis, abunde semper comprobasti. Quare illam literarum et raritatem et brevitatem occupationibus tribuere malo; saltem cuius rei potius quam fastidio, vel affectus frigusculo.

h Opus nostrum de Historicis Graecis an videris haut sat scio.¹⁵ Reperies in eo et amicam tui mentionem, libri 2 capite 21, ubi sermo nobis de Gelasio Cyziceno quem a socero tralatum tua habeo munificentia.¹⁶ At commentarios de Historicis Latinis, quos ante annum misi, quin acceperis non dubito.¹⁷ In eius operis praefatione

¹¹ collimet: hapax, Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.42.9, "conlimatis oculis."

¹² When he was at Cambridge, Joannes chose languages and philosophy, **72b**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:231).

¹³ Horace, *Sermones* 2.7.82, "ut nervis alienis mobile lignum."

¹⁴ Symmachus (c.340–402), Roman senator and orator, whose correspondence was published in ten books, in which 1.45.1 reads, "odi parsimonium verborum bonorum. Scribendi quippe brevitatis magis fastidio quam officio proxima est," cf. Lomanto (1983), *OCD* (1996:1460).

¹⁵ Vossius, *De historicis Graecis* (1623), **57b**.

¹⁶ Vossius, *ibidem* 2.21, "Eosdem libros [Cyziceni] . . . vertit quoque clarissimus vir, nec tot modo linguarum, sed rerum etiam divinarum, et humanarum, scientissimus, Franciscus Iunius, socer meus beatae memoriae. Ea dono accepi a filio eius, Francisco Iunio, viro genere quidem, sed magis tamen multiuga eruditione nobili,

English count for it will not be a problem, because he spent eight years at our university. I think not everything is cut too deep for foreigners. After this, he may direct his attention to sacred theology, but in such a way that he will not neglect his knowledge of law—however little he has acquired for himself, but will rather increase it as much as he can. Whether he principally directs himself to studying either sacred literature or law (about which he will be better able to decide after several months), it will not be useless for him to have devoted himself to sacred subjects for one year. It would even be disgraceful that a Christian who spent so many years studying does not even half understand the religious controversies in this intellectual strife which prevails throughout the Christian world, but completely depends on other people's judgement in all respects, like wood moved by other people's muscles. I will now turn from my son to other topics.

g Your letters to me are quite rare, and if only you at least compensated their rarity with their length. You know what Symmachus already said, that he hated economy of good words, and that brevity in writing is closer to disrespect than to kindness. Yet this does not have a place in you, who have always abundantly shown how fond you are of me and my family. So I prefer to ascribe both this rarity and brevity of your letters to pressure of work—anyhow, to anything rather than to contempt or to some coolness of affection.

h I do not quite know whether you have seen my book *On the Greek Historians*, in which you will also find a friendly mention of you in book 2, chapter 21, where our discussion is on Gelasius Cyzicenus, whom I have in Father-in-law's translation thanks to your generosity. But I do not doubt that you received the commentaries *On the Latin Historians*, which I sent you a year ago. In the "Preface to the Reader" of this work I defend Father-in-law, whom de Thou has portrayed in such a way, as if he was more fickle and wavering than any Scythian. He passed this quite bitter judgement on him because

neque tam affinitatis caussa, quam quia virtutem paternam feliciter adeo aemulatur, carissimo" [these books of Cyzenus have also been translated by the widely renowned gentleman, most learned in many languages as well as theological and social questions, Franciscus Junius, my father-in-law of blessed memory. I have received them as a gift from his son Francis Junius, noble indeed by birth, but more by his many-sided learning, and most dear not so much because of the familial bond as because he has quite successfully emulated his father's virtue].

¹⁷ Vossius, *De historicis Latinis* (1627), 57b.

ad lectorem socerum defendo, quem ita depinxerat Thuanus, quasi desultorius ac vagus magis fuisset quovis Scytha.¹⁸ Atque hoc acerbum adeo iudicium tulerat ille ob critica quaedam, ad quae socer lassus gravioribus studiis demittere se solet, instar caballi in clivo cui sudor extricandus.¹⁹ Potuit itaque Iunius dicere, quod olim Arellius Fuscus, “Nemo me ex his censeat.”²⁰ Simul occurrendum fuit ibidem calumniis quibusdam Iosephi Scaligeri, quas Epistolis nuper hic cum Heinsii praefatione editis inspersit.²¹ Asterisci quidem aliquot | locis apparent indices rei alicuius praeteritae. Sed ex antecedentibus et sequentibus non est obscurum, quid dicatur, iis praesertim, quibus non incognita prorsus est historia eorum, quae postremis aliquot annis inter Iunium et Scaligerum intercesserunt, aut qui Paulinas aliquot epistolas ex Arabico a Iunio translatas, ac Tertullianum, Manilium et alia quaedam ab eo edita non ignorant.²² Eo vero °impudentiae prorumpit, ut Iunium ne Latine quidem scisse calumniatur.²³

i Valde me recreavit, quod spem facis adventus tui in has terras, idque intra annum vel paulo amplius.²⁴ Opto enim tempus videre, quo te fruar. Saepe mihi conspectum tuum ante oculos pono. Sed

h impudentiae: p impudentior

¹⁸ Erasmus, *Adage* 3885, “Scytha malus,” because Scythians were barbarians. Jacques Auguste de Thou had written slander on Junius the Elder in his *Historiae sui temporis* . . . (Geneva, 1620–21), the second part of his contemporary history up to the year 1607. In 1621, Grotius had advised Vossius to include an attack on de Thou only in some forthcoming publication, but Franciscus Gomarus insisted on redress for Junius the Elder immediately upon reading the book in 1626. In the preface to *De historicis Latinis*, Vossius pointed out de Thou’s error and suggested it must have been induced by the bad relationship between his father-in-law and Joseph Scaliger. Cf. Cuno (1891:167–70), Rademaker (1981:211), van Itterzon (1929:265–69).

¹⁹ Petronius, *Satyricon* 134.2, “lassus tamquam caballus in clivo.”

²⁰ Arellius Fuscus, a teacher of rhetoric; his saying unidentified. Cf. *OCD* (1996:151).

²¹ Daniel Heinsius, *I.I. Scaliger. Epistolae omnes, quae reperiri potuerunt, nunc primum collectae ac editae* . . . (Leiden, 1627). Daniel Heinsius (1580/1–1655), professor of Greek from 1605 and of history from 1613 at Leiden, had been Scaliger’s favourite student. Noted for his learning in the Classics, he not only published philological commentaries, but was also a distinguished poet in Latin and Greek. His Dutch poems had appeared as *Nederduytsche poemata* (Amsterdam, 1616). In 1618 he had become Gustav Adolf of Sweden’s historiographer and councillor, and had been historiographer to the States of Holland from 1627, **69b**. Cf. *NNBW* 2.554–57.

²² Scaliger and Junius the Elder, both of them professors at Leiden, had been at enmity, which seems to have been principally caused by Scaliger’s disgust at a the-

of some text-critical problems with which Father-in-law, weary from more serious studies, used to engage himself, like a pack-horse down a hill which must get rid of its sweat. So Junius could say what Arellius Fuscus already said, "Let nobody judge me on the basis of this." At the same time, I had to oppose Joseph Scaliger's false accusations, which he sprinkled in his letters, which have recently been published here with a preface by Heinsius. Really, asterisks occur in some places to indicate that something has been omitted, but from the preceding and the following it is not unclear what was being said, especially to those who are not entirely ignorant of the history of what had come to pass between Junius and Scaliger during their last years, or who know Paul's Letters translated by Junius from Arabic, and Tertullian, Manilius and other books published by him. But he was charging so impudently that he falsely accused Junius of not even knowing Latin.

- i It has highly pleased me that you have raised hopes of your visit to this country, and this within a year or little more, for I wish to see the moment that I may delight in you. I often imagine your face, but I do not doubt that your face has changed much from the one you had when you left for England. But I desire to see you all

ologian involving himself with philology, which he considered his own specialty. Junius the Elder, *S. Pauli Apostoli ad Corinthos epistolae duae. Ex Arabica translatione recens Latinae factae* . . . (Lyons, 1578). He had published two editions of Tertullian, *Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus. De pallio liber. Cum notis Francisci Iunii* (Leiden, 1595), and *Q. Septimius Florens Tertullianus. Operae quae adhuc reperiri potuerunt omnia . . . Itemque castigationes ac notae perspicuae et breves Francisci Iunii Biturigis* . . . (Franeker, 1597). The copy of *Operae* now UBL, 754 A 10 (from Isaac Vossius' collection), contains Scaliger's annotations and abuses towards Junius the Elder, such as "o le grand coion" on "Notae Fr. Iunii ad Tertulliani Apologeticum" (p. 41). *Marcus Manilius, Astronomicon ll. V Iosephus Scaliger recensuit, ac pristino ordini suo restituit; eiusdem Ios. Scaligeri commentarius in eosdem libros, et castigationum explicationes. Lectiones variae cum notis Fr. Iunii* (Heidelberg, 1590). The copy now UBL 758 E 4 (from Isaac Vossius' collection) contains Scaliger's annotations and abuses towards Junius the Elder. Scaliger was so displeased with Junius' *Manilius* that he prepared his own re-edition. Cf. Cuno (1891:160–67), Grafton (1983, 2.375–76, 437–38).

²³ Scaliger to Isaac Casaubon, **200a**, "Si vis videre, lege ***; lege praeceptorem Cypriani, dices profecta ab eo, qui nec Latine intelligat" [if you want to see, read *** (Junius the Elder [SvR]), read Cyprian's tutor; you can really tell from that that he does not even understand Latin], quoted after Cuno (1891:163).

²⁴ Junius must have indicated this in an unretrieved letter. He had not been in Holland since his departure in 1620, **27**, and was to go to Holland together with Vossius, who was in England in 1629, **66a**, **67a**.

non dubito, quin iam multum facies mutata sit ab ea, quae erat cum abires in Angliam. Tantum impensius videre aveo; quamquam non tam ut dextras iungere collumque amplecti, quam ut sermones liceat de variis rebus sociare, multaque ex te discere mihi penitus incognita. Habes epistolam bene longam. Aliquanto parcius esse potuissem, et per te id licuisset; scio enim te verba mea non exigere ad libellam.²⁵ Sed committere nolui, ut cum ego iuxta ac uxor mea brevitatem tuam culpae soleamus, tu meum mihi exemplum obiectares.

j Plurimum te salutatur coniux, quae male ex casu aliquo valuit ante dies pauculos, sed nunc cum Hygeia prope in gratiam rediit.²⁶ Liberi etiam plurimum iubent te salvere. Vale affinis coniunctissime, et longe charissime.

Lugduni *Bataworum*, MDCXXVIII, X kalendas Octobris.

Tuus totus, Ger.Io. Vossius.

60 29 01 21 WILLIAM OUGHTRED [-] TO JUNIUS [-]¹

a Sir I was in good hope to haue enioyed Sir William at Horsley, and to haue gone forward in those trulie noble studies: wherin I should haue held it my pride to haue added that facultie to the rest of his excellent endowments both of nobility and education.² And I much desire to heare that he taketh delight in those studies, & doth exercise himself sometimes therin; as I remember you said you would put him in remembrance when you were at London.³ ffor I should think myself to haue made a worthy recompense to *Vrania* for all the content I haue receaued from her, yf I maye commend her to soe honorable a patron.⁴

b Your sweet and noble disposition, and the freindlynes I haue found in you toward me, addeth vnto me boldnes to intreat you in fewe lines to certifie me what my honorable Lord and Ladie are purposed concerning their sonnes progresse in these arts: and what their

²⁵ Erasmus, *Adage* 3822, “ad libellam debere,” “nam olim ad libram dabatur pecunia, non ad numerum” [because money was formerly given to weight, not to amount].

²⁶ Hygeia, the personification of health, cf. *OCD* (1996:734–35).

¹ *o*: UBA, M 95.

² William Oughtred, or Owtred (1575–1660), an important mathematician and rector of Albury, where one of Arundel’s favourite estates was, quite near Horsley. In 1633/4, Oughtred explained that “[a]bout five yeares since, the Earle of Arundell

the more eagerly, though not so much to shake hands and embrace, as to be able to talk together about several topics and to learn from you much of which I am wholly ignorant. You have a fairly long letter here. I could have been somewhat more economic and you would have allowed me to, for I know you do not care twopence for my words. But I did not want to give you occasion to confront me with my example, because I, and my wife too, usually disapprove of your brevity.

j My wife gives you her warmest regards; she suffered from bad health because of some misfortune several days ago, but has almost reconciled herself with Hygiene now. My children also fervently pray you to be well. Farewell, dearest and deeply beloved Brother. Leiden, 1628, on the 10th Kalends of October [22 Sep.]. Yours Truly, GerJo. Vossius.

60 29 01 21 WILLIAM OUGHTRED [-] TO JUNIUS [-]

[See the original letter.]

my most honourable Lord in a time of his private retiring to his house in the country then at West Horsley, foure small miles from me (though since he hath a house in Aldebury the parish where I live) hearing of me (by what meanes I know not) was pleased to send for me: and afterward at London to appoint mee a Chamber of his owne house: where, at such times, and in such manner as it seemed him good to employ me, and when I might not inconveniently be spared from my Charge, I have been most ready to present my selfe in all humble and affectionate service," "Apologeticall Epistle . . . [t]o the English Gentry, and all others studious of the Mathematicks . . ." quoted after Cajori (1916:10). During his service to Arundel, he wrote *Arithmeticae in numeris et speciebus institutio, quae tum logisticae, tum analyticae, atque adeo totius mathematicae, quasi Clavis est* (London, 1631), a comprehensive textbook on algebra and arithmetic, in which he introduced the symbols 'x' for multiplication and '::' in proportion, and which enjoyed several reprints. He dedicated it to William Howard, explaining, "tibi, illustrissimi tui patris iussu, in disciplinis Mathematicis exponendis deservierim" [by order of your most illustrious father, I have served to instruct you in mathematical disciplines], *Clavis* (1631:A2), quoted after the copy BL, 8548.b.11. Junius may have stayed in a comparable "Chamber" at Arundel House as Oughtred, and they may have seen each other daily, **a**³. Apparently, William Howard and Junius had not been present at Horsley, when Oughtred was at Albury and could have gone there, probably after he had returned home from London. Cf. **b**, Cajori (1916), *DNB* 42.356–58, Hervey (1921:346).

³ Evidently, Oughtred and Junius had seen each other in London. Junius may have been away from London to accompany William Howard to the country ever since having welcomed Joannes Vossius in October 1628, **61a**, **App3**.

⁴ Urania, the Muse of astronomy, cf. *OCD* (1996:1002).

honores expect of me: and I accordingly will addresse my self to doe them all humble & diligent seruice, eyther in the contrie, or any where els as they shall require.⁵ And I shall be much bound to you yf you be pleased to tender^e my seruice to their honores in my name, and to vnderstand their determination: And yf it shall please my Lord to voutsafe to account me his seruant, and by writing vnder his hand and seale to confirme it (as is in that kind usuall) I shall esteem it as a great honore, and be engaged in all humble dutie and seruiceablenes to acknowledg my obligation, and to shew my self worthy of soe honorable a fauour. Mr. [West] telleth me howe mindfull you haue bene of me in that my desire: for with curtesey as also for all other your loue, I shall euer be most thankfull to you.⁶

c Thus entreating you to remember^e my humble seruice to my honorable Lords and Ladies, and to Sir William Howard, with all hartiest expression of my best affections to your good self, I commit you to the preseruation of allmightie god & rest
Yours in all nerest bands of true freindship, William Owtred.
*Ianuarii 11^o 1629.*⁷

⁵⁹ 61 29 03 10 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

A Clarissimo doctissimoque viro, Gerardo Vossio, affini coniunctissimo.

a *Salutem plurimam.*

Et tui cultus et mei officii gratia quaelibet ad scribendum amplectenda est occasio; tantum abest, ut eam praeterire debuerim, quam filii tui adventus ingessit.² Commodum hic Londinii eram, quum Iohannes noster inopinato ad nos cum uberrimis tuis litteris advolans, tanta

⁵ Junius seems to have held a position closer to the earl and countess of Arundel than Oughtred did at the time. Whether through any efforts on Junius' part or not, Oughtred's offer of service was accepted, for he continued to stay at Arundel House, when circumstances allowed, at least until January 1631, when he dated his dedication of *Clavis* to William Howard, "ex aedibus illustrissimi patris tui Arundelianis ad ripam Thamesis, Ianuarii 1, 1631" [at your most illustrious father's Arundel House on the bank of the Thames on 1 January 1631 (1/10 Jan. 1631, c^m)], *Clavis* (1631:A2), quoted after the copy BL, 8548.b.11.

⁶ Mr. West, details unidentified, was probably in the service of the Arundel family.

⁷ The date might refer to 2/12 January, if the numerals are Roman, but since Oughtred wrote the year in Arabic numerals, he probably used them for the day

61 29 03 10 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]

A To the widely renowned and learned gentleman Gerardus Vossius, dearest Brother.

a Warmest regards. On account both of honour to you and of my obligation, any opportunity to write must be seized; and it is far from the case that I should neglect this one which your son's arrival has offered. I was just here in London, when our Johannes unexpectedly came rushing to us with your abundant letter and filled my heart with such a great happiness that a silent feeling of this solid

as well. In addition, the year might be English style, and so refer to January 1630 instead, **10g**. However, since he dated his dedicatory letter in *Clavis* January 1631 and the book is considered to have appeared in that year and not in 1632, Oughtred presumably did not date in English style. Cf. Cajori (1916:17).

¹ *o*: BL, HL 7012, f. 35. *p*: Colomesius 2.100.

² The preceding October, Joannes Vossius had gone to England to study at Cambridge, yet had first come to see Junius and deliver letter **59**, cf. **App3**. Junius probably wrote the present letter so long afterwards because he had accompanied William Howard to the country, **App3, 60a**.

laetitia pectus meum explevit, ut solidi huius gaudii tacitus quidam sensus etiam nunc memorem animum pertentare non desinat. Effusissimos illos amplexus, quibus advenientem toto pectore gratulabundus adstrinxi, rursus mihi ante oculos cogitationes reponunt, et spem utique affirmant tui tandem aliquando hic videndi.³

b Summi certe homines, et quibus larga benefaciendi materia in manu est, tam prono in filium tuum favore te demereri student.⁴ Tu quoque beneficia in te tuosque congesta tam grate interpretari soles, ut minime dubium habeam, quin tibi sit in optatis videre regnum sub regum indulgentissimo florentissimum, atque in eo viros tui amantissimos et humanitatem haud tralatitiam tuis plenissime exhibentes. Altissime animo meo insedit haec persuasio; imo iam nunc voto, et cogitatione, praesumo diem illum laetum, signandumque mihi candidissimo calculo, cum cervices tuas invadere atque arctissimis complexibus alligare dabitur.⁵ Interpellandam video dulcedinem blandae spei, “nimiis obstat Rhamnusia votis.”⁶ Quamobrem etiam vanis figurationibus animi desiderio aegri atque aestuantis valere iussis, hoc tantum spondeo, me in omnibus rebus satis nostrae coniunctioni amorique facturum; praesertim, cum nihil rerum omnium a te mandari mihi aut maius aut gratius, nihil etiam a me suscipi honestius possit, quam ut pro viribus Iohanni nostro commodem, adolescenti singulari, nec iis tantum, quos sanguine attingit, inter propinquos amando. Ego certe tibi (repetam enim), profiteor atque polliceor eximium et singulare meum studium in omni genere officii; nec unquam dissimilem scriptis talibus dies arguerit, Divinum modo numen faciat mecum atque optata secundet.

c Quamvis autem longiores epistolas flagites, et in nostra culpa tibi ignoscere sis paratus, in animum tamen inducere non possum ut sim prolixior, cum occupationibus tuis publico bono parcendum sciam. Vale, et amantissimum tui redama.

Londinii, in aedibus Arundellianis, pridie kalendas Martiis anno MDCXXIX.

Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

³ Vossius was to visit England in October of the present year, **66a**.

⁴ Bishop Laud had arranged for a place at Cambridge for Joannes, **59b**.

⁵ Erasmus, *Adage* 453, **52b**.

⁶ Claudian, *Bellum Geticum* 631, **45b**.

happiness even now does not cease to pervade my heart when it is thinking of it. My thoughts bring back again before my eyes those immodest embraces with which I drew him close on his arrival, congratulating him from the bottom of my heart, and they especially strengthen the hope of seeing you here before long.

b Truly, the highest placed gentlemen, in whose hands is abundant occasion to do well, endeavour to deserve well of you with such a ready favour towards your son. You also usually appreciate the favours showered on you and your family so gratefully that I have the least doubt that it is your wish to visit this most prosperous kingdom under its most generous king, and there to see the gentlemen who are deeply devoted to you, who are most clearly showing extraordinary humanity towards your family. This persuasion has settled most deeply in my heart; in desire and in thought I am even already enjoying in advance that happy day, which I must mark by the whitest stone, when it will be granted to hold and hug you with the firmest embraces. I notice that the delightfulness of a pleasant hope must be interrupted; "Rhamnusia opposes excessive wishes." So, the idle fancies and the desire of a suffering and passionate heart having been dismissed, I only hope that I will satisfy our kinship and love in all respects, especially since you cannot demand of me anything greater or happier in the world and I cannot take upon myself anything more honourable than, as much as I can, to please our Joannes, an exceptional young man, who must be loved not only by those to whom he is bound in blood as one of their near and dear. I surely pledge and promise you (for I shall repeat it) my extraordinary and exceptional care in any kind of obligation; and never will a day show me different from such writings, if the Divine Power be with me and favours my wishes.

c Yet, although you request longer letters and are prepared to excuse yourself by our flaw, I still cannot bring my heart to being longer, because I know that I must spare your occupations on behalf of the public weal. Farewell, and return the love to someone who is deeply devoted to you.

In London at Arundel House, on the day before the Kalends of March in the year 1629 [10 Mar.].

Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

62 29 03 10 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS [LEIDEN]¹

- a** °Waerde suster mijn langhe af-wesen van V.L. valt mij nu vrij wat lichter dan van te °vooren, over-mids ick V.E. Johannes som-wijlen alhier te London sien magh.² den goeden °God bewaere hem ende mij van sieckte; ander-sins, in-dien hem t'eenighen tijd tot Cambridge °d'een of d'andere krenckte soude aen-vatten, ick en sal niet nae-laeten, so haest ick de °wete krijghe, daerwaerds te gaen om hem in dit koningh-rijck, 't welck hem als noch °vreemd is, allerley schuldighe behulpsaemheyd te bewijsen. oock so sal ick 't selvighe °hier nae-maels wel kunnen ge-doen, want mijnen jonghen heere beghint nu so veel °moeyte ontrent sick niet te hebben als daer wel ver-eyst wierd ontrent sijn °op-treckinghe doe hij noch jongher was.³ ver-trowt mij dit vastelick toe; en wat °ick noch voorder alhier ten dienste van V.L. familie, daer ick mij selven grootelix °aen verbonden houde, ver-richten magh, ick sal al-tijd vaerdigh daer toe wesen.
- b** °onder-en-tusschen sal ick oock niet nae-laeten de beste ghelegghenheyd waer te nemen °om een sprongh-reyse te doen en V.L. allerghewenschte teghenwordigheyd eyndelick °eens te ghenieten.⁴ wete niet of het in 't laetst van de naeste somer sal moghen °vallen. ick sal daer in doen wat mij moghelick is. middeler tijd sal ick niet °nae-laeten V.L. alle jaer d'Attestatie met de °quitantien over te senden;⁵ ende over-mids brieven van ons tot u so gantsch onseker gaen, so sal ick eerst de Attestatie over-senden, ende daer nae, wanneer ick naemelick wt V.L. schrijven ver-stae dat d'Attestatie wel ter hand ghekomen is, so sal ick mede de quitantien senden; als vreesende dat daer een boefken onder ghespeelt moght worden in-dien ieman anders deselvighe te gaeder in handen kreegh.⁶
- c** de gravinne van Arundell was nu onlanghs heel ernstigh met mij dat ick voor haer een vaetijen °op-rechte goede Hollandsche boter

a Waerde: [+ W]aerde (*Margin cut off*) | vooren: [+ v]ooren | God: [+ G]od | d'een: [+ d']een | wete: [+ w]ete | vreemd: [+ v]reemd | hier: [+ h]ier | moeyte: [+ m]oeyte | op-treckinghe: op-[+ t]reckinghe | ick: [+ i]ck | aen: [+ a]en | **b** onder-en-tusschen: [+ o]nder-en-tusschen | om: [+ o]m | eens: [+ e]ens | vallen: [+ v]allen | naelaeten: [+ n]aelaeten | quitantien: [- *lijfrente*] quitantien | **c** op-rechte: op-reche

¹ o: BLO, Rawl. 79, f. 61.

62 29 03 10 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS [LEIDEN]

a Worthy Sister,

My lengthy absence from you is considerably lighter to me now than beforehand, because I may see your Joannes here in London from time to time. May the good God keep him and me from sickness; otherwise, if the one or other illness seized him in Cambridge at any time, I shall not refrain from going there, as soon as I receive the news, to render him all kind of due services in this kingdom, which is still foreign to him. I will also be able to do so in the future, because my young nobleman begins to need less care for himself than he required for his education when he was still younger. Wholly entrust this to me; whatever else I may do here in the service of your family, to which I consider myself firmly bound, I will always be ready for it.

b Meanwhile, I will not refrain either from taking the first possible opportunity to make a short trip and finally enjoy the desired presence of you all one day. I do not know whether it can happen at the end of this summer. I will do in this as much as I can. In the mean time, I will not refrain from sending you the attestation and the receipts each year, and because letters have such a very unreliable route from us to you, I will send the attestation first, and after that, that is, when I have learned from your letter that the attestation has come to your hand in good order, I will also send the receipts, fearing that someone may play loaded dice with it if it both came to his hands.

c The countess of Arundel was recently most serious with me that I must send for a small cask of honestly good butter from Holland;

² Joannes Vossius was studying at Cambridge, **59b**.

³ Junius was still engaged as tutor to William Howard until 1631, **83f**.

⁴ Junius had already indicated this in an unretrieved letter, **59i**. He was to go to Holland in the company of Vossius at the end of the year, **66a**, **67a**.

⁵ Junius enjoyed an annuity, of unknown value, for his service to the Arundel family, **73a**. For a subsequent period of service after the current contract had finished, it was stated at £50, **86a**^a. Still, the Arundel family were slow payers, **48b**, **83c**, **g**, **76b**.

⁶ No evidence for the loss of Junius' letters to Holland for the preceding several years found.

soude ont-bieden; V.L. weet best of de Leydsche, Warmondsche, of Delfsche boter waerdigher is om aen sulcken persone te ver-eeren; in-dien V.L. een wt-nemende goed tonneken bekomen kan, °ick sal 't V.L. met grooten danck ver-goeden.⁷

- d** Laet mij oock nu en dan ofte wt V.L. ofte wt het schrijven van d'een of d'ander uwer kinderen vernemen hoe 't met u allen gaet, en of daer hope is van noch eenighe uwer sonen alhier met der tijd te sien. Wat Dionysius belanght, hier is een kasse vol van Arabische boecken die nae sijne komste wacht.⁸ in-dien hij oyt hier over komt, hij sal de gunste van den Ed. grave van Arundell (dien ick al-reede van hem aen-ghesproken hebbe) seer vaerdigh t'hemwaerds bevinden.⁹ Ick soude aen hem selver dies aen-gaende nu een woordeken gheschreven hebben, 't en waer dat 't seghelen en af-senden deser brieven nu met der haest gheschieden moest. den aller hooghsten neme V.L. en alle d'uwe in syn heylighe beschuttinghe. laet mij doch weten wat V.L. van suster Maria ver-neemt.¹⁰ met haest. in Arundell huys. *Anno 1629. den 28 Februarii stilo vetere.*

⁰ **63** 29 06 30 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

- a** Plurimum me tibi obstrinxisti, optime et coniunctissime affinis, quod tantum laboris susceperis filii mei caussa, ut eum deduceres ad cognatam Bulliam.² Neque id tam gratum mihi est eo nomine, quod

c ick: [+ i]ck

⁷ Countess Aletheia (d. 1654), daughter and heiress of the rich Gilbert Talbot (1552–1616), earl of Shrewsbury, and wife to the earl of Arundel from 1606. She shared his love of art, concerning herself especially with their various estates and their gardens, and proved a patroness in her own right. After a journey to Italy together with Arundel in 1613–14, when they learnt Italian, she returned there from 1620 to 1623 to see to the education of her sons James, lord Maltravers, and Henry Frederick. She was a Roman Catholic and enjoyed a position at court immediately below the queen. Junius dedicated his *Painting* (1638) to her with letter **116**. No details on the quality of butter from these towns in Holland found. Cf. Hervey (1921, s.v.), Howarth (1985, s.v.), Howarth (1998), *Literature* 1, s.v.

⁸ Dionysius Vossius was devoted to the study of Oriental languages, **53b**. The Arundel library had a considerable number of Arabic books and manuscripts, especially Christian works and grammars, at the time, cf. Toomer (1996:65).

⁹ Joannes had also been flattered by the earl of Arundel's attention, cf. Joannes to Vossius, **App3**.

¹⁰ Due to the Thirty Year's War, Maria Junius and Samuel Naeranus had had

you know best whether butter from Leiden, Warmond or Delft were most worthy of honouring such a person with. If you are able to get an exceptionally good small barrel, I will repay it to you, with many thanks.

- d** Let me also know from time to time either by yourself or by the one or other of your children's letters how you are all doing and whether there is any hope of seeing still some more of your sons here in due time. With respect to Dionysius, here is a case filled with Arabic books waiting for his arrival. If ever he comes here, he will experience the noble earl of Arundel's favour (whom I have already told of him) to be most ready for him. I would have written him a word about this myself now, if sealing and sending this letter did not have to be done in haste now. May the Almighty take you and all your family in his holy protection. Let me know what you hear of Sister Maria.

In haste. At Arundel House, in the year 1629, 28 February old style [10 Mar.].

63 29 06 30 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

- a** You have much obliged me to you, best and dearest Brother, because you have taken so much trouble for my son's sake to bring him to kinswoman Bull. It is pleasing for me not so much because he could complete that trip more safely with this guide and companion,

to flee from Danzig, where he was a predicant, in 1626. They probably went to Sedan, where Naeranus became headmaster of the Latin School, **38d**.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 99e. *ca*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 42, with the heading, "Francisco Iunio, in aulam Arundelianam." *p1*: Colomesius 1.102, after *ca*, but with the heading, "Doctissimo viro Francisco Iunio, in aulam Arundelianam." *p2*: *Epp. Vossius* 143; not collated. Reply to an unretrieved letter which William Petty had presumably delivered, **d**.

² Joannes Vossius, who was studying at Cambridge, and Junius had gone to see Anthonina van den Corput in Canterbury in May. Having received her address from Junius—who had evidently been in touch with her before, Joannes had contacted her and then informed his father, "sequenti maio carissimus avunculus Iunius transcursurus est, ut me ad cognatam Bull recreandi animi causa deducat, credit forsitan e re posse esse nostra, cum ex aspectu nascatur amor; ut et interim linguam, mores Anglicanos, et peregrinandi modum addiscam" [coming May dearest Uncle Junius will come hastening to guide me to Cousin Bull to refresh the mind; he believes that it could be in our interest, since love grows from sight, and so that

hoc duce et comite tutius potuerit conficere isthoc iter, quam quod, tali diebus aliquot monitore fruens, magna potuerit incrementa capere et pietatis, et prudentiae, et doctrinae.³ Utinam huiusmodi illi felicitas saepius obtingat. Verum quia novi id non ferre institutum vitae tuae, cum vix magis tuus sis, quam ego meus; saltem illud precibus consequi a te licebit, ut crebro eum literis tuis sui officii commoneas. Scis enim quam proclivis sit adolescentia ad otium °ac vitia.⁴ Sane vere illud dico, eo me animo esse tranquilliori, quod illic talem affinem, vel potius fratrem, hoc est, ut grammatici dicere solent, fere alterum me habeam,⁵ qui propemodum sic amet liberos meos, quam si ex se nati sint.

b Praesentia clarissimi Pettaei multum me delectavit.⁶ Iuvit pendere ab ore narrantis tam multa pulchra et praeclara de peregrinatione sua.⁷ Egregie meritis est de *Republica* literaria, quod magis parebit, cum ea, quae observavit, in publicum emisit.⁸ Gratulor tibi, quod cum tanto °eius mecaenate, °illustrissimo dico Comite Arondelio, vivere tibi contingat, cuius auspiciis et sumptibus hoc iter susceptum est.

c Sed quod Pettaeus aiebat, sperare se, te quoque iturum in Graeciam; id tale fuit, ut lapides mihi loqui videretur.⁹ Eo magis, quia retulit mihi, ut saepius in carcerem, tanquam explorator fuerit coniectus;

a ac: *ca*, *p* et | **b** eius: \eius/ | illustrissimo dico Comite: \illustrissimo dico Comite/

I can meanwhile learn the English language and manners, and the way of travelling], 29 04 10, Rawl. 84b, f. 142. After the visit, Joannes wrote that, “advolat avunculus Iunius, qui me, venia primo impetrata a praeside nostro, secum duxit Cantuariam . . . ad cognatam nostram Bull, mulier est moribus antiquis Batavis, satis sordide, et vestibus resarcitis incedit, cum splendidissimas habeat” [Uncle Junius came hurrying and, first asking leave from our master, he took me with him to Canterbury to our cousin Bull. She is a woman of the old Dutch manners, and moves about quite filthily and in patched clothes, although she has most splendid ones], 29 06 12, Rawl. 84b, f. 149. Joannes’ letter which informed Vossius, “ick met oom nu van Canterbury komme . . . daer wij onse nichte Bul besoecht hebben” [together with Uncle I have now come from Canterbury, where we went to see our cousin Bull], Rawl. 84b, f. 140, was accordingly not written 29 03 30, which *ICVossius* (1993:118) suggests, but probably rather 29 05 30. Cf. Joannes to Vossius, 29 02 28, Rawl. 84b, f. 137, and 29 03 16, Rawl. 84b, f. 138.

³ Cf. Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares* 10.3.2, “virtute duce, comite fortuna.”

⁴ Cicero, *De partitione oratoria* 34.5–6, “adolescenciam procliviorum esse ad libidinem.”

⁵ Erasmus, *Adage* 2, “amicus alter ipse,” “[a] friend is another self,” *CWE* 31, I.i.2.

⁶ Evidently, William Petty had been with Vossius at Leiden, 56A.

as because he could get a great increase in piety, prudence as well as learning when he enjoyed such a teacher for some days. I hope that such happiness falls to him more often. But, since I know that your way of life does not tolerate this—since you are hardly more yours than I am mine, by prayers I will at least be able to secure from you that you frequently remind him of his duty by your letters, for you know how liable adolescence is to inactivity and faults. But I really say this to have a more quiet heart, because I have such a relative there, or rather a brother—that is, as the grammarians use to say, almost my other half, who loves my children much similarly as if they had been born from him.

- b** The widely renowned Petty's presence pleased me much. It was a delight to hang on his lips when he told so many beautiful and remarkable details about his tour. He has deserved exceedingly well of the Republic of Letters, which will be more evident when he publishes what he has observed. I congratulate you that you happen to stay with such a great patron; I mean the most illustrious earl of Arundel, under whose auspices and expenses this tour was undertaken.
- c** But what Petty said, that he hopes you will also go to Greece, was such that he seemed to me to speak hard words. All the more so, because he told me he had rather often been thrown into prison as a spy; once he was even shipwrecked. When Mr. Petty begins to recommend this touring to you, I would wish him to turn from fluent

⁷ Petty had travelled the Mediterranean to collect antiquities for the earl of Arundel, **56**.

⁸ Petty did not publish about his travels, yet Vossius described the prospective publications to Joannes Meursius, whose *Athenas* [1624] Petty knew, **67c**^a, "Pitteus . . . [q]uae [multa praeclara] paulatim iuris faciet publici. Atque idem inter alia etiam Athenas, ubi diutissime vixit, describere parat; credo ad formam eam, qua Byzantium Gyllius descripsit" [Petty will publish these (many excellent matters) little by little, and he also intends to describe Athens, where he lived very long, in the manner in which Gyllius described Byzantium, I believe], 30 01 13, Colomesius 1.109. Pierre Gilles, *De topographia Constantinopoleos, et de illius antiquitatibus libri quatuor* . . . (1561).

⁹ Plautus, *Aulularia* 152, "lapides loqueris." Cf. Joannes Vossius to Vossius, "Uncle is exceedingly deeply cherished by Milord, so that he often wishes to have a second Junius to be able to employ in Greece," **App3** [trl. SvR]. Possibly, Junius was considering undertaking such a journey when his contract for the tutorship of William Howard had finished, yet changed its intended destination to France and Italy, and finally to Paris, **76b**, **83**. Howarth's interpretation (1985:123) cannot be supported.

semel etiam naufragium fecerit.¹⁰ Cum hanc peregrinationem suadere tibi *Dominus* Pettaeus coeperit, velim ille ex deserto fiat infantissimus. Graecos ne tibi lustrandi veniat tam dira cupido, praesertim postquam maxime memorabilia iis e terris abstulit Pettaeus.¹¹ Tun' spicilegii ergo hac aetate tantum capessas laboris? Tot te periculis exponas? Malim te ire ad Gallos, Italos, at Belgas ante omnes, ubi nos vises, qui tanto tenemur desiderio tui.¹² Et facies id spero propediem.

d Fortasse tamen antea extare voles aliquod monumentum ingenii et diligentiae tuae.¹³ Nam partim ex literis tuis, partim filii, intelligo, te moliri aliqua de statuaria arte ac picturis veterum.¹⁴ Sane aliqui hoc argumentum tractarunt. Ut, praeter Gauricum, Caesar Bulengerus, qui ante biennium emisit in Galliis libros duos de pictura et plasticæ statuaria.¹⁵ Nec dubito, quin videris Ioannis Molani Lovaniensis Theologi libros de historia *Sacrarum* Imaginum et picturarum.¹⁶ Verum et hi, et alii quibus argumentum hoc expositum fuit, non exiguum tibi reliquere spicilegium. Tanto impensius desidero ea videre, quibus non modo te illustrissimo Comiti, literarum et literatorum patrono, *optimo maximo* commendare possis, sed etiam Reipublicae toti literariae, et seculis futuris. Sane, mi affinis, praeter tempus et benefacta, nihil est nostrum.¹⁷ Opes post obitum nostrum alium atque alium dominum nanciscuntur, sed ingenii et | industriae monumenta non mutant dominum.¹⁸ Quare perge in praeclaro instituto, et brevi nos bea foetu aliquo, qui parente suo dignus sit.¹⁹

e De liberis meis nihil addo, praeter hoc unum, eos se mihi magis magisque probare, quod tibi quoque iucundissimum esse cognitu scio.

¹⁰ Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 2.5.7–6.1, “tamquam explorator.” For impressions of Petty’s travels, cf. Hervey (1921, s.v.), Howarth (1985:127–48).

¹¹ Vergil, *Georgics* 1.37–38, “nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira cupido,/ quamvis Elysios miretur Graecia campos.”

¹² Junius hoped to be able to come to Holland at the end of the summer, **62b**.

¹³ For a discussion of this section, which concerns Junius’ studies of classical art, cf. Nativel (1996:92). Howarth’s interpretation (1985:123) cannot be supported.

¹⁴ Junius was working on *Catalogus artificum* (1694), **58b**. Vossius seems to refer not to Junius’ mention of it in **58b**, but to a more recent, unretrieved letter from Junius which Petty had delivered, and which presumably alluded to the project. Joannes Vossius informed Vossius, “carissimus avunculus Iunius . . . [s]ub manibus habet libellum, quem editurus, de pictoribus, statuariis, sculptoribus, atque huiusmodi artificibus, tantum ex classicis autoribus annotatis, quo se placere non dubitat Comiti, qui hoc magnopere desiderat” [dearest Uncle Junius has in hand a booklet on painters, statuary, sculptors and such artists, noted down just from classical authors, which he is about to publish and with which he does not doubt to please the earl, who deeply desires it], 29 04 10, Rawl. 84b, f. 142.

into mute. Let there not come such an ominous desire in you to visit Greece, especially after Petty removed the most memorable objects from that country. Would you take such great pains at your age for gleanings? Would you expose yourself to so many dangers? I would prefer you to go to France, to Italy, but above all to the Low Countries, where you may come to see us, who have such a deep desire of you. And you will do so soon, I hope.

d Yet, perhaps you want a document of your talents and diligence to appear beforehand. For partly from your letter, partly from my son's, I understand that you are working on something about the art of statuary and of painting of the ancients. Truly, some people have discussed this subject, such as, besides Gauricus, Caesar Bulengerus, who published two books on painting and plastic statuary in France two years ago. I do not doubt that you have seen the books by the Louvain theologian Joannes Molanus on the history of holy images and paintings. But both they and others who have treated of this subject have left no poor gleanings for you; all the more eagerly I wish to see that with which you can commend yourself not only to the most illustrious earl, the omnipotent patron of letters and philologists, but also to the entire Republic of Letters and to future centuries. Truly, my brother, nothing is ours except for time and benefits. Riches must find ever changing masters after our death, but the documents of talents and industry do not change master. So continue with this splendid enterprise and bless us soon with an offspring which is worthy of its father.

e I add nothing about my children, except only this, that they are increasingly commending themselves to me, which, I know, is also most pleasant for you to know. This in haste, and more hastily than

¹⁵ Pomponius Gauricus or Gaurico (c.1480–c.1530), *De sculptura*, first published in Florence in 1504, a dialogue on sculpture by the Italian sculptor and humanist. No copy of Junius can be identified in UBL. Julius Caesar Bulengerus, *De pictura* (1627), **58b**. Cf. Nativel (1996:92n).

¹⁶ Joannes Molanus or Vermeulen (1533–1585), *De historia ss. imaginum pro vero earum usu contra abusum, libri quatuor* (Louvain, 1594), a posthumous, enlarged edition of *De picturis et imaginibus sacris liber* (Louvain, 1570), a discussion of the use of the visual arts from an anti-iconoclast point of view by the Louvain professor of history. Junius' copy not identified in UBL. Cf. Nativel (1996:92n).

¹⁷ Cf. **47d**.

¹⁸ Cf. **47d**.

¹⁹ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 9.14.1.4–5, "pergamus modo itinere instituto."

Haec raptim, atque festinantius, quam vellem; eo quod Ioannes Brunaeus cum coniuge ad me divertisset, nec illum diutius sine alloquio mei relinquendum putarem.²⁰ Iussit ut te plurimum suo nomine salutarem. Sororis tuae Ioannae res meliori loco his proximis mensibus esse coeperunt, quo nomine valde ego, et uxor, gaudemus. Non paullo nunc sereniori animo est, quam esse solet. Iuvit tua liberalitas.²¹ Sed imprimis, quod quingentos vel amplius ex negotiatione Americana percepit.²² Spero eam, et universam parentis tui familiam Deo curae fore.

Lugduni Batavorum, MDCXXIX, pridie kalendas Quinctiles.

Tuus totus, Ger.Io. Vossius.

64⁶⁵ 29 08 20 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Nobilissimo viro, Francisco Iunio, Francisci filio, in aedibus illustrissimi comitis Arondelii, Londini.

a Nunc nunc, optime et coniunctissime Iuni, et consilio, et auxilio mihi opus est tuo. Nec enim dubito, quin iamdudum certior factus sis, quanto in oculorum periculo versetur filius Ioannes.² Multum autem metuo, ne quibus in locis degit filius satis magna sit praestantium medicorum penuria. Vel aliter si est, saltem immenso pretio conducuntur. Et non semel audivi, caelum solumque Cantabrigiense esse infestum iis, qui catarrhis obnoxii sunt. Quanto magis illis, quibus triste adeo malum a catarrhis obvenit! Haec valde animum meum urunt et macerant; magis profecto, quam scribere possum. Sed subinde recolligo me, ac Deum esse cogito, a quo hoc malum nobis obtigit; si modo malum dici debet. Nam a fonte illo omnis boni nihil mali promanat, quia quae mala dicuntur, etiam in bonum bonis tendunt. Deum oro, ut me spiritu suo firmet, quo in miseria hac eo solatio animum meum sustentem.

²⁰ Johan de Brune and Maria Roels.

²¹ Junius had hinted at giving his widowed sister Johanna pecuniary support in **49d**.

²² Possibly from a share in the Dutch West India Company, founded in 1621, which sailed to North America, the Carribean, Brazil and Guinea. Besides trade in gold from Guinea, the activities of the Company mainly consisted in raiding Spanish and Portuguese ships. Johanna's profit may have been yielded by Lieutenant-Admiral Piet Heyn's famous capture of the Spanish treasure fleet, which included

I wish, because Johan de Brune and his wife have come to stay with me and I think he should not be left without my company any longer. He told me to give you warmest regards on his behalf. Your sister Johanna's situation has begun to improve these past months, for which I and my wife are most happy. She has a much more steady heart now than she usually has. Your generosity aided, but above all that she received five hundred or more from an American business. I hope that she and your whole ancestral family will be in God's care.

Leiden, 1629, the day before the Kalends of July [30 Jun.].

Yours Truly, Ger.Jo. Vossius.

64 29 08 20 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the most noble gentleman Francis Junius, Franciscus' son, at the most illustrious earl of Arundel's house in London.

a Now, now, my best and dearest Junius, I need both your advice and assistance. I do not doubt that you have already earlier been informed of in what a great danger my son Joannes' eyes are. But I deeply fear there is a quite considerable scarcity of competent physicians in the place where my son lives, or, if it is otherwise, they must at least be hired at an enormous fee. I have also heard more than once that the air and soil of Cambridge are dangerous for those who are sensitive to catarrh. How much the more so for those to whom such a sad harm occurs due to catarrh! This is greatly consuming and vexing my heart, actually more than I can write. But then, I collect myself and think that there is a God, through whom this harm occurs to us—provided it must be called a harm, for no harm originates from that source of all good, because what is called a harm also extends to a bounty for good people. I pray God to strengthen me with his Spirit so that I may support my heart with that comfort in this misery.

forty thousand barrels of sugar from Brazil worth eight million guilders, on 9 September 1628. Cf. Israel (1989:156–70, esp. 161–62).

¹ *o*: UBA, M 99f.

² Joannes Vossius had been completely blind for some time, cf. **65b**, Rademaker (1981:231).

- b** Quod si °morbus ille oculorum durat, quid facto opus, mi affinis? Mihi quidem sic videtur, tentanda esse primum remedia. Fortasse iis benedicet Deus. Hoc fine etiam transmisi filio consilia Schrevelii et Florentii, quorum duorum doctrina et experientia magni hic fit.³ Nec aliorum vel ego vel uxor opera uti solemus. Quod si iam ea Angli medici tentarunt, et malum pertinax est, nec istic loci alterius aliquid agendum videtur; maxime mihi placeat, ut filius ad nos redeat.⁴ Hoc fine, vel tute, vel alius fidum hominem procurare filio possitis, qui eum in terras nostras reducat. Quid si in comitatu Mucheronii, iuvenis optime de filio meo merentis, esse possit?⁵ Tam pulcrum sodalitiū magnopere solabitur filium in via. Nec nimis id molestum Mucheronio erit, si meus famulum habeat, qui omnia necessaria ei praestet.
- c** Ubi reducem amplecti filium contigerit, credo mihi lachrymae ubertim excident, qui iam senior talem conspiciam filium aetate florentem, nec conspici ab eo possim. Sed utinam tamen vel sic videam; dummodo ille oculis fidei Deum videat, et Mediatorem Christum. Triste est coecum esse oculis corporis, sed millemplo tristius coecum esse oculis animi. Ubi °ad nos redierit, expromam omnia, quae paternus potest affectus. Non sumtibus parcam in medicis, non labori in instituendo. Tantum fortem mihi animum, sed et uxori opto, et ante omnes filio ipsi. Quamquam non puto hanc °rem filio esse acerbiorē, quam mihi, qui illum pene plus oculis meis amo.
- d** Vale coniunctissime adfinis, atque ita tibi persuade, magnam me fiduciam post Deum reposuisse cum in prudentia tua, quam plurimi semper feci, tum imprimis in amore et benevolentia tua singulari.

b morbus: [..> morbus] | **c** ad nos: \ad nos/ | rem: \rem/

³ Ewaldus Schrevelius (1575–1646), expert physician and professor of medicine at Leiden from 1624; Henricus Florentius (b. 1590?), presumably a physician in Leiden, whom the trustees of the university had allowed to do dissections for experimentation in 1617. Cf. *BWN* 17.496, *NBW* 4.604.

⁴ The greatest danger had already passed, so there was no need for Joannes to return home, **65b**.

⁵ Possibly the student from the powerful Antwerp and Amsterdam based merchant family de Moucheron, whose regards to Vossius Joannes had sent in his first letter from England, **App3**. Joannes had referred to a letter from de Moucheron, who was evidently with him, to Vossius in a letter dated 29 02 14, and it was de

- b** But if this eye disease lasts, what must be done, my brother? I, at least, think as follows, that medicines must be tried first. Perhaps God will bless them. To that end I have also sent Schrevelius' and Florentius' consultation to my son; the learning and experience of these two is highly regarded here. Neither me nor my wife usually employ anybody else's aid. But if the English physicians have already tried them and the injury is persistent and it seems that nothing else must be done there, it would please me most that my son returns to us. To this end, either you yourself or somebody else can find a trustworthy person for my son to guide him back to our country. What if it is possible for him to be in the company of de Moucheron, a young man who deserves best of my son? Such excellent company will greatly comfort my son on the way. It will not be too great a trouble for de Moucheron, if my son has a servant to take care of all his luggage.
- c** When the moment comes that I shall embrace my son on his return, tears, I believe, will abundantly run down from me, who, already old, look on such a son in the prime of his life and cannot be looked on by him. But let me just see it in this way, provided he may see God and our Mediator Christ with the eyes of faith. It is sad to be blind with one's physical eyes, but it is a thousand times sadder to be blind with one's spiritual eyes. When he has returned to us I will show everything which a fatherly affection can. I will not be sparing with expenses for physicians nor with pains for his education. I only wish a strong heart for myself and also for my wife and, before everybody else, for my son himself. Although I do not think this to be more grievous to my son than to me, who love him almost more than my own eyes.
- d** Farewell, dearest Brother, and be convinced that I have put great confidence, after God, both in your wisdom, which I have always regarded most highly, and especially in your extraordinary love and kindness. May God inspire you with the best, and not only you, but

Moucheron who informed Vossius of Joannes' blindness, **d**. A former servant of one de Moucheron was on his way from George Rataller Doublet to Vossius at about 29 10 21, and one de Moucheron was expected to be with the Vossius family a day or two after 30 [12 19]. He was presumably not Henricus de Moucheron from Amsterdam, who had been enrolled at Leiden on 12 June of the current year, aged 18, for the study of letters. Cf. Rawl. 84B, f. 135; Rawl. 80, f. 41; Hl. 7012, f. 446; *ASL* (1875:219).

Deus tibi optima inspiret, nec tibi modo, sed filio etiam, et Mucheronio. Vobis omne ego consilium committo. Melius enim coram *perspici-*etis, quid facto sit opus, quam ego, qui longe adeo absum. Nec vitio °vestrum cuiquam vertam, siquid aliter ceciderit, quam putassetis. Novi enim et vos homines esse; eoque *ferventius* Deum oro, ut bona vobis consilia suggerat. Salutant te uxor et liberi. Lugduni *Batavorum*, MDCXXIX, XX Augusti, °paucis horis ex quo Mucheronii nostri literas acceperam;⁶ *raptim*. Tuus affinis G.Io. Vossius.

64 65 [29 09–10 00] JUNIUS [-] TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

A Gerardo Vossio affini coniunctissimo.

a *Salutem plurimam*. Ioannem tuum, et quia tuus, et quia te dignus est filius, quisquis Cantabrigiae spectatior paullo, flagrantissime amat, et, quo non minus gaudeas, unice probat. Hunc tamen ego, non ut multi, sed coniunctius diligo; cum studia, mores, assidua familiae vestrae in me beneficia, nexus denique propinqui sanguinis tot tantisque mutuae necessitudinis vinculis nos constringant. Unde neque mihi falsus animi videbar, quod summi affectus ardorem nullum incremento locum reliquisse iudicabam; cum ecce inventum est quod supercresceret charitati, sacrisque nominibus accederet.²

b In extremis Nottinghamensis et Eboracensis agri confiniis quotidiana venationis et aucupii exercitia sectanti mihi redditae sunt Iohannis nostri litterae, in quibus perscribebat vim luminis, malignis variolorum humoribus pene exesam, paullatim sibi rediisse.³ Scis

d vestrum: vestri | paucis: [- *Raptim*] paucis

⁶ De Moucheron's letter to Vossius, evidently informing him of Joannes' blindness, unretrieved.

¹ *ca*: UBA, M 78d, on the same sheet as letters 67 and 68. Written after the receipt of letter 64, cf. c, yet before Vossius came to England at the end of October, 66a. Junius' whereabouts, whether in the English countryside or in London, are not exactly known, b.

² Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 5.14.25–27, "quod supercresceret caritati, quod posset sacris nominibus accedere; hic solus maior affectus est quam filios amare: filii misereri" [. . . this is the only affection deeper than to love one's sons: to feel compassion for one's son].

³ Junius must have accompanied William Howard. It gives a rare insight in his

also my son and de Moucheron. I entrust all policy to you, for you will better perceive in person what must be done than I, who am quite far away. I will not lay blame on any of you, if anything turns out differently than you would have expected. For I know that you are also human, which is why I pray God all the more fervently to suggest good advice to you. My wife and children greet you.

Leiden, 1629, 20 August, a few hours after I received our de Moucheron's letter. In haste.

Your brother G.Jo. Vossius.

65 [29 09–10 00] JUNIUS [-] TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]

A To dearest Brother Gerardus Vossius.

a Warmest regards. Your Joannes is loved most ardently, both because he is your son and because he is a son worthy of you, by everybody who is quite deeply respected in Cambridge and—something for which you will rejoice no less—he is singularly approved of. Yet I love him not like the multitude, but more closely, because studies, manners, continuing favours of your family towards me and, finally, the bonds of near kinship hold us together with so many and such great ties of joint relationship; for this reason I did not seem to deceive myself, when I judged that the ardour of the deepest affection had no place left for any increase, when look, there was found something which might join affection and might be added to divine motives.

b When I was pursuing the daily exercises of hunting and fowling in the outer borders of Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire, I received our Joannes' letter, in which he wrote that his sight, which had almost been destroyed by the malign humours of pustules, was gradually returning to him. You know how exceedingly we encompass the unforeseen infirmities of our relatives, especially of absent ones, with commiseration and how great incitements the fear of losing them supplies to love. Your son's handwriting actually gave a sure

activities and duties outside the study, 42e, 58a, 101j. They probably stayed at Worksop Manor Lodge at Worksop Manor, Nottinghamshire, the estates that had come into the family through Countess Aletheia. Joannes' letter to Junius unretrieved. Cf. Howarth (1985:15–19); for Joannes' blindness, also cf. 64a–b.

quanto notabilius proximorum, praesertim absentium, improvisas debilitates miseratione complectamur, quantasque amori faces subdat carendi metus. Afferebat quidem filii tui manus certam fidem valetudinis in melius euntis; vix tamen lacrymas tenui, et ad ultimam perductus tristitiam, tractis ex imo suspiriis brevissime collecti spiritus, fui similis exclamaturō nescio quid.⁴ Stupuit ingens cura.⁵ Vocem ergo non inveniens, animo tantum et cogitatione tristissimam gravis nuntii imaginem obibam. In peregrino nempe solo iacuisse Ioannem nostrum, correptum foedo et indigenis exosissimo morbo, neque inter tot ardentissima irrequieti languoris desideria quemquam habuisse quem posceret; patrem, matrem, fratres, propinquos, me tamen praecipue, tantum cogitantem; dum parentes fratresque mare dividit; me vero terrestris itineris intervallum non ita magnum disingit, sed ignarum prorsus tanti mali; non potuisse aegri toro assidere; cibos porrigere; fomenta adhibere; fatigatum latus mutare; iactatas toto lectulo manus affectu sedulo continere; strata, immodici ardoris impatientia discussa, super aestuantes artus reponere; negare aut indulgere quidquid flagrantium viscerum flagitabat infirmitas; coeci denique vestigia fida manu dirigere.

- c Vixdum hunc suum impetum moestissimus apud se animus digesserat, cum tuam quoque lacrymabilem epistolam accepi, atque ex ea °perspexi in quantis °fueris tormentis, quum patrio luctu dictante scriberes haec, scriberes sola.⁶ Multa luctuosa dolor tuus invenit, quae nunc referre piget. Invitus enim revolvor ad memoriam angustiarum quas perpessus es, dolendo quantum sciebas accidisse, metuendo quantum poterat accidere. Grata magis est memoria fortium solatiorum, quibus, dum confusioni tuae medicinam facere studes, tristitiam quoque meam respirare ac relevari ilico sensi; licet infixus etiamnum haereat et in praecordiis adhuc saeviat ille vix consolabilis dolor, quod filio tuo | aegrotanti mortifere nihil in me fuerit praesidii.

c perspexi: [- *intellexi*] perspexi | fueris: [- *.er*] fueris

⁴ Petronius, *Satyricon* 24.1.1–3, **38c**; Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 19.15.11, “pertractis ab ima pectoris parte suspiriis brevissime collecti spiritus, ille, quo redidit anima, singultus fuit similis exclamaturō nescio quid,” **105b**, **125b**.

guarantee of health which was improving, yet I hardly held back my tears and, led to the profoundest grief, drawing sighs of gasping breath from deep within, I was similar to someone about to exclaim something. An immense concern stunned me. So, unable to find my voice, I just envisaged in my heart and mind the deeply sad image of the serious news, that is, that our Joannes was lying ill in a foreign country, seized by a disease that is horrible and exceedingly hated by natives, and that he did not have anyone to call upon during so many most ardent desires of restless faintness; thinking only of his father, his mother, his brothers, his relatives, yet especially of me, because the sea divides his parents and brothers from him, but not so large a distance of a trip over land separates me from him, but that I am completely unaware of such a great harm; that I could not sit down at the sickbed, offer food, bring poultices, shift his side in case of weariness, with unremitting affection hold the hands that are being tossed about over the entire bed, put back the blankets that were shaken off by the impatience of immoderate ardour over the raging limbs, deny or allow whatever the weakness of hot inwards demanded and, finally, guide the steps of the blind one with a firm hand.

c Scarcely yet had the most sorrowful heart forced apart this blow with itself, when I received your equally lamentable letter and understood from it in how great torments you were when you wrote this—and this only, dictated by fatherly grief. Your grief finds many sorrows, which I loathe to tell now, for I reluctantly return to a memory of the distresses you endured, grieving for as much as you knew to have happened, and fearing for as much as could happen. Much more agreeable is the recollection of strong comforts, thanks to which I immediately felt that also my sadness recovered and was comforted, because you try to bring a medicine for your confusion—although that hardly consolable grief still remains fixed and is still raging in my heart, because I could not offer any assistance to your mortally sick son.

⁵ Cf. Seneca the Younger, *Phaedra* 607, “*curae leves locuntur, ingentes stupent*” [slight concerns speak, heavy ones stupify].

⁶ Letter 65, the receipt of which gives the date *post quem* of the present letter.

d Voluit certe nos Universi Dominus in commune succurrere, et per mutuas auxiliorum vices in altero quemque, quod pro se timeret, asserere; nondum haec charitas est, nec personis impensa reverentia, sed similibus accidentium providus metus, et communium fortuitorum religiosus horror.

66 [29 11 00] VOSSIUS [LONDON] TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

a Coniunctissime adfinis Iuni,
Dum tu, pariterque *vir clarus* Pittaeus, me in aedibus illustrissimi Vicecomitis *Domini* Carletoni praestolaremini, ego, ut scis, ipsi *Domino* Vicecomiti aderam, °qui quam prolixè, ut antea semper, ita tum quoque suum erga me adfectum ostendit.² Quo nomine aeternum ei debebo, et mecum tota domus maximi viri, parentis tui. De variis mecum quam humanissime egit. Inter alia de duobus capitibus exquisivit, idque ex sententia reverendissimi Domini Archiepiscopi.³ Unum erat de praestando fidelitatis iuramento serenissimo Regi. Alterum de approbanda doctrina °Ecclesiae Anglicanae. Ego dixi me et Regi semper fidelem fore, idque iuraturum, et approbare atque amplecti doctrinam Ecclesiae huius. Nec sententiam unquam mutabo; sed tamen, quia inter bonos bene agier oportet,⁴ scis intelligi hoc iuramentum debere ea condicione, ut ne beneficium regum esse beneficium desinat. Quod fiat, si iurans serenissimo Regi, credar eiurare superiores meos in Belgica; quod si fit, omnino ab iis priver dignitatibus, quas in eorum terris sustineo. Cum Cantabrigiae essem, iurabam Regi, et Academiae, quatenus non obstaret °hoc statutis et privilegiis

a qui: – | Ecclesiae: [– *sententiae*] Ecclesiae | hoc: \hoc/

¹ *o*: UBA, M 100i. Written during Vossius' visit to England, just before he left for Oxford, presumably from London, **a–b**. *ICVossius* (1993:357) has not proposed a date for this letter, listing it instead as "000000 JUN 2."

² Vossius made a tour of England from the end of October to early December 1629 to see his son Joannes at Cambridge, meet scholars, but above all to receive a canonry at Canterbury. King Charles had granted Vossius English citizenship and the first vacant canonry in Canterbury in July 1628, through the mediation of Bishop Laud. A canonry became vacant in September 1629, and Vossius accordingly sailed to England in the company of his sons Matthaëus and Dionysius and the student Leonard Casembroot (b. c.1612). The canonry yielded a prebend of £100 yearly, **140c**, **152d**. When Vossius sailed home early December, Junius accom-

d The Lord of the Universe certainly wished us to support each other and each of us to free the other from what he feared for himself through reciprocal support; this is not yet love, nor a great reverence for a person, but a provident fear for similar accidents and a conscientious terror of common hazards.

66 [29 11 00] VOSSIUS [LONDON] TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

a Dearest Brother Junius,

When you, as well as the renowned gentleman Petty, were waiting for me at the house of the most illustrious lord viscount Carleton, I was—as you know—with the same lord viscount, who showed his affection for me as most exuberantly then as always before. Because of this I will be obliged to him forever, and together with me the whole family of that exalted man, your father. He most kindly spoke to me about several matters. Among other things, he inquired after two principle points, and did so in accordance with the right reverend lord archbishop’s intention. The first was about the taking of an oath of loyalty to the serene king, the second about my approving of the doctrine of the Church of England. I said I would always be loyal to the king and was prepared to swear so, and approved of and accepted the doctrine of this church. I will never change my determination; but still, as should be done among good people, you know that this oath must be understood on this condition, that the royal benefice does not cease to be a benefice. This may happen, if I am considered to have forsworn my superiors in the Low Countries by swearing to the serene king; and if this is so, I may be completely stripped of those offices which I hold in their country. When I was in Cambridge, I swore to the king and the university in so far as this did not oppose the statutes and privileges of Leiden

panied him, **67a**. Sir Dudley Carleton had been created viscount Dorchester in 1628 on his return to England after his embassy in The Hague. He seems to have lived in London. Cf. *DNB* 3.996–99, Rademaker (1981:165), Blok (1999:83–84); for an account of the journey, which included an audience with the king, cf. Rademaker (1981:232–35), who has not mentioned this letter.

³ On his arrival, Vossius had gone straight to London to see Laud and Archbishop Abbot.

⁴ Current in Cicero, for instance *Epistulae ad familiares* 7.12.2.3–4, “ubi porro illa erit formula fiducia: ut inter bonos bene agier oportet.”

Leidensis Academiae.⁵ Idem, ut puto, hic fieri sit opus. Iurabo igitur serenissimi Regis maiestati, salva potestate superiorum meorum in partibus transmarinis, atque integro iure, quo Academiae Leidensi obstringor.

- b** Convenies reve|rendissimum dominum et patronum meum *Dominum* Episcopum Londinensem, cui omnia debeo; atque °ex eius reverendissimi patris consilio, me absente, ages omnia. Si ille opus putarit, accedes meo nomine illustrissimum vicecomitem, eique significabis, quomodo in sententia hesternae omnino perstem; sed videri opus, ut si de iuramento meo in regio instrumento fieri mentio debet, aliqua cautio adhibeatur, ne, ubi domum venerim dicar, emancipasse me potestati °ordinum Belgicae, eoque non posse ibi deinceps ea munia, quae sustineo hactenus, obire. Sane id si fiat, fortunas meas evertero, ut vides. Pro tua prudentia hanc rem moderaberis, omniaque ex consilio reverendissimi Domini Episcopi, vere patris mei, hoc in negotio ages. Plura nunc non possim, quia equi adscendendi ad Oxonienses ituro.⁶ Quare tantae festinationi ignosces.

Tuus affinis, adfectu frater, Ger. Vossius.

67₇₂ 30 03 10 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

A °Coniunctissimo affini Gerardo Vossio.

a Coniunctissime affinis,

Vixdum gaudii plenus Britannicum solum pede presseram, quum ecce nuntius, qui Iohannem nostrum sibi ea ipsa hora visum esse diceret, gaudium hoc mihi cumulavit.² Postridie itaque mane ad

b ex: [- ..] ex | ordinum: [- regia] ordinum

67A: *d* Affini Vossio

⁵ For three days Vossius and his company stayed at Cambridge, where he was enrolled and spent most of the time with Joannes Vossius, cf. Rademaker (1981:233–34).

⁶ For two days Vossius and his company stayed at Oxford, where he was enrolled, received a formal dinner and visited the Bodleian library, cf. Rademaker (1981:234).

¹ *o*: BL, Hl. 7012, f. 36. *d*: UBA, M 78e, on the same sheet as letters **68** and **65**. Vossius received this letter only in July, **72a**.

² Junius had accompanied Vossius to Holland in the beginning of December 1629 and returned to England early in January, **66**, **69a**, **70b^a**. His return seems to have been somewhat hurried, as Vossius later wrote apologetically to Meric

University. The same, I think, will have to be done here. Thus, I will swear to the majesty of the serene king on condition of the uninjured power of my superiors overseas and the unchanged right with which I am bound to Leiden University.

- b** You must go to the right reverend lord and my patron, the lord bishop of London, whom I owe everything; and you must do everything in my absence in accordance with that right reverend father's advice. If he thinks it necessary, you must approach the most illustrious viscount on my behalf and intimate to him how I wholly persevere in my determination of yesterday, but that it seems necessary to practise some caution if my oath must be mentioned in the royal record, so that, having come home, I am not considered to have declared myself free from the power of the Dutch States, and consequently not to be able in the future to attend to those duties which I have had there up to now. Truly, if that happens, I have subverted my fate, as you see. You must arrange this in accordance with your discretion, and do everything in this business after the right reverend lord bishop's advice, who is truly a father to me. I cannot write more now, because we must mount the horses, as we are going to Oxford. So you must pardon such a great haste.

Your relative and affectionate brother, Ger. Vossius.

67 30 03 10 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]

A To dearest Brother Gerardus Vossius.

a Dearest Brother,

Hardly had I, full of happiness, set foot on English soil, when look, a messenger, who said he had seen our Joannes that very hour. This increased my happiness. So, the next day in the morning I rushed to his lodgings, and after several words about your and your family's good health, I only added that quite a concern had been given to

Casaubon, **71a**, "*affinis Iunius, quem sine literis meis dimittere nefas putassem, occasione quadam subita praeter opinionem et suam et nostram recessit*" [though I would have considered it wrong to send him away without my letter (for you), Brother-in-law Junius departed on a sudden occasion contrary to both his and our expectation], 30 07 20, Colomesius 1.121. Joannes Vossius was studying at Cambridge. Cf. Rademaker (1981:232–34).

hospitium eius advolavi, et post paucos de tua tuorumque prospera valetudine sermones, hoc tantum addidi, non levem animo meo sollicitudinem iniectam quod te pro cista, quam Londinii reliqueras, incerta variaque spe vehementer anxium vidissem. Ibi tum ille satis asseveranter curam hanc deponere iussit, neque enim dubium sibi esse quin iam dudum sarta tecta ad manus tuas perlata sit; quumque prolixè satis captatae occasionis opportunitatem animo meo probasset, non invitus potiora mihi proponens, blandam spem amplectebat.

b Iam redierat mihi animus et cura ex corde excesserat, cum subiit animum percontari quaenam illum negotia °Londinium evocassent.³ “Collegii nostri rebus,” inquit ille, “ita postulantibus, ego cum duobus aliis in hoc missus sum, ut per nos confierent quae usus °exegisset.”⁴ Visum id mihi perquam frivolum, neque enim in tanta indigenarum copia °homini peregrino talem provinciam °imponi solere iudicabam. Videbatur idem Domino Martino, qui *reverendo* Episcopo Londiniensi a sacris est, qui et hoc insuper addebat, postulasse Iohannem nostrum, quum in ipsum incidisset, ne *reverendo* Episcopo quidquam de adventu suo significaret.⁵ Tute iudica. Spondit interim Dominus Martinus se prima quaque occasione certi aliquid ad me delaturum.

c Serius aliquanto haec ad te perscripsi, quod rebus meis vixdum ab itinere compositis rus °petierim, atque ibi hebdomadas aliquot cum Domino meo transigere coactus °fuerim. Reversum statim excipiebat aegritudo animi quam ex gravissimo atque inexplicabili Pettaei nostri morbo capiebam.⁶ Sed is praeter omnium opinionem Dei *optimi maximi* beneficio iam hilaris, iam sibi, iam publico redditus, incipit refici, transmissumque discrimen convalescendo remetiri.⁷ Etiamnum

b Londinium: *d* [*Romam* > Londinium] | exegisset: *d* [- *collegii*] exegisset | homini peregrino talem: *d* [*ab homine* > talem homini] peregrino | imponi solere: *d* [. . . *potuisse* > imponi solere] | **c** petierim: *d* [*abierim* > petierim] | fuerim: *d* sim

³ Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 8.3.8, “ceterum Romani . . . decem principes Latinorum Romam euocauerunt;” Cicero, *In Verrem* 1.85.4–5, “Pericles Ephesius . . . Romam evocatus est;” Suetonius Tranquillus, *De vita caesarum* [life Tiberius] 62.1.7–8, “Rhodiensem hospitem, quem familiaribus litteris Romam evocarat;” Velleius Paterculus, *Historia Romana* 2.129.1.5, “Romam evocavit!”

⁴ Joannes was a fellow of Jesus College, 59d.

⁵ Edward Martin (d. 1662), chaplain of Bishop Laud from 1627, and elected president of Queens’ College, Cambridge, in 1631, cf. *DNB* 36.273–74.

my heart because I had seen you extremely anxious with uncertain and unsteady hopes about the chest which you had left in London. There and then he quite earnestly told me to lay aside this concern, for he did not doubt it had already long before come to your hands safe and sound; and when he had quite exhaustively proven to my heart the convenience of the opportunity that had been taken, I readily imagined the better for myself and cherished the pleasant prospect.

b My spirit had already returned and concern left my heart, when it occurred to me to inquire which business had called him to London. "Since the business of our college requires so," he said, "I was sent with two others in order to accomplish what the [college] benefit required." This seemed extremely silly to me, for I felt that with so great a crowd of native people such a duty is usually not assigned to a foreigner. Mr. Martin, who is chaplain to the reverend bishop of London, thought the same, and added this besides, that when he had accidentally met him, our Joannes had asked him not to indicate anything about his coming to the reverend bishop. You, judge for yourself. Meanwhile, Mr. Martin promised to tell me any news on the first possible opportunity.

c I have written this to you rather late, because I left for the countryside when I had scarcely yet unpacked my luggage from the journey, and was forced to stay there several weeks with my lord. Right on my return I was stricken by heartfelt grief, which I felt from our Petty's most serious and inexplicable disease. But, beyond everybody's expectation, thanks to the favour of Allgood and Almighty God, he is cheerful now and restored to himself and the public weal now, and begins to grow strong and to remeasure, in recovering, the danger surmounted. Yet, still feeble and confined to his bed, he asks

⁶ William Petty seems to have accompanied Junius and Vossius to Holland and travelled on to Denmark, for Vossius wrote a letter of introduction for Petty from Leiden, dated 30 01 13, to deliver to Joannes Meursius in Sorø. As Vossius indicated, in Athens Petty had had with him Meursius' *Athenae Atticae, sive de praecipuis Athenarum antiquitatibus libri III* (Leiden, [1624]), and now wished to take a chance to meet its author, cf. Colomesius 1.109.

⁷ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 8.11.2.1–3, "iam hilaris, iam sibi iam mihi reddita incipit refici, transmissumque discrimen convalescendo metiri."

tamen debilis et lectulo affixus rogat ut caussam suam agas apud doctissimum humanissimumque Dominum Dinlaeum; tandem bonae valetudinis compotitus, paria faciet.⁸ Vale, et me porro amare perge. °Anno 1630, 28 *Februariis stilo vetere*, Londinii, in aedibus Arundelianis. Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

68 30 03 10 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

A Dionysio Vossio cognato suo dilectissimo.

a Cognate suavissime,

Oblata duplici mora (cuius rationes patri °tuo reddidi), nescio an promissi mei gratiam taedium expectationis consumpserit.² In secundis tamen habeo non fefellisse. Repraesento itaque bona fide quae °discessurus pollicebar; unum hoc excipio, quod nondum vacavit perreptare veterariorum officinas, si forte in rariores aliquos Musicos inciderem.³

b Habes hic *Commentarios* in epistolas *Divi Paulli* ad Colossenses et Titum, scis eos cognatis nostris exhibendos.⁴ Est libellus in 8° Italicus cognato Francisco, fratri tuo, dandus.⁵ Reliquos tibi habe.⁶ Non arbitror fratrem tuum Mattheum, optime de me meritum, vidisse historiolum hanc *Benedicti* de Acoltis; eam, si placet, sumat.⁷ Dabo operam ut °tandem aliquando de singulis °vobis bene mereri possim. Plurimam meis verbis salutem °matri, fratribus, sororibusque dices.

Raptim; Londinii, in aedibus Arrundelianis, anno 1630, 28 *Februariis stilo vetere*.

Tui amantissimus.

c Anno . . . Iunius: *d* –

68a tuo: [– *reddi*] tuo | discessurus: [– *pollicitus*] discessurus | **b** tandem: [– *melius aliquando de vobis omnibus tandem*] tandem | vobis bene: \vobis bene/ | matri: \matri/

⁸ Possibly John Dineley, secretary of Elizabeth (1596–1662), queen of Bohemia, who resided in The Hague. Petty may have met him there, and have hoped for a commission from the queen. Cf. Hervey (1921:343n).

¹ *d*: UBA, M 78f, on the same sheet as letters **65** and **67**. Dionysius received this letter only in July, **72a**.

² Letter **67**.

³ Junius had returned from Holland in January, **67a**. “veterariorum officinas” are presumably second-hand bookshops, **10d**. During his tour of England with his father, Dionysius may have become interested in English literature, and for that reason also wished to have a copy of Sidney, *c*, **66a**°.

you to plead his case with the most learned and friendly Mr. Dineley; he will do the same when he has finally obtained good health. Farewell and continue to love me.

In the year 1630, 28 February old style, London, at Arundel House. Obliginglly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

68 30 03 10 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]

A To Dionysius Vossius, his dearly beloved nephew.

a Sweetest Nephew,

Now that two delays have occurred (an account of which I rendered to your father), I do not know whether the boredom of expectation has spoilt the charm of my promise. But in my favour I have that I have not failed my promise. So I present in good faith what I promised on my departure; I make an exception only for this, that I have not yet had time to scour antiquarian shops, to see if I found rare poets.

b Here you have the *Commentaries to St. Paul's Epistles to the Colossians and to Titus*; you know that they must be given to our relatives. There is an Italian booklet in octavo to be given to your brother Franciscus. Keep the others for yourself. I do not think your brother Matthaeus, who has deserved the best of me, has seen this little history by Benedetto de Accolti. He may take it, if he likes. I will take pains finally to be able to deserve well of each of you. You must give warmest regards on my behalf to your mother, brothers and sisters. In haste. London, at Arundel House, in the year 1630, 28 February old style.

Your most loving.

⁴ Although there were many commentaries to St. Paul's letters, one restricted to his letters to Colossenses and Titus had not been published, nor separate commentaries to all individual letters, so that the copies may have been John Calvin, *Commentarii in quatuor Pauli epistolas: ad Galatas, ad Ephesios, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenses* (Geneva, 1548) and his *Commentarii in Epistolam ad Titum* (Geneva, 1550), probably for Jacob van den Corput and Jacob de Witt, **73a**.

⁵ Italian octavo book for Franciscus Vossius unidentified.

⁶ One of these copies was Sidney, c.

⁷ Benedetto de Accolti, *De Bello a Christianis contra barbaros gesto pro Christi sepulchro et Iudaea recuperandis libri IIII*, first published Venice, 1532, a history of the first crusade composed a decade after the fall of Constantinople (1453), for Matthaeus Vossius, cf. Black (1985:224–85).

- c Non te latet libros hic sordidius aliquanto compingi; °quae ratio est cur satius duxerim Sidneyum incompectum ad te transmittere.⁸

69₇₁ 30 03 16 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

- A °Nobili et doctissimo viro Francisco Iunio, Francisco filio, in aedibus illustrissimi Comitis Arondelii, Londini.

a *Salutem plurimam.* Ranis illis Seriphiis, mi affinis, taciturnior mihi videris. Citius illis vocem, quam tibi verbum aliquod expressero.² Quippe iam bimestre est quod a nobis abiisti, ac ne illud quidem significas, an salvus in Britanniam adveneris.³ Profecto nisi satis mihi perspectum foret, quam tardus sis in scribendo, plane aliquid suspicarer, quod dicere nolo. Interea ut mihi, optimae sorori et liberis etiam meis omnem eximas scrupulum, silentium rumpe, et nos quamprimum literis compella. Si non ob aliud, saltem ut ne ultra ignorem quod me maxime tangit. Quare κίνου τήν γραφίδα, καὶ χαρίζου τὸ °έπιστέλλειν. Nam quid magnopere iuвет, si nos mutuo amemus et ne literis quidem alter altero fruamur. Nempe sic Tantalο iure comparemur, cui etiam deerat quod habebat.⁴

b Franciscus meus pro gradu, ut loquimur, doctorali publice disputavit, ac strenue rem gessit.⁵ Smoutius ab Amstelodamensibus urbe

c quae: [- mitto] quae

69A: c (in Vossius's hand), p Fr. Iunio Fr.F. Londinum | a ἐπιστέλλειν: c, ρ ἀπιστοῦργειν

⁸ Probably Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1627), the most recent edition. Junius' own annotated copy is *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia. Now the fourth time published, with some new additions* (London: H.L. for Simon Waterson, 1613), now UBL, 766 A 15 (from Isaac Vossius' collection). Besides the "Arcadia," which he annotated most heavily, Junius underlined phrases in "In Defence of Poesie" which were of particular interest to his art theory, such as "Nature neuer set forth the earth in so rich a Tapestrie as diuerse Poets haue done" (p. 494). In addition, he underlined phrases betraying an interest in the English literary heritage and antiquarian studies, such as one on Chaucer's excellence as a poet (p. 513), 214a, and "Wales, the true remnant of the ancient Brittons" (p. 493). Sidney's "Certain Sonnets," "Astrophel and Stella" and "Her most excellent maiestie walking in Wansteed Garden" have incidental or no underlinings. Junius made use of Sidney at the time for his art-theoretical studies, and must have been particularly attracted by the Protestant principles of Sidney's poetic, 93a, 108e, k, 116b. The courtier-poet Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586) was the uncle of Countess Aletheia's

- c It is not unknown to you that books are bound rather poorly here, which is the reason why I thought it better to send Sidney to you unbound.

69 30 03 16 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the noble and most learned gentleman Francis Junius, Franciscus' son, at the court of the most illustrious earl of Arundel, London.

a Warmest regards. I find you more silent than those frogs from Serpho. I would sooner pull a sound from them than a word from you. For you already left us two months ago, but have not even indicated this, whether you safely arrived in England. Indeed, if I did not know well enough how slow you are in writing, I would surely suspect something I do not want to say. Meanwhile, in order to remove all anxiety from me, from your excellent sister and also from my children, break the silence and address us in a letter as soon as possible. If not because of anything else, at least so that I am no longer unaware of what moves me most. So, *take up your pen and oblige us by writing*. What great use is it, if we love each other and do not even enjoy each other's letters. For in this way we may rightly be compared to Tantalus, who also lacked what he had.

b My Franciscus disputed in public for his doctoral degree, as we say, and he briskly acquitted himself of it. Smout has been removed from town by the Amsterdammers. So he rented a house with us [in Leiden]. My *Oratory* will finally be finished within two or three weeks.

brother-in-law, the earl of Pembroke. Together with Lord Brooke, Sidney had been in Heidelberg in 1577, when they may have met Junius the Elder. The latter had dedicated his Hebrew grammar to him, 1aⁿ. Cf. Weiner (1986, esp. 208), Dundas (1998).

¹ *o*: UBA, M 99g. *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 44. *p1*: Colomesius 1.112, based on *c. p2*: *Epp. Vossius* 154; not collated.

² Erasmus, *Adage* 431, "Rana Seriphia," "used about silent men, and those who are quite unskilled in speaking or singing. Seriphian frogs, when transferred to Scyros, ceased to croak—hence the proverb," *CWE* 31, I.v.31.

³ Junius had returned from Holland in January, 67a, but Vossius and Dionysius Vossius had evidently not yet received letters 67 and 68.

⁴ Erasmus, *Adage* 1514, "Tantali poenae," "is to be used of those who have good things within reach but are forbidden to enjoy them," *CWE* 33, II.vi.14.

⁵ By defending several propositions at Leiden, Franciscus Vossius had been promoted to doctor in both laws on 5 February, cf. Rademaker (1981:162).

est exactus.⁶ Itaque apud nos domum conduxit. Oratoriae meae demum post hebdomades duas aut tres erunt absolutae.⁷ Filius Dionysius orsus est ex Arabico transferre gentis eius proverbia.⁸ Nonnihil tamen ab hac opera revocabit versio historiae Reidani.⁹ Heinsius propediem est editurus historiam omnium, quae superiori anno contigerunt.¹⁰ Vehementibus studiis agitur in conventu illustrium Ordinum, an de induciis sit cum Hispano agendum. Maior pars hactenus abhorreere ab eo consilio videtur.¹¹ Desidero scire, quando sperare liceat quae °affecta habeas de pictura, sculpturaque.¹² Martinius Bremensis videtur deposuisse cogitationes de affine Iunia.¹³ Nosse aveo, verene hic sparsum sit Seldenum carcere liberatum.¹⁴ Addes quoque quando visuri sumus clarissimi Pittei Athenas, aliaque.¹⁵ Quaeso urge virum. Metuo enim, ne ei calcare opus sit.¹⁶ Sorori °Brunaeae aegre est, quod ei migrandum erit ex aedibus, in quibus hactenus commode vixit.¹⁷ Ipse dominus °aedium in iis habitare

b affecta: c, p effecta | Brunaeae: \Brunaeae/ | aedium in: aed[+ ium in] (o illegible due to a piece of paper stuck onto the paper)

⁶ Adriaan Jorissen Smout (c.1580–1646), a zealous Counter-Remonstrant predicant in Amsterdam, who had urged exceptionally fervently for the superiority of church over state and against tolerance for Remonstrants. He was expelled from town on a barge on 7 January 1630. Although no congregation accepted him as their predicant, he remained much respected by the church. If it was new style, the date of Smoutius' banishment suggests that Junius had indeed left Holland early in January, **67a**. Cf. **77d**, *NNBW* 10.941–44, *BLGNP* 1.351–52.

⁷ Vossius, *Commentariorum rhetoricorum sive oratoriarum institutionum libri sex, ita tertia hac editione castigati, atque aucti, ut novum opus videri possint* (Leiden, 1630), the third enlarged edition of *Oratoriarum institutionum libri sex* (Leiden, 1606). In essence an introduction to Aristotle, the work was a survey of all that pertained to the art of rhetoric in antiquity. Cf. Rademaker (1981:78, 356, no. 3).

⁸ Dionysius Vossius had read the Arabic proverbs in 1626, **53b**. Translation not published.

⁹ Dionysius was preparing a Latin translation of Everard van Reyd, *Historie der Nederlandscher oorlogen begin ende voortganck tot den jare 1601* (Arnhem, 1601), a history of the Dutch Revolt, which was published as *Belgarum aliarumque gentium annales auctore Everardo Reidano Dionysio Vossio interprete* (Leiden, 1633). Cf. **77c**, **86b**, **94a**, *Repertorium*, no. 396, Rademaker (1981:163).

¹⁰ In his function as historiographer of Holland, Daniel Heinsius produced *Rerum ad Sylvam Ducis atque alibi in Belgio aut a Belgis anno 1629 gestarum historia* (Leiden, 1631), an account of Frederick Henry's prestigious siege of Bois-le-Duc and capture of the Spanish base Wesel in Cleves, **152c**, *Repertorium*, no. 215, de Wind (1833:412); for these Dutch victories, cf. Israel (1995:506–08).

¹¹ After the loss of 's Hertogenbosch and Wesel in 1629, Philip IV of Spain had proposed an unconditional truce, but the States had as yet refused. Frederick Henry,

My son Dionysius has begun to translate from Arabic the proverbs of this people. But the translation of van Reyd's history will somewhat distract him from this work. Heinsius will soon publish a history of everything that happened last year. It is discussed with great assiduity in the assembly of the illustrious States whether they must negotiate with the Spaniard about a truce. The majority seems to shrink back from this policy as yet. I want to know when we may expect what you have written on painting and sculpture. Martinius of Bremen seems to have given up his thoughts of Sister Junius. I wish to know whether it is reported here correctly that Selden has been released from prison. You must also add when we will see *Athens* and other books of the most illustrious Petty. I pray, urge the man, for I fear he needs the spurs. It annoys Sister de Brune that she must move from the house in which she has lived comfortably up to now. The landlord of the house decided to live in it himself. She received

the *Ridderschap* and such Remonstrant towns as Amsterdam and Rotterdam were in favour, but Counter-Remonstrant towns first desired stability in domestic order—or a restriction of the growing tolerance towards Remonstrants—before any negotiations were to be held. Besides, Zeeland and the East and West India Companies economically profited from the war, whereas Amsterdam and Rotterdam trade would benefit from a truce. In addition, Counter-Remonstrant predicants fervently preached to the people for continuation of war against the Roman Catholic Spaniards for religious reasons. Adriaan Smout was notorious for doing so. The first negotiations between the southern and northern Netherlands were held only in 1632. Cf. Israel (1995:508–14, 518), Poelhekke (1978:310, 314).

¹² The *Catalogus artificum* (1694), which Junius had shown to Vossius in London in 1629, **58b**, **93a**.

¹³ Matthias Martinius (1572–1630), philologist, professor of theology and rector of the Bremen *Athenaeum*. He had represented Bremen at the Synod of Dordrecht, where he had met Vossius. Via Vossius, Martinius tried to marry Maria Dison, the widow of Johan Casimir Junius, who had died in 1624. Martinius died later this year. Cf. *ADB* 20.514, Rademaker (1981:222–23).

¹⁴ John Selden had been imprisoned by the king for his activities in Parliament in March 1629, because he had strongly argued against the pretensions of the crown and for the liberty of the subject. Only in 1631, he was released on bail by the mediation of the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, on behalf of Countess Aletheia's sister the Countess of Kent, **178a**, who desired Selden, her legal adviser, to assist her in the division of the inheritance of their father Gilbert Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury. Cf. *DNB* 51.215–16, John Pory to John Scudamore, 31 03 24 o.s., in Powell (1977 [microfiche]); I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer.

¹⁵ William Petty did not publish about his travels, and, at the time, was seriously ill, **63b**, **67c**.

¹⁶ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 2.8.11.4–5, “alteri calcaribus opus esse diceret;” Ovid, *Remedia amoris* 788, “nunc opus est celeri subdere calcar equo.”

¹⁷ Johanna Junius had probably still lived at the *Booghaertstraat* in Middelburg, **42A**.

statuit. Literas a te Roterodamo ad se perscriptas toto mense post accepit, quod male eam habuit.¹⁸ Colvius noster uxorem ducit filiam Abrahami Mylii, puellam egregiam, nec male dotatam.¹⁹

- c** Amstelodamenses cogitant de uno alteroque professore °aliunde avocando, ne parentes necesse habeant tam cito ablegare liberos ad academiam, ubi maior pars corrumpitur licentia et malo exemplo.²⁰ Iam de Barlaeo super hac re actum, nondum tamen transactum.²¹ Nec dubito tamen quin si negotium procedat, caeteris sit praefendus. Dicuntur Ultraiectini cogitare de academia apud se erigenda.²² Quae res incommodare Leidensibus possit. Scis enim locum esse ad eam rem satis idoneum. Nec obstare Hollandi possint, cum aequae provinciam constituent ac °illi.
- d** Si quid ultra hic rei novae sit, cognoscere possis ex eo qui hasce literas defert. Est is senioris Trelcatii ex filia nepos, Castellani, Gallici ante annos aliquot Ecclesiastae, filius.²³ Hactenus mihi ignotus fuit. Sed cum studiorum caussa se in Britanniam velle ire diceret, et °perhonestus iuvenis videretur, sine meis eum literis dimittere nolui.
- e** Spera | veram fore, ut prior scriberes. Poteram sane te °compellare illo Homericō, “ἀρχε, σὺ γὰρ °γενεῆφι νεώτερος.”²⁴ °Sed mihi maius est literarum tuarum desiderium quam tibi °mearum. Scis enim quam aveam nosse omnia quae ad filium pertinent.²⁵ Quare praevertere te

c aliunde avocando: *c* (in Vossius's hand) [*apud se creando* > aliunde avocando] | illi: \illi/; *c* (in Vossius's hand) [*Hollandi* > illi] | **d** perhonestus: perhonest[+ us] | **e** compellare: com[+ pella]re | γενεῆφι: *p* γενεῆ | Sed: S[+ ed] | mearum: me[+ a]rum

¹⁸ Junius' letter from Rotterdam to Johanna Junius is unretrieved.

¹⁹ Andreas Colvius (1594–1671), predicant of the Walloon Church in Dordrecht from 1628, married Anna van der Myle, a daughter of Abraham van der Myle (b. 1563), a former Remonstrant predicant and a distinguished linguist. Cf. *NNBW* 1.627–29, *BWN* 4.636–37.

²⁰ This sentence is quoted after a resolution by the Amsterdam city council, drawn up at the end of 1629, for the founding of an illustrious school in Amsterdam in an attempt to provide for education at an intermediary level between Latin Schools and Leiden University, cf. *Gedenkboek* (1932:25), Frijhoff (1997).

²¹ Caspar Barlaeus, or van Baerle (1548–1648), Neo-Latin poet and distinguished classicist, and former professor of logics and sub-regent of the Leiden States College, where Vossius had been regent. Following the Synod of Dordrecht in 1619, he had been removed from his offices owing to his having signed the Remonstrance, and since then earned a living by giving private tuition. He readily accepted the invitation to become professor of philosophy at Amsterdam, and held his inaugural lecture on 9 January 1632. When Vossius became professor there too, Barlaeus and Vossius were colleagues for years, **68b**. Cf. *NNBW* 2.67–71, Rademaker (1981, s.v.).

²² After several earlier attempts, the province of Utrecht was considering the foun-

the letter which you wrote to her from Rotterdam one full month late, for which she felt quite sorry. Our Colvius will marry Abraham van der Myle's daughter, an honourable girl, and dowried well.

c The Amsterdammers consider inviting one or two professors from elsewhere, so that parents need not that soon send their children off to university, where the majority is spoilt by licentiousness and bad examples. They have already spoken of Barlaeus concerning this, but nothing has been arranged yet. Still, I do not doubt that he must be preferred to others, if the negotiations continue. It is said that the Utrechters consider founding a university in their own province, which could be inconvenient for the Leideners. For you know the place is quite suitable for this purpose. And the Hollanders may not thwart it, because they constitute a province in the same way as they do themselves.

d If there is any further news here, you may hear it from him who delivers this letter to you. He is Trelcat the Elder's grandson, from his daughter, and the son of Castellanus, a Walloon minister some years ago. I did not know him yet. But because he said he wished to go to England for studies, and because he seemed to be a smart young man, I did not want to let him go without my letter.

e I had hoped you would write first. I could really press you with this line from Homer, "*Start, for you are youngest.*" But I have a greater desire in your letter than you have in mine. For you know how I wish to know everything that pertains to my son. That is why I preferred to precede you in writing. And I do not refuse a similar duty

dation of an illustrious school in the town Utrecht in response to the call from Leiden for Utrecht to found a college for Utrecht students at Leiden in 1622. The issue of raising funds for an illustrious school had been scheduled for, but not discussed at the meeting of the Utrecht States on 23 February 1630. Nevertheless, arrangements continued and, supported by the example of Amsterdam, the Utrecht illustrious school opened in 1634 and was converted to a university in 1636. Cf. Kernkamp 1.29–72.

²³ The bearer, name unidentified, was a son of Castellanus, a minister in Calais, France, who had been commended for this ministry to the Middelburg church council by his former professor, Junius' uncle Franciscus Gomarus, in 1601. A Jacobus Casteleyn, baptized at the Amsterdam Walloon Church in 1636, may have been his relative, cf. Lieburg (1996, s.v.). His mother, name unidentified, was a daughter of Lucas Trelcatius the Elder (1542–1602), professor of theology at Leiden from 1587 and predicant of the Walloon Church, a colleague of Junius the Elder. Cf. van Itterzon (1929:200), *NNBW* 10.1038–39.

²⁴ Homer, *Iliad* 21.439.

²⁵ Joannes Vossius was studying at Cambridge. A letter for him was enclosed in the present one, **71b**.

scribendo malui. Nec deinceps detrecto similem provinciam, dummodo tantum spondeas te °propemodum paria mecum facere velle. Ultra non exigam, etsi minus me sis occupatus, nisi valde me ratio fugit. Pergratum erit, si plurimam meo nomine salutem dixeris nobilissimo equiti °*Domino* Guilielmo Houarto, cui a studiis es, magnae illustris Arondelianae domus spei. Omnia ei a me servitia offerre ne grave sit. Pitteum etiam salutabis, in quo candor et eruditio certare mihi videntur. Vale, coniunctissime affinis.

Lugduni *Bataworum*, MDCXXX, postridie idus Martias; raptim.

Tuus affinis, Ger.Io. Vossius.

70₇₂ 30 04 16 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS (LEIDEN)¹

A °Coniunctissimo affini suo Gerardo Ioh. Vossio, Lugdunum Bataworum.

a Coniunctissime affinis,

Litteras hasce Doctoris Wrenn prima quaque occasione ad te mitto, ne per me stetisse dicatur quominus iucundissimae consuetudinis mutua officia scribendo excitetis.² Videtur is meliora de Iohanne nostro sperare, ut et Michael iste, qui Comiti nostro a sacris est.³ Fuit hic iam nuper Cantabrigiae, et reversus animum meum optima spe implevit. Aliud longe sentiunt alii. Sed mihi hactenus excurrere eo non fuit integrum, quandoquidem post meum e Belgio adventum, praeter crebra in vicinos nobis tractus itinera, longo quoque ac permolesto itinere Comitem una cum liberis in Salopiensem agrum proficiscentem prosecutus sum.⁴

e propemodum: \propemodum/; c (in Vossius's hand) \propemodum/ | *Domino* Guilielmo Houarto: \Domino Guilielmo Houarto/

70A: p Claro viro G.I. Vossio, affini coniunctissimo

¹ o: BL, Add. 34.727, f. 55. p1: Colomesius 2.113. p2: *Epp. Vossius* 162; not colated. Erroneously dated 6 May old style, since it must have been written one month earlier, when Junius had not yet been in Cambridge, as he had before writing letter 71. Junius referred to this letter as the second one and 71 as the third one written after his return to England, 73a. Vossius received it only in July, 72a.

² Matthew Wren wrote a letter to Vossius on Lady Day 1630, that is, 30 04 04 new style, instead of 30 03 25, which *ICVossius* (1993:130) suggests.

in the future, provided you just promise you wish to do the same in like manner to me. I do not require anything else, although you are less occupied than me, unless my reason utterly escapes me. It will be pleasant if you give warmest regards on my behalf to the most noble knight Mr. William Howard, whose tutor you are, the great hope of the illustrious house of Arundel. Let it not be troublesome to offer him all my services. You must also greet Petty, in whom I think candour and erudition contend. Farewell, dearest Brother. Leiden. 1630, on the day following the Ides of March [16 Mar]. Your brother, Ger.Jo. Vossius.

70 30 04 16 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS (LEIDEN)

A To his dearest brother Gerardus Joh. Vossius, Leiden.

a Dearest Brother,

I send you this letter from Dr. Wren at the first possible opportunity, so that it cannot be said to be my fault if you do not stimulate the mutual obligations of a pleasant bond by writing. He seems to expect the better concerning our Joannes, and this Michael, who is chaplain to our earl, does so too. He was just recently in Cambridge and filled my heart with real hope on his return. Others think most differently; but I have not been at liberty yet to hurry there, since after my arrival from the Low Countries I also accompanied the earl on a long and most troublesome tour when he went together with his children to the county of Shropshire, besides numerous trips to regions near to us.

³ Joannes Vossius was studying at Cambridge, but felt unhappy and was not making good progress. There were also rumours on his wishing to marry a girl there, **72b–c**. Michael, details unidentified, was chaplain to the earl of Arundel. Cf. Colomesius 1.191, Rademaker (1981:231).

⁴ Junius had returned from Holland in January, **67a**. Henry Frederick Howard, lord Maltravers (1608–1652), the future third earl of Arundel, and William Howard. They had presumably gone to see Arundel's mother, Anne Dacre, who was suffering from poor health and was to die less than a fortnight after the present letter, at Shefnal Manor, Shropshire, **71c**. Cf. Hervey (1921:288, and s.v. Maltravers), *DNB* 28.38.

b Dumque revertimur, diem unum in Oxoniensi urbe ad deponendam °lassitudinem ex itinere hiberno contractam substitimus. Ibi singularem bibliothecarii humanitatem expertus, °non sine uberrimis ad te litteris abiissem, si *reverendus* Armachensis Episcopus consilii sui rationem de Mariano Scoto per litteras aperuisset.⁵ Sperat tamen Dominus Rous °confore ut brevi te de Primatis Hiberniae super ea re animo certiolem faciat.⁶ Ostendit mihi etiamnum hodie Doctoris Usherii litteras nobilissimus eques Henricus Boucherius, in quibus *reverendus* Antistes dolet sibi nihil prorsus de tuo in Britanniam adventu constitisse.⁷ Addit se °*reverendum* Episcopum Londinensem per litteras consuluisse an non spes aliqua relicta sit pertrahendi te in hasce partes; et alia multa huc spectantia quae referre singula supersedeo.⁸ Dominus Seldenus, Dominus °Henricus Boucherius, Patricius Iunius, Dominus Boswellus et quotquot hic sunt litterati unice tibi commendari optant.⁹ Pettaeus noster scire avet an unquam videris Theodoretum “De vitis Sanctorum,” quem *manuscriptum* e Graecia advexit; fac sciamus an te iudice praelo dignus.¹⁰

b lassitudinem: [- *itineris hiberni*] lassitudinem | non: [- *tuas adi*] non | confore: [- *brevi*] confore; *p* fore | *reverendum*: [- *ad*] *reverendum* | Henricus: *p* -

⁵ John Rous; James Ussher (1581–1656), archbishop of Armagh and vice-chancellor of Trinity College, Dublin, and the future Primate of Ireland. An exceptionally learned antiquarian, he investigated early Irish history and had examined the antiquities of the English Church during a stay in England from 1623 to 1626. He made valuable contributions to the history of the Creed, and suggested a chronology which is still the standard one in the English Bible. For his studies he concentrated on original sources, searching hitherto neglected manuscript material—which is how he may have found Ms Jun. 11, **183a**. He was to show his indebtedness for studies to Vossius by dedicating two of his books, on predestination and on symbols, to him. From 1640 he lived in England. The Irish Benedictine monk Marianus Scotus (1028–1082/3) had disputed the chronology of the established Pascal calendar in his world chronicle, *Historia a Christo nato ad 1082* (first printed Basle, 1587). In May 1631, Vossius informed Rous he had received “Marianum Scotum calamo exaratum” [Marianus Scotus written with a pen], about which they had talked in Oxford, yet waited before thanking Ussher until he had read it, **66b**. In 1650, after Vossius’ death, Ussher asked for the manuscript to be returned, **167d**. Cf. **173**, *DNB* 36.160, 58.64–72, Parr (1686), Rademaker (1981:287–88), B. Brown (1982), *EncBrit* 6.618, Colomesius 1.144.

⁶ Henry Bourghier, cf. below, wrote to Ussher, “I have not heard very lately from Mr. Vossius; when he was here, being in the university library at Oxford, he enquired of Mr. Russe, the library keeper, what copies they had of Marianus Scotus, who answered him, that the most ancient copy they had your grace had borrowed with intent to publish him, to which he replied, that he had taken some pains about

b When we returned, we halted for one day in the town of Oxford to lay aside the weariness caused by the wintry journey. Having enjoyed the librarian's extraordinary kindness there, I would not have returned without an extensive letter for you, if the reverend bishop of Armagh had unfolded the reasoning of his advice concerning Marianus Scotus in a letter; but Mr. Rous hopes he will soon inform you of the Irish Primate's disposition to this. Even today the most noble Squire Henry Bourghier has shown me Dr. Ussher's letter, in which the reverend bishop feels sorry that absolutely nothing was known to him of your coming to England. He adds he consulted the reverend bishop of London in a letter whether there is any hope left of alluring you to this country, and many other matters, which I refrain from mentioning separately, pertaining to this. Mr. Selden, Mr. Henry Bourghier, Patrick Young, Mr. Boswell and all literate people who are here wish to be especially recommended to you. Our Petty wants to know whether you ever saw Theodoretus' *On Saints' Lives*, which manuscript he brought from Greece; make that we know whether it is worthy of the press in your opinion.

that author, and if your grace would accept of his observations upon him he would send them to you; which I was desired to signify to your grace," 30 06 12/22, cf. Elrington 16, no. 418, this quote at p. 515; I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer.

⁷ Sir Henry Bourghier, a relative of John Bourghier, earl of Bath, who was to become earl of Bath himself in 1639, **129f**. Ussher's letter to Bourghier is not included in Parr (1686) or Elrington 15–16. Bourghier had written to Ussher on 29 12 14 that he had met Vossius in England, and on 30 01 31 that "within these two days I heard . . . by Mr Junius his Brother-in-law, who went over with him," how Vossius had enjoyed England and was inclined to move there. Cf. Parr (1686, nos. 147, 151), Rademaker (1992:196–97), B. Brown (1982:75–76).

⁸ Ussher's letter to William Laud is not included in Parr (1686) or Elrington 15–16, but from Laud's reply, dated 30 03 05, it appears that Ussher had wanted Vossius to be offered the deanery of Armagh. Cf. Parr (1686, no. 154), Rademaker (1992:197–98).

⁹ John Selden, who was still imprisoned, in the Marshalsea, yet was allowed to run his affairs by day, **69b**; Patrick Young (1584–1652), librarian of the royal library to King James and Charles I. Distinguished for his learning and a very capable scholar of Greek, he was preparing an edition of the Alexandrian Codex of the Septuagint, **119c**, **125b**. He had also assisted Selden in examining the Arundel marbles, **58b**. Notwithstanding the Latin version of his surname he was no relative of Junius. Cf. *DNB* 68.385–86, Kemke (1898); details on Selden personal communication Gerald Toomer.

¹⁰ William Petty did not publish Theodoret, bishop of Cyrus (c.293–c.466), *Historia religiosa seu ascetica vivendi ratio*, a description of the lives of thirty-one ascetics, cf. Quasten 3.536–54, this work at p. 550.

c Alia sunt de quibus agerem, si per praecipitem qua urgeor festinationem liceret. Nunc tantum addo, nihil mihi gratius obtingere posse, quam ut te tuosque omnes prospera uti valetudine intelligam. Vale.

Raptim; anno 1630, 6 Maii *stilo vetere*, in aedibus Arundelianis.
Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

d Litteras ad te, una cum libris ad cognatos et filios iamdudum misi.¹¹ Spero recte perlatos.

⁶⁹ 71 ₇₂ 30 04 27 JUNIUS [LONDON] TO VOSSIUS (LEIDEN)¹

A °Gerardo Ioh. Vossio affini coniunctissimo, Lugdunum Batavorum.

a Coniunctissime affinis,

Binas iam ad te dederam litteras, cum tuae mihi sunt redditae.² Priores meas, cum libris, iam olim ad vos perlatas spero.³ Alteras, una cum Doctoris Wrenni epistola, te pariter cum hoc praesenti scripto accepturum arbitror, quandoquidem hodie ad me retulit nuntium is, qui illustri Comiti Mareschallo a secretis est, cras demum aut perendie ingressurum iter famulum istum Legati Regis Britanniarum, cui °secundas meas commiseram litteras.⁴ Dolui quidem quod nondum ad te perlatum fuisset alterum illud fidei meae testimonium; gavisus °tamen sum quod denuo scribendi, tutiusque, ut puto, transmittendi occasio affulgeret; praesertim cum triduo ab hinc Domini Casauboni litteras ad te recepissem, et de iis recte curandis non parum essem sollicitus.⁵

A: *p* Doctissimo viro, Gerardo Ioanni Vossio, affini coniunctissimo | **a** secundas: [- *priorē*] secundas | tamen: [*vero* > tamen]

¹¹ They received letters **67**, **68** and the accompanying books only in July, **72a**.
¹ *o*: BL, Hl. 7012, f. 37. *p*: Colomesius 2.112. Vossius received this letter only in July, **72a**.

² Letters **67** and **70**, and **69** respectively.

³ For the books, cf. **68b–c**. Vossius received them only in July, **72a**.

⁴ For Matthew Wren's letter, **70a**. Probably Humphrey Hagggett, the earl of Arundel's secretary and "man of business" at Arundel House. Dudley Carleton, a

c There are other matters about which I would talk, if the rushing haste which is pressing me allowed me to. Now I only add that nothing more welcome can happen to me than to hear that you and all your family are enjoying a prosperous health. Farewell. In haste. In the year 1630, 6 May old style, at Arundel house. Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

d Long ago I sent a letter to you together with books for our relatives and your sons; I hope it was delivered in good order.

71 30 04 27 JUNIUS [LONDON] TO VOSSIUS (LEIDEN)

A To Gerardus Joannes Vossius, dearest Brother, Leiden.

a Dearest Brother,

I had already written two letters to you when yours was delivered to me. I hope that my first one, with books, was given to you already some time ago; I think you will receive the second one, together with Dr. Wren's letter, at the same time as this present writing, since he who is secretary to the illustrious earl marshal gave me a message today that this servant of the ambassador of the king of England, to whom I had entrusted my second letter, will at last set out tomorrow or one of these days. I felt sorry indeed that this second testimony of my faithfulness has not yet been delivered to you, yet I am happy that an opportunity to write and send [a letter] rather safely, I suppose, has dawned once more, especially because I received a letter from Mr. Casaubon to you three days ago and was quite concerned about fittingly caring for it.

namesake and nephew of the former English ambassador, viscount Dorchester, who had been English resident in the Hague from 1628. Servant unidentified. Cf. Hervey (1921:253n), *DNB* 9.90, Schutte (1983:65–66).

⁵ Meric Casaubon (1599–1671), classical scholar and canon at Canterbury, just as Vossius. He is especially remembered for having preserved works of his father, the renowned French classicist Isaac Casaubon, **200a**. His *De quatuor linguis* (1650) was studied by Junius for his Germanic studies, **204s**, **190b^a**. Casaubon mediated for the payment of Vossius' prebend when necessary, **140c**. His letter to Vossius was dated 30 04 10. Cf. *DNB* 9.261–62, *ICVossius* (1993:132).

- b** Tuis ad me litteris alias ad filium Iohannem inclusas ipsus secundo post die Cantabrigiam ad eum detuli; non quod occasio mittendi eas deesset, sed ut promissi fidem exolverem.⁶ Sedulo fidelium amicorum opera uti non destiti, et quae de vita moribusque Iohannis nostri constare poterant sciscitari. Ibi omnes uno ore omnia bona praedicare, et singularem eius modestiam ac strenuam in studiis operam extollere non desinunt. Ac fidem mihi fecerunt non vana haec esse, neque auribus meis tantum data.⁷ Cum etiam dum in itinere eo atque redeo, ex °ignotis ignotus °ab his non abhorrentia intellexerim. Ut ut vero nunc meliorum spes facta sit, nunquam tamen porro in rationes vitae eius, quotiescunque occasio erit, inquirere desinam.
- c** Octiduum hodie est quod Comes Pembroekiae subita morte extinctus est, et triduo post mater Comitis Arundellii functa fato est.⁸ Unde duplex °nobilem hanc familiam luctus invasit. Initia quaedam pestis hic grassaturae quotidie videntur deprehendi; faxit Deus ne malum ingravescat. Da veniam praeproperae festinationi. Iam avocor, et vix otii satis relinquitur ad obsignandas litteras. Saluta omnes.
Anno 1630, 17 Aprilis stilo vetere.
Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

67,70,71 **72** 30 07 21 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

- a** *Salutem plurimam.* Ternas iam a te literas accepi, unas 28 Februarii, alteras 17 Aprilis, tertias 6 Maii datas.² Valde te amo, optime adfinis, qui tam serio ac diligenter cures illud negotium de filio.³ Scis nihil aequae mihi cordi esse. Quare deinceps quoque nullam negligere occasionem inquirendi in eius vitam studiaque.

b ignotis: ignotis[- q] | **ab**: [- si] ab | **c** nobilem: [- ad] nobilem

⁶ Junius must have made the trip to Cambridge to deliver Vossius' letter to Joannes Vossius, dated 30 03 16, between 16 April and the date of the present letter. Cf. **70**, *ICVossius* (1993:130).

⁷ Reality was rather different, for Joannes contracted many debts, **87b**.

⁸ William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, Countess Aletheia's brother-in-law, had died on 10/20 April. Anne Dacre, countess of Arundel, died on 19 April—probably 29 April new style—according to Hervey (1921:288), but on 23 April according to Junius in this section. Cf. Hervey (1921:287–89), **70a**.

b I myself delivered your letter to your son Joannes, enclosed in yours to me, to him in Cambridge two days later; not that there had not been an opportunity to send it, but in order to fulfil the pledge of my promise. I did not cease to carefully employ the assistance of trustworthy friends and inquire what could be established about our Joannes' way of life and habits. Everybody there does not cease unanimously to declare everything good and to exalt his extraordinary modesty and unremitting exertion for studies. They gave me an assurance that this is not empty talk nor just offered to my ears; also when I went on my way and returned, I did not hear news inconsistent with this from people unknown to me, while I was unknown to them. But much as there may be hope for the better now, I will never yet fail to inquire further into his way of life as often as there will be an opportunity.

c Today it is eight days ago that the earl of Pembroke was deprived of his life by a sudden death; and three days later the earl of Arundel's mother passed away. So a double mourning has fallen to this noble family. The beginnings of a plague on the verge of raging seem to be discovered here daily. May God make that the harm does not grow worse. Excuse the over-hasty hastiness; I am being called away now, and there is hardly enough time left to seal up the letter. Please greet everybody.

In the year 1630, 17 April old style.

Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

72 30 07 21 VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

a Warmest regards. I have received already three letters from you, the first written 28 February, the second 17 April, the third 6 May. I deeply love you, excellent Brother, that you so seriously and diligently care for this business of my son. You know I have nothing as much at heart. Therefore, do not fail any opportunity to inquire after his way of life and studies in the future either.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 99h. *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 45; heading in Vossius' hand, "Fr. Iunio. Londinum."

² Letters **67**, **71** and—erroneously dated May—**70**, respectively.

³ Junius had gone to see Joannes Vossius, who a fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, **71b**, **59d**.

- b** Quaesiverat ex me, utrum consultius putarem, ut Iuri, an ut Theologiae operam deinceps daret. Valde ei sacrum studium commendavi; sic tamen, ut rem totam eius arbitrii facerem. Ac videtur nunc quoque mihi animo fluctuare, quod male me habet. Multum metuere se ait, ne sui unquam in Anglia ratio habeatur. Ego bono illum animo esse iubeo, ac illud quoque adieci, si insignem sibi eruditionem paret, nec defore his terris, qui de eo cogitent. Nunc nihil aliud requiri, quam ita se componat, ut laudem inveniatur et amicos paret. Nescio quae stultitia est adolescentiae; nondum pedem e luto extulere, et iam honores somniant. Mihi hactenus pulcre cum eo actum videtur. Quamquam optarem, ut paullo maiores essent provenus collegii, in quo vivit.
- c** Valde querulas ab eo literas accepi.⁴ Negat se ab eo tempore, quo illum in Anglia reliqui, quicquam pecuniae percepisse; itaque se pene ad mendicitatem esse reductum.⁵ Video hoc ex eo esse, quia tardius meas literas acceperit.⁶ Scribo ad Casaubonum, quibus permitto, ut quotannis ei de canonicatu meo annumerentur librae sterlingicae viginti; sed condicione ea, ut quoque trimestri quartam accipiat partem.⁷ Nam simul si recipiat (si adhuc is sit, qui fuit), brevi absumat, posteaque egeat. Optat ut nunquam in Anglia pedem posuisset. Sane quid optem ego, tute scis. Sed sibi imputet. Interim non desinam ego pater esse; sed non sic, ut unius causa perdam caeteros. Quaeso eum per literas interdum officii commune, sed et faces stimulosque pectori eius subde. Nam animandus subinde, ut torporem omnem excutiat.
- d** Misi ante mensem ad te Oratoriarum Institutionum exemplaria complura.⁸ Pleraque sunt chartae melioris, aliqua etiam vulgaris. Quot fuerint numero, non sat scio. Scio non pauciora fuisse quam octo, vel summum novem. Matthaesus tamen arbitratur minimum fuisse decem.

⁴ Joannes' letter to Vossius was dated 30 07 05, cf. *ICVossius* (1993:136).

⁵ Vossius had been with Joannes at Cambridge in November 1629, **66a**.

⁶ Vossius' letter to Joannes was dated 30 05 06, cf. *ICVossius* (1993:133).

⁷ As Canon of Canterbury, Vossius received a prebend, **66a**. Vossius' letters to Meric Casaubon were dated 30 07 20 and 30 07 21, cf. *ICVossius* (1993:136).

⁸ Vossius, *Oratoriarum institutionum* (1630), **69b**. Vossius sent eight copies in late June, accompanied by an unretrieved letter from Dionysius Vossius, an unretrieved letter from Vossius to Joannes, and delivered by a young Leiden painter, **73a**; cf. Vossius to Meric Casaubon, "Eadem quaedam exemplaria ante tres hebdomadas

- b** He asked of me which I considered better, whether from now on to apply himself to law or to theology. I strongly recommended the sacred study to him, but in such a way that I left it all to his discretion. But also now he seems to me to hesitate in his heart, for which I feel sorry. He says he greatly fears they may never be concerned about him in England. I told him to be of good cheer and also added that if he acquires excellent learning for himself, there will be people in that country who think of him, and that there is nothing else required now than to behave himself in such a way that he earns praise and makes friends. Some folly is characteristic of adolescence; they have not yet lifted a foot from the mud and are already dreaming of honorary positions. I think there has been dealt with him excellently as yet—although I would wish the revenue of the college in which he lives had been somewhat greater.
- c** I received a letter from him full of complaints; he denies having received any money from the moment I left him in England and is therefore almost reduced to beggary. I see this is due to the fact that he received my letter rather late. I am writing to Casaubon, in which I allow him to be paid twenty pounds sterling yearly from my canonry, but on this condition, that he receives a quarter of it every three months. For as soon as he receives it, he will soon spend it (if he still is who he was), and be in need afterwards. He wishes never to have set foot in England. Truly, what I wish you know for yourself. But he must blame himself. Meanwhile, I will not cease to be a father, but not in such a way that I ruin the others because of one. I pray, remind him of his duty in a letter from time to time, but do also furnish incitements and stimuli to his heart, for he must frequently be encouraged to cast out all sluggishness.
- d** A month ago I sent you several copies of my *Principles of Oratory*. Most are on paper of better quality, some also on common paper. I do not quite know how many they were in number. I know there were no less than eight, or nine at the most. But Matthaeus thinks there were at least ten. I think he is mistaken. With these there was also the remainder of a copy of which my Joannes received by far the greatest part from me in England. What is remaining should

misi in Angliam ad affinem Iunium, qui in aedibus illustris Comitis Arondelii agit” [Some similar copies I sent to England to Brother-in-law Junius, who is staying at the house of the illustrious earl of Arundel, three weeks ago], 30 07 20, Colomesius 1.121.

Falli arbitrator. Fuere cum iis etiam reliquiae exemplaris cuiusdam, cuius multo maximam partem Ioannes meus a me in Anglia acceperat. Huic igitur id, quod residuum est, mitti oporteat. Nisi forte id liberi, quod dico, mittere neglexerunt. Nam tanta festinatione omnia convasabamus, ut quid missum sit, non satis possim dicere. Ex transmissis exemplaribus unum reverendissimo Domino Episcopo destinavi, alterum tibi.⁹ Duo velim transmitti ad *Dominum* Casaubonum, quorum unum sibi reservet, alterum tradat reverendo *Domino* Decano.¹⁰ Tria transmittenda filio; de caeteris scribam post paucos dies.¹¹ Nam is, cui has literas tradere oportet, latus fodicat, atque abitum urget. Quare subito abrumpere cogor. Vale, praestantissime affinis. Lugduni *Batavorum*, MDCXXX, °XXI Iulii.
Tuus, Ger.Io. Vossius.

73 30 07 25 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS (LEIDEN)¹

A Aen mijn wel-beminde suster Elizabeth du Jon, huys-vrouwe van den vroomen en gheleerden Mr Gerardus Vossius, professor, woonende op 't steen-schuyr, dicht bij de koey-poorts brugghen.² tot Leyden.
door vriend.

a Waerde suster,
Als ick eerst in Engheland weder-ghekeert was, hebbe ick nae mijn moghelicke maght ter-stond een packet boecken over-ghesonden, waer van eenighe waeren voor die twee broeders, onse cosijnen, met de welcke ick sommighe boecken ver-manghelt hadde, d'andere voor neef Dionysius, ghelijck ick hem in een briefken daer bij ghevoeght te ver-staen gaf.³ ick sond met eenen oock eenen brief aen broeder Vossio; daer nae noch eenen anderen, met Doctor Wrenns brief; en weder-om den derden, met *Domini* Casauboni brief in den mijnen

d XXI: c XX

⁹ Bishop Laud.

¹⁰ Isaac Bargrave (1586–1643), dean of Canterbury from 1625 and chaplain of Charles I, cf. *DNB* 3.183.

¹¹ Vossius' ensuing letter to Junius unretrieved. In it, as Vossius informed John Rous, "Petii . . . ab affine, ut ex iis quae misi exemplar unum [Oratoriarum mearum]

therefore be sent to him, unless my children may have forgotten to send what I say. For we packed up everything in such a great haste that I cannot quite tell what was sent. From the copies sent over I intended one for the right reverend lord bishop, another one for you. I would wish two to be sent to Mr. Casaubon, of which he may keep one for himself and give the other to the reverend Mr. Dean. Three must be sent to my son; I will write about the rest within a couple of days. For the person whom I must give this letter is jogging in my side and urging his departure. Therefore I am forced to break off suddenly.

Farewell, most distinguished Brother.

Leiden, 1630, 21 July.

Yours, Ger.Jo. Vossius.

73 30 07 25 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS (LEIDEN)

A To my dearly beloved sister Elizabeth du Jon, wife of the pious and learned Mr. Gerardus Vossius, professor, residing at the Steenschuur, near the Koepoortsbrug in Leiden. By a friend.

a Worthy Sister,

At the time when I had returned to England, I sent a parcel of books as soon as I could, some of which were for those two brothers, our cousins, with whom I had confused some books, the other for Nephew Dionysius, just as I informed him in a small letter accompanying it. I sent a letter to Brother Vossius at the same time,

ad te, alterum ad amicum communem Pocockum transmitteret. Id quin fecerit non ambigo, nisi forte literas meas non acceperat, quod non puto. Necdum tamen iis respondit" [I have asked Brother-in-law (Junius) to send over to you one copy of (my Oratorical) from those I sent, and another one to our mutual friend Pococke. I do not doubt that he has done so, unless he may not have received my letter, which I do not think. Nevertheless, he has not replied to it yet], 30 10 26, Colomesius 1.130. For Edward Pococke, **79a**.

¹ *σ*: BLO, Rawl. 79, f. 66.

² The Vossius family lived at the *Steenschuur*, now *Rapenburg*, cf. Rademaker (1981:161).

³ Junius had returned from Holland in January, **67a**. For the books, possibly for Jacob van den Corput and Jacob de Witt, cf. **68b–c**. Junius' letter to Dionysius Vossius is letter **68**.

in-ghesloten, als oock d'Attestatie met t'saemen de °quitantien van de jaerelicksche lijf-rente.⁴ op alle dese brieven hebbe ick noch niet een woord ver-nomen of de boecken wel behandicht sijn; of mijnen brieven met t'saemen de brieven der voor-ghemelder goeder vrienden, als oock d'attestatie broeder Vossio wel sijn ter hand ghekomen.⁵ eenen brief hebbe ick van hem ontfanghen waer in hij sick grootelix beklaeght dat ick nae mijn oude ghewoonte seer traegh in het schrijven was; daer ick nochtans, eer sijn schrijven mij door Castellani sone behandicht wierd, drij brieven aen hem hadde toe-ghesonden.⁶ neef Dionysius voeghde een kleyn briefken bij de acht exemplaeren die mij door een °ionghe °schilder, een Leydsch kind, ter hand ghestelt sijn, doch maecte gantsch gheen ghewagh van eenighe voorighe boecken ofte brieven die ghekomen soude sijn.⁷ ick wete wel dat broeder Vossius seer druck werck heeft; over-sulx en verwacht ick niet dat hij sijn goede uyren veel met quackel-briefkens ver-slijten soude. laet slechts neef Franciscus of Mattheus of Dionysius mij som-wijlen van uwer aller welstand ver-wittighen; want ick hope dat immers een van allen som-tijds een ledighe half uyre vinden kan.

b aen-gaende de acht exemplaeren van broeders boeck, ick hebbe van stonden aen een exemplaar aen de *Eerwaarde* bisschop van London behandicht, die het seer hertelick ende met grooten danck aen-nam; een behoude ick voor mij selven; neef Dionysius schreeff mij dat ick eer langhe wt broeder Vossii schrijven soude ver-nemen wat ick met d'overighe ses exemplaeren te doen hadde.⁸ tot noch toe en hebbe ick gantsch niet dies aen-gaende ver-nomen; duchte dat wij nu met den eersten een reyse vrij al wat verde in 't land sullen aen-vanghen; wensche wel dat ick voor dien tijd weten moght wat met de rest te doen, ende aen wat personen broeder Vossius deselvighe wil bestedet hebben.⁹ dit hebbe ick alleenlick sonder last ghedaen, dat ick aen neef Johannes dien brief, die met de boecken aen hem quam, over-sendende, met eenen oock een exemplaar aen hem toegheson-

a quitantien: [- *lijfrente*] quitantien | ionghe: iongh[t > e] | schilder, een: \schilder, een/

⁴ Letters **67**, **70**, with Matthew Wren's letter, and **71**, with Meric Casaubon's letter, cf. **70a**, **71a**. Junius enjoyed an annuity, of unknown value, for his service to the Arundel family, **62b**.

⁵ Vossius had only just received them, **72a**.

afterwards yet another one, together with Dr. Wren's letter, and again a third one, with Mr. Casaubon's letter enclosed in mine, and also the attestation together with the receipts of the yearly annuity. I have not heard a word yet on all these letters; whether the books have been delivered; whether my letters together with the letters of the aforementioned good friends, as well as the attestation have come to Brother Vossius' hand. I received from him one letter, in which he complained loudly I was slow in writing in accordance with my old habit, whereas I had for all that sent three letters to him before his writing was delivered to me by Castellanus' son. Nephew Dionysius added a small letter to the eight copies which were handed to me by a young painter, a Leiden child, yet did not at all mention any previous books or letters which should have arrived. I know well that Brother Vossius has a busy job, so I do not expect him to spend his good hours with letters of small-talk often. Just let Nephew Franciscus or Matthaëus or Dionysius inform me of the good health of all of you, for I hope that at least one of them all can find a vacant half hour from time to time.

b Concerning the eight copies of Brother's book, I directly handed a copy to the reverend bishop of London, who accepted it warmly and with great gratitude. One I keep for myself. Nephew Dionysius wrote to me that I would before long hear from Brother Vossius' writing what to do with the other six copies. As yet I have heard absolutely nothing about this. I think we will start on a journey quite far into the country at the first possible opportunity; I do desire to know before that time what to do with the rest and to which people brother Vossius wants to have them distributed. I have done this of my accord without order, that when sending that letter to Nephew

⁶ Letter **69**, delivered by Castellanus' son, **69d**. Junius had, however, sent his third letter to Vossius only after his receipt of letter **69**, cf. **71b**.

⁷ Dionysius' letter to Junius unretrieved. It accompanied a parcel with eight copies of Vossius, *Oratoriarum institutionum* (1630), **69b**, **72d**. Young Leiden painter unidentified; he must have hoped to be shown the Arundel collection by Junius, **56b**. He may have been of the same Leiden circle as Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669) and Jan Lievensz (1607–1674), who went to England a year or two later. Cf. Orlers (1641:375–77), *DoA* 19.347–50.

⁸ Bishop Laud, **72d**. Junius had not yet received Vossius' instructions in **72d**.

⁹ Presumably together with the Arundel family to one of their estates in the country.

den hebbe; denckende dat nieman naerder d'eerste vruchten van den arbeyd sijnes vaders toe-behoorden.¹⁰ gaf hem even-wel so veel te verstaen, dat hij dat selvighe exemplaer aen ieman anders overleveren soude, nae d'ordre bij syn vader ghegeven, in-dien daer door eenigh ander middel een ander exemplaer aen hem wierd overghesonden.

c Desen goeden vriend den brengher deses is een schilder die veele jaeren in Italien door-ghebraght heeft, wordt ghehouden voor een seer fraey kunstenaer, heeft hier een goede wijle tijds schier allernaest Arrundell huys ghewoont.¹¹ over-sulx, als hij mij sijn aen-staende reyse te kennen gaf, so en hebbe ick niet konnen nae-laeten een letterken te schrijven, ten eynde dat ick V.L. ver-wecken soude om insghelycks gheenderley gheleghenheyd te laeten voor bij gaen, sonder aen mij door de komst van d'een of d'ander een briefken over te senden.

d Laet mij doch wt V.L. ofte uwer sonen schrijven ver-staen wat tydinghe V.L. van onse suster Maria toeghebraght wordt. ick wensche wel dat sij weder-om in Nederland woonachtigh waer,¹² so moght ick noch hopen haer eenmael te sien. ick ver-trouwe dat den al-moghende God te passe sal brenghen 't ghene hij weet ons allen salighst te sijn.

met grooten haest, in Arundell-huys. Anno 1630. den 15 *Julii*, *stilo vetere*.

V.L. dienstschuldighe broeder F.F.F. Junius.

74 30 08 14 MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Nobili et doctissimo viro Francisco Iunio in aedibus illustrissimi Comitis Arundelii, Londinum.

a Praestantissime Avuncule,
Ego si non perpetuo silentio notam subire merui, at iam me quidem maxime peccaturum agnoscerem, si, eunte ad vos nobilissimo iuvene Adamo Ierislao à Berg, una cum parente suo Ioanne Christophoro à Berg, quondam regiarum ditionum in Moravia supremo

¹⁰ Vossius' letter to Joannes Vossius unretrieved. Joannes needed to be sent some quires only, however, **72d**.

Joannes which had come with the books for him, I sent him a copy at the same time, considering that the fruits of his father's labour belonged to nobody else any sooner. I nevertheless gave him to understand that he must hand over the same copy to somebody else by order given by his father, if an other copy were sent to him by any other means.

c This good friend, the courier of this one, is a painter who spent many years in Italy and is taken to be a very fine artist; he lived here almost next to Arundel House for a good while. So when he informed me of his intended journey, I could not refrain from writing a small letter in order to incite you in turn not to fail any opportunity to send me a letter via the one or other person's arrival.

d Let me also know from your or your sons' writing what news you receive from our sister Maria. I would wish she lived in the Low Countries again; then I could still hope to see her once again. I trust that Allgood and Almighty God will bring to pass what He knows to be best for us all.

In great haste. At Arundel House in the year 1630, 15 July old style.
Your obliging brother F.F.F. Junius.

74 30 08 14 MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the noble and most learned gentleman Francis Junius at the court of the most illustrious earl of Arundel, London.

a Most distinguished Uncle,

If I did not deserve to endure a stigma because of continuing silence—but I would acknowledge to really blunder completely now, if I did not write you a letter now that the most noble young man Adam Jerislaus Berka is coming to you, together with his father Jan Christoffel Berka, the former supreme prefect of the royal possessions in Moravia, but who has been exiled now and robbed of all his possessions. I

¹¹ Painter, possibly a Dutchman, who had spent several years in Italy and had stayed near Arundel House in London, is unidentified.

¹² Maria Junius and Samuel Naeranus had fled from Danzig, probably to Sedan, 62d.

¹ *o*: UBL, PAP 2.

praefecto, nunc autem extorri bonisque omnibus exuto, nihil ad te literarum darem.² Equidem ego te meis literis interpellare ausus fuisssem nunquam, ni stimulos addidisset amor meus, quo te prae aliis amplecti cogor. Non enim ignarus sum, te, variis adeo occupationibus distentum, vix lectioni literarum mearum, quae nihil nisi futilia et iuvenilia spirant, vacare posse. Quid tamen multis verbis opus? Contrarium spondebat humanitas tua, qua erga omnes uti non dubitas. Hac et ego animatus, ad te scribere neutiquam dubitavi.

b Argumentum autem quoniam te dignum invenire non possem, et ne chartam inanibus tantum verbis replerem, iuvenum more, aliqua de Bataviae nostrae statu (secreta autem a me non expectes) notare in animo est. Quantum quidem ad bellum, quieta hic post Ioannis Nassouii captivitatem omnia.³ Interim rumor hostem ex hibernis militem educere, nullus tamen hic metus, non enim eos hoc tempore obsidionem ullam incepturos, spondet aeris intemperies.⁴ Foris igitur quum periculum sit nullum, internum dissidium de religione pullulare de novo incipit, libelli famosi vigent[,] scommata his in locis[.] Remonstrantes, aliis Contra-Remonstrantes audire coguntur; utinam Deus pernicioso h[ui]c Bataviae nostrae malo tandem finem imponeret. De pace quid dicam?⁵ Qui in consessu ordinum (quod facile credis) locum nullum habeo, neque secretorum conscius sum. Apud plebem, et aliquos rigidioris sententi[a]e zelotas ea de re loqui, imo vix mussitare audeo.⁶ Metuunt namque parti suae, si cum hoste pax ineatur.⁷ Atque ita causam suam dum stabilire nituntur, reddunt

² Jan Christoffel Berka, described by Vossius to John Rous as “haereditariorum bonorum Serenissimi Bohemiae Regis in Moravia antea praefectus, nunc autem metu Caesaris exulans” [formerly prefect of the hereditary possessions of the most serene king of Bohemia in Moravia, but now an exile in fear of the Emperor], 30 10 26, Colomesius 1.130. In 1624, when he lived in Franeker, he had been officially recommended by the king of Bohemia to the Dutch Republic. He delivered a parcel of books in England for Vossius and wrote to him from London on 33 11 18, **79a**, **81a**. His relative Adam Jerislaus Berka, details unidentified, delivered Vossius’ letter to Archbishop Abbot, dated 30 08 13, and wrote to Vossius from Lambeth Palace on 31 06 26. They may have hoped to be shown the Arundel collection by Junius, **56b**. Cf. *Resolutiën* 7.239, Colomesius 1.118, *ICVossius* (1993:150).

³ John VIII, count of Nassau-Siegen (1583–1638), Prince Frederick Henry’s nephew, yet a Roman Catholic who served Spain, had been taken captive by the Dutch near Wesel in July. Cf. *BWN* 13.74, Poelhekke (1978:335–36, 568–69).

⁴ The summer of 1630 passed without campaigns. Although the Dutch could have profited from the Spanish weakness after the capture of ’s Hertogenbosch and Wesel, **69b**, the States of Holland failed to supply Frederick Henry with funds and

would actually never have dared interrupt you with my letter, if my love, by which I am forced to love you before others, had not goaded me on. For I know well that you, engaged in such numerous occupations, can hardly have leisure for the reading of my letter, which breathes nothing except futilities and juvenilities. Yet what need is there of many words? Your humanity, which you do not hesitate to display to everybody, promised the contrary. And, spirited by it, I by no means hesitated to write to you.

- b** However, since I could not find a topic worthy of you, and in order not to fill the sheet with just empty talk in the manner of young people, I intend to write something about the condition of our Holland (but you must not expect secrets from me). As for the war, indeed, everything is quiet here after Johan van Nassou's captivity. Meanwhile, the rumour goes that the enemy leads their army from the encampments, but there is no fear here, for the bad weather guarantees they will not begin any siege at this time. So, as there is no danger from abroad, the domestic discord about religion begins to grow again; defamatory pamphlets are flourishing; Remonstrants are forced to listen to mockeries in some places, Counter-Remonstrants in others; I hope God finally makes an end to this destructive harm of our Holland. What shall I say about peace? For I have no place in the assembly of the States (which you can easily believe) and do not know secrets either. I hardly dare speak of this, nor even whisper, with the common people and with zealots of rather rigid opinion. For they are afraid for their own faction, if peace is concluded with the enemy. And so, while they endeavour to stabilize their situation, they are making it more suspect. For what must we say about

support, and owing to their supremacy over the other States, precluded any confrontation with the enemy. At the time, Holland policies were wholly paralysed—magistracy, the ministry and provincial synods alike—by Counter-Remonstrant factions agitating fervently against Remonstrants, whom they had noticed were regaining political power. Amsterdam and Rotterdam had already become predominantly Remonstrant. Cf. **69b**, Poelhekke (1978:330–36), Israel (1995:512–13).

⁵ The truce Spain had proposed in 1629 should have been discussed in the States of Holland at the time, but the issue was pushed to the background by the internal religious problems. Cf. **69b**, Israel (1995:508–12), Poelhekke (1978:314).

⁶ Counter-Remonstrant predicants, and consequently their congregations too, vehemently opposed truce with the Roman Catholic enemy. Cf. **69b**, Israel (1995:510–11).

⁷ Probably because of the vehemence of some Counter-Remonstrant predicants.

suspectiorem. Nam quid de iis statuamus, qui non nisi turbato patriae statu firmos se et tutos putent.

- c** Vale, mi avuncule. Uterque parens, fratres, ac sorores multum te salutant; omnesque illud tempus videre aveunt, quo conspectu tuo denuo frui °liceat.

Dabam Lugduni Batavorum, anno MDCXXX, XIV die Augusti.
Tuus in aeternum, Matthaeus Vossius.

75 30 08 26 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO MERIC CASAUBON [CANTERBURY]¹

- a** *Salutem plurimam.* Adfinis Vossius mihi per litteras magnopere mandavit, ut prima quaque occasione duo haec exemplaria Oratoriarum Institutionum ad te transmitterem, quorum unum *reverendo Domino Decano*, alterum tibi cedat.² Debui ergo eius erga me amoris, tuaeque iam olim mihi exhibitae humanitati hanc qualemcunque festinationem. Si qua porro in re opera mea utilis esse tibi possit; quidquid iusseris, pro viribus tam diligenter quam libenter exequar.

Raptim; in aedibus Arundellianis, anno 1630, 16 Augusti *stilo veteri*.
Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

- b** Percepi ex litteris adfinis te propediem pecuniarum aliquid Iohanni Vossio apud Cantabrigienses degenti missurum; eas malim commodiore aliqua occasione ad eum, quam per me, transmitti.³ Incerta est hic statio nostra, Comite Arundelliae cras aut perendie rus cogitante; nolim autem per meam absentiam iniurius esse indigenti.⁴

76 30 10 29 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS [LEIDEN]¹

- a** Lieve suster,
also Mr Peelmaecker t'elcken ooghen-blick op 't veranderen des winds sijn reyse nae Neder-land meynt aen te vanghen, so magh ick niet nae-laeten V.L. op dese goede gheleghenheyd van mijnen wel-stand

c liceat: li[*cet* > *ceat*]

¹ *o*: BL, Burn. 369, f. 64.

² Vossius, *Oratoriarum institutionum* (1630), one copy of which was for Isaac Bargrave, dean of Canterbury, **72d**.

those who only consider themselves firm and safe when the condition of the fatherland is in turmoil?

- c Farewell, my uncle. Both my parents, my brothers and sisters warmly greet you, and all desire to see that time when we can enjoy the sight of you again.

Written in Leiden in the year 1630 on the 14th day of August.

For ever your Matthaëus Vossius.

75 30 08 26 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO MERIC CASAUBON [CANTERBURY]

- a Warmest regards. Brother-in-law Vossius strongly urged me in a letter at the first possible opportunity to send to you these two copies of *Principles of Oratory*, one of which is intended for the reverend Mr. Dean, the other one for you. I accordingly owed this insignificant haste to his love for me and to the humanity you have since long shown to me. If it is possible for my service to be useful for anything else, I will as diligently as willingly accomplish whatever you demand me as best I can.

In haste. At Arundel house in the year 1630, 16 August old style.

Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

- b I gathered from Brother-in-law's letter that you will soon send some money for Joannes Vossius, who is staying in Cambridge; I prefer it to be sent to him at a more convenient opportunity than through me. Our stay is not fixed here, since the earl of Arundel is considering to go to the country tomorrow or the day after tomorrow; and I do not want to be unfair to someone in distress by my absence.

76 30 10 29 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS [LEIDEN]

- a Dear Sister,

Since Mr. Peelmaecker intends to set out on his journey to the Low Countries any moment now at a change of wind, I should not fail

³ Joannes Vossius would receive part of Vossius' Canterbury prebend, 72c.

⁴ The earl of Arundel may have gone to his favourite country residence at Horsley or Albury.

¹ *o*: BLO, Rawl. 79, f. 67.

te ver-wittighen.² Johannes heeft een brandende kortse ghehad, so ick eerst hoorde nae dat hem de kortse nu alreede ver-laeten had; ick ver-stae nu dat hij beter is.³ Ick soude ghaerne te Cambridge hebben ghegaen om hem eenighen bij-stand te doen, in-dien ick vroegher de wete van sijne kranckte ghehad hadde, ende in-dien het groote huys daer in ick leve niet schouwe en waer van ie-man te laeten gaen in plaetsen die met de peste besmet sijn, ghelijck Cambridge nu gheen kleyne wijl daer mede besocht is gheweest.⁴ sal hier-nae-maels, goede gheleghenheyd daer toe hebbende, hem som-wijlen gaen besoecken.

- b** Ick stae als nu teghen-wordighlick in beraed of ick den aen-staenden Maij een reyse nae Franck-rijck ende Italien sal aen-vaerden.⁵ mijne resolutie sal sick schicken nae den raed van den E. bisschop van London, dien ick mijne gheleghenheyd meyne bekent te maeken, nae dat ick ghesien sal hebben hoe den Ed. graeve van A. mij meynt te beloonen voor mijnen voorighen arbeyd.⁶ hij is vrij wat traegh gheweest in 't versorghen van Mr Pettie.⁷ nu beghint hij een weynigh sorghe voor hem te draeghen. dies achte ick het oock oorboir te °wesen dat ick teghen den naesten somer weten soude wat hij met mij voor heeft.
- c** Ick °bidde u, laet mij doch eens weten wat V.L. al hoort van onse suster Maria. 't °is nu bij nae een gantsch jaer dat ick niets van haer ver-nomen hebbe. groet broeder Vossius en u gantsche ghesin van mijnen 't halven hertelick seer. °met haest. In Arrundell-huys. Anno 1630. den 19 *Octobris stilo vetere*. V.L. dienst-willighen broeder F.F.F. Junius.
- d** daer is nog een exemplae van de *oratoriarum institutionum* overigh; wanneer broeder Vossius mij laet weten waer het bestedet moet worden; ick sal sijne begheerte vaerdighlick wt-voeren.⁸

b wesen: [+ w]esen (*Sheet torn*) | **c** bidde: [+ b]idde | is: [+ is] | met: m[+ et]

² Mr. Peelmaeker unidentified.

³ No letter of Joannes Vossius informing Junius of this sickness was retrieved.

⁴ Junius was forbidden to go where the plague was raging, **111b**. Joannes returned home to recover, **77b**.

to inform you of my health at this good opportunity. Joannes had a fervent fever, as I only heard after the fever had already left him again now. I understand now that he is well again. I would willingly have gone to Cambridge to do him any service, if I had been informed of his sickness earlier, and if the grand house where I live had not been afraid to let anyone go to places which are infected by the plague, just as Cambridge has been afflicted by it for quite a while now. I will go to see him from time to time in the future, when I have a good opportunity to do so.

b I am now at present in deliberation whether to set out on a journey to France and Italy this May. My resolution will agree with the advice of the reverend bishop of London, to whom I intend to reveal my circumstances after I have seen how the honourable earl of A. intends to reward me for my previous work. He has been quite slow in caring for Mr. Petty. Now he begins to take care of him somewhat. So I also consider it to be appropriate to know by this summer what he wants from me.

c I pray you, do let me know what you hear of Sister Maria. It has been almost a full year now that I have not heard anything from her. Warmly greet Brother Vossius and your whole family on my behalf.

In haste. At Arundel House in the year 1630, 19 October old style.
Your obliging brother F.F.F. Junius.

d There is still one copy of the *Principles of Oratory* left; when Brother Vossius lets me know where it must be distributed, I will readily satisfy his desire.

⁵ The contract for the tutorship of William Howard finished in 1631, and Junius may have modified his prospective destination in accordance with Vossius' suggestion in **63c**. Cf. **83**, Joannes to Vossius, **App3**.

⁶ The earl of Arundel indeed failed to reward Junius duly, **83**.

⁷ William Petty had extensively travelled in the Mediterranean for Arundel, but reward for his service was too slow, **56**, **83c**.

⁸ Vossius, *Oratoriarum institutionum* (1630), **72d**.

77⁸⁰ 31 01 01 DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

a Avuncule honorande,

Annus fere totus est, quod nullas ad te literas misi.² Neque rationem longae adeo morae ipse capio. Aestatem rure trivi, ubi in Arabum me scriptis Golius exercuit.³ Postea reversus, ipse miror, quomodo non de literis ad te cogitarim. Bene tamen habet, quod potissimum te iudice reus sim, cuius et facilitatem, et lenitatem iam pridem omnes novimus. Itaque non anxie culpam deprecor. Caeterum hanc corrigere culpam ineuntis quoque anni auspicia suaserunt. Quo vulgo obtinet, ut quaecumque vitia elapsus secum annus traxerit, ea novo ut corrigantur. Accedebat ad ea summa fidi tabellarii opportunitas, quam si negligerem, non iniuria indignus venia videbar. Ea itaque et literas, licet argumentum foret nullum, extorsit. Cum autem te, occupatissimum semper, verbis inanibus interpellare importuni videretur hominis, partim illa addere visum fuit, quae te spectare existimabam, ut literis meis, quod non habebant ex se pretium ex alienis accederet. Ea ergo breviter, quoad fieri poterit proponam.

b Matertera Brunaea hanc fere aestatem totam, geminata ad diem quartam febre extraxit. Valde eam debilem, ac languentem, ex Anglia revertens frater Iohannes offenderat.⁴ Nunc, divina clementia, remittere morbus coepit. Eadem calamitas liberorum eius duos afflxit. Filiolus semestri apud nos consumto, valetudine commoda discesserat.⁵ Vix Zelandiam attigerat, quum aer illum parum salubris et victus mutatio in morbum detrusere. Altera natu minima filia oculis laborat vehementissime neque ulla accipit remedia.⁶ Itaque terni aegrotant.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 98b. Letter 80 was written on the same sheet.

² Dionysius Vossius had written Junius an unretrieved letter in March 1630, 73a.

³ Jacob Golius (1596–1667), professor of Arabic and of mathematics in Leiden from 1625 and 1629, respectively. Having studied under Thomas Erpenius, he practised his Arabic and acquired numerous manuscripts in Morocco from 1622 to 1624. On his return, he was elected his preceptor's successor, which induced him to make an extensive study tour to Syria, Mesopotamia and Constantinople to improve his knowledge of Oriental languages. During this tour, he collected rare eastern manuscripts for Leiden University. Appointed professor of mathematics on his return as well, he founded the Observatory in 1633. He wrote many books on Oriental philology and mathematics and prepared translations during his thirty-eight year-long professorship. His *Lexicon Arabico-Latinum* (Leiden, 1653) remained a standard dictionary until well into the nineteenth century. Cf. *NNBW* 10.287–89, Juynboll (1931:119–83), Fück (1955:79–84); for Dionysius' studies in Oriental languages, 53b–c.

77 31 01 01 DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

a Honourable Uncle,

It is almost a full year that I have not sent you a letter, and I do not understand the reason of so long a delay myself. In the summer I stayed in the countryside, where Golius instructed me in Arabic literature. After my return, I am surprised myself how I did not think of writing you a letter. Yet it is quite good to be a debtor in especially the judgement of you, whose accessibility and gentleness we have all known for a long time. So I do not anxiously plead not guilty. But, also the beginning of the new year persuaded to amend this fault, as it is proverbial that any faults which the past year dragged along with itself, that these will be corrected in the new year. In addition, the wonderful opportunity of a trustworthy courier presented itself. If I neglected it, I would justly appear unworthy of excuse. So it also squeezed out a letter, although the subject-matter was naught. But because it would seem characteristic of a troublemaker to disturb you, who are always deeply occupied, with empty words, it seemed good partly to add those topics which I thought you expect, so that the value in my letter, which it does not have of itself, would come from others. So I will briefly set this forth, as far as will be possible.

b Aunt de Brune has been ailing almost this full summer because of a double quartan fever. On his return from England, Brother Joannes found her very feeble and faint. Now, by divine mercy, the disease is beginning to abate. The same calamity struck two of her children. Having spent half a year with us, the little son left in good health. Hardly had he reached Zeeland, when the unwholesome weather and the change of diet reduced him to sickness. The second, younger daughter is severely afflicted in the eyes and does not accept any medicines. So the three are ill. Who is left is daughter Maria, who alone enjoys a good health, and because her mother is

⁴ Joannes Vossius had returned from Cambridge to his parents in the autumn of 1630 to recover from sickness and stay away from the plague stricken town, and was to stay in Holland until the autumn of 1631. Cf. **76a**, Rademaker (1981:231).

⁵ Jan de Brune.

⁶ Johanna de Brune.

Quae reliqua est filia Maria, una valetudine secunda utitur, ac destituta famulatio matre, quicquid laborum proponitur sola exhaurit.⁷ Nec sufficere diu illa, praesertim aetate, poterit. Iusta hac miseratione moti parentes, quod ante quoque ab illis factitatum, ad se avocarunt. Nec aegre matertera consentire videtur. Spero et victus mutatione, et aeris, auxilio quoque adiutam nostro, pristinam, si Deus volet, recuperare valetudinem posse. Arbitror simul in Batavis ei sedem figere decretum esse, quo et illa inclinatur, et parentes adhortari non intermittunt.⁸ Atque haec quidem de materterae conditione ita se habent.

c Nostras quod res attinet, nihil in iis a discessu tuo mutatum est.⁹ Parentes, divina gratia, valetudine utuntur sic satis prospera. Eadem nostra omnium conditio. Frater Franciscus Hagae causas agit et non sine laude eam sustinet provinciam.¹⁰ Ego totus translatione Reydani distineor, ita ut facile post trimestre praelo subiicere opus possim.¹¹ Simulatque id erit, non patiar diu te ignorantem. Spero eam fore dictionem nostram, ut vel certet cum veteribus, vel, si id nimium videtur, proximum vindicare sibi locum non iniuria possit. De quo aliis, ubi publicum viderit iudicium relinquam.

d Eiectus ab Amstelodamensibus Smoutius nihil intentatum relinquit, ut purgatum se praestet.¹² Nuper in ius eius urbis magistratum vocavit. Iudicium Ecclesiastarum Synodus faceret.¹³ Quos sane faventiores causae suae habere iudices poterat? Paratum ille se ait demonstrare, nihil contra *Rempulicam* nihil praeter officium fecisse. Caeterum plus prudentiae Amstelodamensibus, quam ut in ius vocati a subditis morem gerant. Praeterea, quis non videt exemplum ulterius pertinere? Quotiescumque enim de eiusmodi hominibus publice aliquid constituerint magistratus, dicam sibi scribi patientur? Smoutius quidem vulgo °aliisque aut parum sane iudicii, aut partium studiosis

d aliisque: \aliisque/

⁷ Maria de Brune, who was sixteen, cf. Worp (1890:84).

⁸ Johanna Junius had had to move anyhow, **69b**.

⁹ Junius had been in Holland one year before, **67a**.

¹⁰ Franciscus Vossius had been doctor in both laws for several months, **69b**.

¹¹ Dionysius was preparing a Latin translation of Everard van Reyd, *Historie* (1631), **69b**.

without servants, she performs all chores which present themselves on her own. And she cannot suffice long, especially at that age. Moved by this justified compassion, my parents invited them to them, which they had also frequently done before. And Aunt seems to consent without difficulty. I hope they can regain their former health assisted by the change of diet and of air, and by our help, if God wishes so. I believe it has at the same time been decided for her to take up residence in Holland, to which both she inclines and which my parents do not cease to urge. Indeed, about Aunt's condition matters are thus.

- c As pertains to our circumstances, nothing has changed in them since your departure. Thus, by divine favour, my parents are enjoying quite a good health. The condition of all of us is the same. Brother Franciscus has a legal practice in The Hague and acquits himself of this duty with praise. I am completely engaged in the translation of van Reyd, in such a way that I can easily submit it to the press within three months. As soon as this happens, I will not let you be unaware of it long. I hope our style will be such that it either contends with the ancients, or, if that seems too much, that it can properly claim the next place for itself. About this I will leave the judgement to others, when it has seen publicity.
- d Expelled by the Amsterdam people, Smout has left nothing untried to prove himself absolved. Recently, he summoned the magistracy of that town to court. A synod of churchmen would pronounce judgement. Truly, which more partisan judges could he have for his cause? He said he was prepared to demonstrate to have done nothing against the State and nothing beyond his authority. But the Amsterdammers are wiser than to obey to being summoned to court by subjects. Moreover, who does not see that a precedent will extend further? For, will the magistracy permit a lawsuit to be entered against themselves as often as they publicly decree anything about this kind of men? Smout will actually easily demonstrate his cause with the common people and with other men truly either of too little judgement, or zealous of factions, who shout that the Amsterdammers will not obstruct justice, if they have a good conscience; but to

¹² The zealous Counter-Remonstrant predicant Adriaan Jorissen Smout had been expelled from Amsterdam one year before, **69b**.

¹³ Synod unidentified.

hominibus, facile caussam probat suam, qui clamitant non defugituros ius Amstelodamenses, si bona iis conscientia foret. Verum prudentibus et politicis viris ridiculo est. Amstelodamensium exemplum secuti Roterodamenses, Ecclesiastarum duos, homines turbidos, exilio multarunt.¹⁴ In Zelandia Auriacus Manmakerum munere abdicare se iussit.¹⁵ Magnopere ea res complures turbavit. Nec convitiis quidem, et atrocibus, in Principem parant. Caeterum is impotentium mos, ut Aesopicae vulpis modo, quando viribus se destitui vident, lingua ac convitiis agant.¹⁶ Habes, venerande avuncule, literas prolixas, quibus morae longitatem compenso. Nunc vale. Salutant te parentes, et tota domus nostra hunc tibi felicissimum precatur annum.¹⁷

Kalendis Ianuarii MDCXXXI, Lugduno °Batavorum.

Tibi ad omnia officia promptus cognatus, Dionysius Vossius.

78 31 01 12 DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

a Avuncule honorande,

Vix hebdomades tres sunt quando postremo ad te literas dedi, prolixas satis et quae prioris silentii culpam expiare possint.² Caeterum, quum et scribam ad te libenter, et nunc gravi de causa facere id teneam, non invitus accessi ut iterato literis te compellarem meis. Quae, licet per se non ingratas fore existimem, potissimum tamen ex materia pretium capient. Ea et nova omnino et inexpectata tibi accidet, multo magis exteris, quos, ubi negotium cognoverint, non eadem omnino, qua nos, aestimatione mensuros arbitror. Praeveniendam itaque horum opinionem censui, ne fama, qua pleraque constant, parentis apud eos vilescat. Res ita habet.

b Annus fere integer est quod amplissimi urbis Amstelodamensis magistratus consilia agitarunt de constituenda in urbe sua illustri

d *Batavorum: Battavorum*

¹⁴ Not just two, but four predicants were removed by Rotterdam, Benjamin Rijswijck (1588–1637), predicant there from 1624; Henricus Alutarius (c.1592–1633), predicant there from 1627; Petrus van Nienrode (c.1591–1638), predicant there from 1617, and Jacobus Leeuwius (1595–1634), predicant there from 1620. Rijswijck, Alutarius and van Nienrode subsequently accepted a ministry elsewhere. Cf. van Lieburg (1996, 2:295; 1, s.vv.).

¹⁵ Frederick Henry (1584–1647), Prince of Orange, Stadholder of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Overijssel, Gelderland, and from 1640 also of Groningen and Drenthe, had dismissed Adriaan van Manmaker (b. 1579), representative of the first noble

prudent men with political understanding he is a laughing-stock. Following the example of Amsterdam, the Rotterdammers punished two turbulent predicants with removal. In Zeeland Oranje ordered Manmaker to abdicate from his function. This greatly disturbed many people. Nor indeed do they spare insults, and bitter ones to that, to the prince. Otherwise, it is a habit of powerless people, just as Aesop's fox, to contend with language and insults when they find themselves destitute of power. Venerable Uncle, you have a long letter, with which I compensate the length of the delay. Farewell now. My parents give you their greetings and our whole house wishes you a very happy year.

On the Kalends of January, 1631, Leiden [1 Jan.].

Your nephew, ready for all services for you, Dionysius Vossius.

78 31 01 12 DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS (LEIDEN) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

a Honourable Uncle,

Hardly three weeks ago I last wrote you a letter, quite a long one, which could make amends for the fault of preceding silence. But, both because I write you with pleasure and because I am now bound to do so about an important matter, I have quite willingly assented to addressing you once again with my letter. Although I do not think it to be unwelcome per se, it will still get its principal value from its contents, which will appear entirely new and unexpected to you, and much more so to strangers, whom I think will not measure with entirely the same appraisal as we do, when they hear of the affair. So I felt their opinion must be anticipated, so that Father's reputation, of which most aspects are steady, is not devalued with them. The matter is as follows.

b Almost a whole year ago the magistracy of the magnificent town of Amsterdam deliberated upon founding an illustrious school in their town. For when they daily noticed that their children, sent to a university away from their parents' sight, were mostly spending

delegated in the States of Zeeland, in September 1630. He had been one of the "board of twenty-four" which had tried Johan van Oldenbarnevelt in 1618–19. Cf. *BWN* 12.146–47, *Nagtglas* 2.126–27, Israel (1995:458–59).

¹⁶ The fox in Aesop's *fabulae*.

¹⁷ For the new year wish, cf. ter Meer (1994), **85c**, **97g**.

¹ *σ*: UBA, M 98c.

² Letter **77**.

schola.³ Quum enim liberos suos e conspectu parentum ad Academias dimissos, vita plerumque dissoluta tempus consumere et contagione hominum improborum attaminari indies conspicerent, non iniuria carissimorum eos pignorum °cura sollicitos tenebat.⁴ Huic malo occurrere cum vellent, non idoneum aequae remedium reperiebant, quam ne eos extra conspectum dimitterent priusquam annorum numero et prudentia vitae sibi modum praescribere ipsi possent. Itaque diu re perpensa, postremo de illustri gymnasio decreverunt. Caeterum quum de professoribus eo vocandis dispicerent, parentem potissimum honore hoc dignum censuerunt.⁵ Cumque eum munere honesto apud Lugdunenses fungi et stipendio non exiguo fungi viderent, facile intellegebant, nisi maioribus oblati in urbem suam nequaquam pertrahendum. Ergo stipendium obtulere bis mille et quingentorum in singulos annos florenorum, liberam quoque habitationem apud eos septingentis plus minus florenis aestimatam.⁶ Et licet in universis Belgarum terris, si militiam excipias, tanto stipendio fruatur nullus, non tamen patri facile persuasissent. Itaque et magnam spem promissaque fecere, liberorum rationem habituros, habituros et viduae, si parentem, quod Deus avertat, e vivis migrare contingat. Adiecta complura id genus alia. Haec ambiguum animi parentem impulere ut conditionem postremo acciperet. Communicaverat consilium cum summis viris et amicis, quorum non unus repertus qui dissuaderet; autores fuere complures.⁷

c Exteri proculdubio mirabuntur hunc parentis ex Academia transitum in Scholam Illustrem, et iniqua fortassis multi iudicia facient.⁸ Caeterum qui stipendium conferent, qui urbem utramque et magistratus, qui promissa de liberis ad dignitates promovendis respicient, nihil parentem hic fecisse videbunt quod non et ipsi facturi fuerint.⁹

b cura: [- s] cura

³ For the following, cf. **69c**, Frijhoff (1997:60–65), Heesakkers (1982:3–8), Rademaker (1982:19–31), which silently supersedes Rademaker (1981:236–39).

⁴ Quoted after the resolution of the Amsterdam city council, **69c**.

⁵ Amsterdam had invited Vossius late December 1630 to accept a post beside Caspar Barlaeus at the Athenaeum Illustre to be established there. Cf. Rademaker (1982:20–21), which silently corrects Rademaker (1981:236).

⁶ At the time, from 10 to 14 January, Barlaeus and Vossius' son Joannes were in Amsterdam to look for housing, cf. Rademaker (1982:21–22).

their time in a licentious way of life and were being spoilt by the vicious company of bad people, concern for their dear children kept them anxious with good reason. Because they wished to counteract this harm, they did not find an equally appropriate remedy as not to send them away from sight before they were able to moderate themselves by their number of years and prudence of way of life. So, having long contemplated it carefully, they finally decided on an illustrious athenaeum. Yet, when they reflected on the professors to be invited there, they decided Father to be most worthy of this honour. And when they saw him enjoying an honorary post among the Leideners and quite a good salary, they easily understood he could by no means be allured to their town, unless by greater remunerations. So they offered him a salary of two thousand five hundred guilders yearly, as well as a free residence rated by them at about seven hundred guilders. Although nobody enjoys such a salary in all of the Low Countries, if you except the army, they would still not have persuaded Father easily. So they also raised great expectations and promised to regard the children and to regard the widow, if Father happens to depart from the living, which God may avert. Several other such conditions were added. This urged Father, hesitating in his heart, finally to accept the position. He took counsel with high gentlemen and friends, of whom not one was found who dissented; several supported it.

c Strangers will doubtlessly wonder at Father's move from a university to an illustrious school, and many may pass unfair judgements. However, those who considered the salary, who regarded both towns and the magistracies and the promises to promote the children to honorary posts, will see that Father has here done nothing which they would not have done themselves. Of their number

⁷ On the same day as the present letter, Vossius wrote in similar words to William Laud. Cf. Colomesius 1.135, Rademaker (1982:22); for the favourable and unfavourable reactions to Vossius' decision, cf. Rademaker (1982:23–26).

⁸ Food for rumours was in Vossius' decision to exchange his professorship at the famous Leiden University for a position at an illustrious school yet to be founded, against the wishes of Leiden. Cf. 69c, Rademaker (1982:23–31).

⁹ Amsterdam was more approving of Remonstrants than Leiden at the time, cf. Israel (1995:512).

Quorum te ex numero, charissime avuncule, arbitror esse, quem de his certiorum factum voluit pater, ut exterorum, si fortassis mirantes invenias, animos hac opinione liberes. Vale. Salutem plurimam doctissimo viro *Domino* Pettaeo.

Lugduno Batavorum, MDCXXXI, ad diem XII Ianuarii stylo novo.

Tuus cognatus, qui debito te cultu et reverentia aestimat, Dionysius Vossius.

79⁸¹ [31] 01 22 JOHN ROUS (OXFORD) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Ornatissimo doctissimoque viro *Domino* Iunio in aedibus illustrissimi Comitum Arundelianis.

a Ornatissime et doctissime Vir,

Accepi iam dudum literas a magno illo Vossio, amico meo singulari et affine tuo, quibus me certiorum facit se 20 exemplaria Catholicarum epistolarum Leidae excusarum ad te misisse, ut Pococko doctissimo apud nos iuveni, qui illam editionem concinnarat, opera tua redderentur.² Ille ante aliquot menses in Turciam concessit, pastoris munere fungens apud mercatores nostros qui illic negotiantur, post biennium vel saltem triennium cum bono Deo rediturus. Verum ante discessum inter alia hoc negotium dedit viro cuidam docto contubernali suo, ut si qua exemplaria illius editionis huc mitterentur, ille in absentia sua in suum usum acciperet et ex praescripto suo amicis distribueret.³ Si huiusmodi depositum apud te residit, pergratum

a te: [- tu] te | fungens: [- apud] fungens | usum: [- usu] usum | amicis: [- acciperet, et ex praescripto suo] amicis | pergratum: [- [mi]] pergratum

¹ *o*: UBA, M 96b. Letter 81 was written on the same sheet. Replied by letter 81, so presumably written in 1631.

² Vossius' letter had informed Rous that "Ioannes Christophorus a Berg . . . a me accepit 20 exemplaria operae eius, quam Dominus Pocockus Catholicis e Syriaco transferendis impendit" [Jan Christoffel Berka has received from me twenty copies of the book which Mr. Pococke devoted to a translation of the Catholic (letters) from Syriac], 30 10 26, Colomesius 1.130. Edward Pococke, *Versio et notae ad quatuor epistolas Syriace* (Leiden, 1630), a transcription in Syriac and Hebrew characters of the four missing Catholic epistles of the New Testament (Peter ii, John ii, iii, and

I think that you, dearest Uncle, are one, whom Father wanted to be informed about this, so that you may release the thoughts of strangers from this opinion, if perhaps you find surprised people. Farewell. Warmest regards to the most learned gentleman Mr. Petty. Leiden, 1631, on the 12th day of January new style. Your nephew, who regards you with due adoration and reverence, Dionysius Vossius.

79 [31] 01 22 JOHN ROUS (OXFORD) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the most distinguished and learned gentleman Mr. Junius at the house of the most illustrious earl of Arundel.

a Most distinguished and learned sir,
 Already long ago I received a letter from this great Vossius, my special friend and your brother-in-law, in which he informed me of having sent to you 20 copies of the *Catholic Letters* printed in Leiden which must be delivered with your assistance to Pococke, a most learned young man who prepared this edition with us here. He left for Turkey several months ago to serve in the position of minister with our merchants who are doing business there, and will return after two or at the most three years, with God's blessing. But before his departure he gave this commission, among others, to one learned house-mate of his, if copies of this edition were sent here, to receive them in his absence for his use and distribute them over his friends according to his instruction. If such a deposit is resting with you,

Jude), which he had found in a manuscript in the Bodleian Library, together with the Greek text, a Latin translation and notes. Vossius, who had met him in Oxford, had encouraged Pococke to publish it. Edward Pococke (1604–1691), Orientalist, had been appointed chaplain to the Turkey Merchants in Aleppo, where he remained for more than five years. He studied Arabic, Hebrew, Samaritan, Syriac and Ethiopic there, and collected numerous Arabic, Hebrew, Ethiopic and Armenian manuscripts. In 1636 he returned to become the first professor of Arabic at Oxford, yet from 1637 until 1641 he resided in Constantinople together with John Greaves, **167c**, possibly with the earl of Arundel's support. Pococke published many works on Oriental languages and history. Cf. *DNB* 46.7–12, Toomer (1996, *passim*), Hamilton (1985, s.v. Pococke).

³ Robert Newlin (c.1598–1688), fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and future president of the college. Cf. **82a**, *Alumni Oxonienses* 2.1061.

mihi et Pococko nostro facies, si me °primo quoque tempore certiore facias, ut de illis ad nos commode transmittendis rationem ineamus.

- b** Idem doctissimus vir Gerardus Vossius pro ea qua nos complectitur benevolentia 2 exemplaria operis Rhetorici mihi et Pococko suo dono misit *per* quendam nobilem Moravum, qui tum ex Belgio ad nos profecturus erat, sed quem ego nondum vidi, nec libri ad manus meas pervenerunt.⁴ Fortasse adhuc Londini moratur; si ad te veniat, officiose °peto, ut °doctissimi amici munere *per* te frui liceat, ut illi quam primum rescribam et gratias pro nobili suo dono retribuam. Haec (ut facile coniiicere potes) properanti calamo et inter tumultuaria negotia. Vale nobilissime amice.
Ex Bibliotheca Bodleiana, Ianuarii 12 stilo veteri.
Tuissimus, Ioannes Rous, Bibliothecarius.

⁷⁷ 80 31 01 23 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

- a** *Salutem plurimam.* Opportune admodum, mi Dionysi, fidus cum litteris tuis tabellarius obtulit se mihi, cum Domini Casauboni litterae Cantuaria °ad me perlatae necessitatem propere scribendi, cunctaturo etiamnum, imponerent.² Moram subinde scripturienti intulit propinqua spes uberius ad affinem de rebus meis aliquid perscribendi.³ Propediem, si volet Deus, futurum id est. Nunc tamen, quoniam officio litterarum omnem haesitanti moram excussisti, reliquum est, ut tester nihil mihi gratius litteris tuis potuisse obtingere, cum quod me de prospera omnium vestrum valetudine certiore faciant, tum etiam quod studiorum tuorum rationem ignorare me non patiantur. Persiste modo. Adspirabit, scio, summi Numinis indulgentia conatibus honestis. Parentes °tuos, cum optime velint sorori Brunaeae,

a primo: [- *qu*] primo | **b** peto: [- *peto*] peto | doctissimi: [- [*L*]] doctissimi | retribuam: retribuam

80a ad: [- *perlatae*] ad | tuos: [- *t i*] tuos

⁴ Vossius had sent the copies of his *Oratoriarum institutionum* (1630) not with Jan Christoffel Berka but to Junius instead, however, and had not informed Rous otherwise, **72d**.

¹ *ca*: UBA, M 98b verso; on the same sheet as letter **77**.

² Letter **77**, not **78**, as Junius does not react to it. Meric Casaubon's letter to Vossius was presumably the one dated 31 01 02, cf. *ICVossius* (1993:143).

you will do something most welcome to me and our Pococke, if you also inform me as soon as possible, so that we may contrive a way to conveniently send them to us.

- b** In accordance with this benevolence with which he treats us, the same most learned gentleman Gerardus Vossius sent two copies of a rhetorical book for me and Pococke as his gift through a Moravian nobleman, who was about to travel from the Low Countries to us then, but whom I have not yet seen, nor have the books come to my hands. Perhaps he is still lingering in London; if he comes to you, I courteously ask of you to let me enjoy my most learned friend's gift, so that I may write him back as soon as possible and return my thanks for his noble gift. Likewise (as you can easily conjecture), by one moving the reed-pen in haste during turbulent occupations. Farewell, most noble friend.

From the Bodleian Library, 12 January old style.

Deeply yours, John Rous, librarian.

80 31 01 23 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]

- a** Warmest regards. Quite conveniently, my Dionysius, a trustworthy courier presented himself to me with your letter, when Mr. Casaubon's letter, conveyed to me from Canterbury, imposed on me the urge to write quickly, when I was still about to linger. Time and again, the real hope of writing something more about my circumstances to my relative caused delay, though I desired to write. Very soon this will happen, if God wishes so. But since you have shaken out all delay of my hesitation with the obligation of your letter, it now remains for me to testify that nothing more pleasing could have happened to me than your letter, because it both informs me of the prosperous health of you all, and does not allow me to be unaware of the progress of your studies. Go on like this. The complaisance of the highest God, I know, will inspire honourable efforts. I know for certain that your parents, because they wish best for Sister de Brune, have done what will be in her interest. I know well that she

³ The tutorship to William Howard had almost finished, and Junius was hoping to be paid for his service, **76b**, **83**.

fecisse quod e re eius futurum sit, certum habeo; humaniter adeo a summa necessitudine coniunctis invitata, sat scio, mutare sedem haud verebitur.⁴ Ego quoque ineunte vere, vitae modo spatium det Deus, subsidium aliquod pecuniarum transmittam. Vale et uberrimam meis verbis salutem dic parentibus, nec non fratribus sororibusque tuis. Raptim; in aedibus Arundellianis, anno 1631, 13 Ianuarii stilo vetere. Tuus omni officio.

⁷⁹ 81₈₂ 31 01 30 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHN ROUS [OXFORD]¹

- a** Perlatae sunt ad me litterae tuae quum nobilissimus Guilielmus Howard, ex Hamptoniensi agro reversus, longiores moras in Gilfordiani oppidi vicinia tracturus videbatur.² Suasi tamen maturiorem in urbem reditum, quo fidem meam affini Vossio tibi obstrictam exsolverem.³ Nihil quidem unquam ad me Vossius de Moravo isthoc librisque ad te missis scripserat, neque ullus unquam Moravus ad me nuntium de libris attulerat, et iam omnis fere spes extenuata evanescebat, cum ecce amicissimus mihi Adamus Reuter Silesius (cuius opera inter alios ad Moravum hunc investigandum utebar) nuntiat hominem inventum.⁴ Restat ut signifies qua ratione exemplaria haec ad te per hominem fidum tuto devehī possint.⁵ Ego promptissime semper cum in hac re tum in aliis omnibus exsequar quicquid iniunxeris. Raptim; in aedibus °Arundelianis, anno 1631, 20 Ianuarii. Tuus omni officio.

81a Arundelianis: Arundelian[*u* > *is*]

⁴ Vossius and Elizabeth Junius had invited Johanna Junius, who was ill, to stay, 77b.

¹ *ca*: UBA, M 96b verso, on the same sheet as letter 79. Square on the same side of the sheet in Junius' hand, "Iohannes Christophorus a Bergh in the *Minorites*," a.

² Letter 79. Probably at the Arundel estate in Albury near Guildford, 60°.

³ Vossius had sent books for Rous and Edward Pococke via Jan Christoffel Berka, 79a.

⁴ Vossius' letter to Junius, which possibly had to be delivered by Berka, unretrieved, 72d. Evidently, Berka had not yet sought contact with Junius, so that the latter had not yet received letter 74 either. Adam Reuter (fl. 1627) was a Silesian

will not at all hesitate to move house now that she has so kindly been invited by those bound by the closest family ties. I will also send some financial support in early spring, provided God grants length of life. Farewell, and give warmest regards on my behalf to your parents and brothers and sisters.

In haste. At Arundel house in the year 1631, 13 January old style.
Obligingly Yours.

81 31 01 30 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHN ROUS [OXFORD]

- a** Your letter was delivered to me when, on his return from Hampshire, the most noble William Howard seemed about to linger for a longer period in the neighbourhood of the town of Guildford; but I urged for an earlier return to town to fulfil my promise pledged to Brother-in-law Vossius and you. Vossius actually never wrote to me anything about this Moravian and books sent to you, nor had any Moravian ever sent me a message about the books, and almost all thwarted hope had disappeared yet, when look, my best friend Adam Reuter from Silesia (whose help, among that of others, I employed to find this Moravian) announced that the gentleman has been found. It remains for you to indicate in which way these copies can safely be transported to you by a trustworthy person. I will always most promptly accomplish both for this and for all other matters whatever you instruct me to do.

In haste. At Arundel House in the year 1631, 20 January.
Obligingly Yours.

author who had studied at Oxford from 1608 and stayed there as a commoner for many years. Presumably, Berka was staying "in the Minorites," Grey Friars, in London. Present-day Grey Friars Place, EC1, is near St. Paul's Churchyard, Paternoster Row and Little Britain, the centre of seventeenth-century book trade. Cf. above, **167c**, **182b**, **219a**. Cf. *DNB* 48.32–33.

⁵ Robert Newlin did so, **82a**.

⁸¹ **82** 31 02 24 JOHN ROUS (OXFORD) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A *To his much honoured friend Mr Junius at Arundell house theis.*

a Doctissime vir,

Debemus tibi plurimum ego et Pocockus noster ob sollicitudinem istam tuam in eruendo nobili Moravo, et °nunc ut voti compos penitus fiam, ecce auspicato se obiicit qui curam ad nos deferendi libros suscipiet; hic nimirum qui literas meas tibi reddit.² Is ipse est cuius fidei °Pocockus discedens res suas in absentia commisit, nec restat aliud quam ut primam amplectar occasionem scribendi ad doctissimum Vossium et humanitatem tuam praedicandi.³ Quod faciam cum intellexero quomodo id fieri possit. Idem facturum Neulins hic Pococki nomine, sic *enim* inter eos ante discessum convenerat.⁴

b Interim obnixè peto atque [obtestor], si qua in re opera mea tibi hic usui esse possit, ut me estimes in peculio tuo

Mihi iussa capessere fas est.⁵

Plura coram et in os cum te videro, quod futurum spero brevi, saltem ineunte vere; tunc *enim* Londinum cogito ad expedienda quaedam negotia bibliothecaria.⁶ Vale, vir doctissime, et amantem °redama tui studiosissimum Io. Rous.

E Collegio Oriell, 14 Februarii 1631.

83 ⁸⁴ 31 [06 20] JUNIUS (PARIS) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN/AMSTERDAM]¹

A Gerardo Ioh. Vossio, affini suo coniunctissimo.²

a Coniunctissime affinis,

Quamvis et amici quos praesentes hic habeo, et sermones hominum factum meum comprobare videantur, magni tamen aestimo scire

82a nunc: \nunc/ | Pocockus: [+ Po]cockus (*Sheet torn*) | **b** redama: [- tui] redama

¹ *o*: UBA, M 96a. Dated 1631, instead of 1635, which is suggested on the cover and in Bremmer (1998b:221); its '31' looks somewhat like '35.'

² On Rous' and Edward Pococke's behalf, Junius had identified Jan Christoffel Berka who had a parcel of books for them, **79a**, **81a**. Robert Newlin delivered the present letter, cf. below, **79a**.

³ Rous' letter to Vossius, unretrieved.

⁴ Newlin's letter to Vossius, unretrieved.

⁵ Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.77.

82 31 02 24 JOHN ROUS (OXFORD) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A [*See the original address.*]

a Most learned sir,

I and our Pococke are much obliged to you for your solicitude in tracing the noble Moravian, and now, in order for my wish to be completely fulfilled, look, someone who will take care of delivering the books to us has seasonably presented himself—to be sure, the one who gives you my letter. He is the one to whose care Pococke, on his departure, entrusted his possessions during his absence, and there remains nothing else than to seize the first possible opportunity to write to the most learned Vossius and praise your kindness. I will do so as soon as I hear how it can be done. This Newlin will do the same on Pococke's behalf, for thus it was agreed among them before his departure.

b Meanwhile, I resolutely ask and beseech you to hold me as being completely at your disposal, if it is possible for my assistance to be of use to you in any respect here.

It is right for me to carry out orders.

More in person and face to face when I see you, which I hope will be soon, at least in the beginning of spring, for I am thinking of going to London then to manage some library affairs. Farewell, most learned sir, and return love to the most zealous lover,
your Jo. Rous.

From Oriell College, 14 February 163[1].

83 31 [06 20] JUNIUS (PARIS) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN/AMSTERDAM]

A To Gerardus Johannes Vossius, his dearest brother.

a Dearest Brother,

Although the friends I have here with me, as well as discussions with people, seem to approve of my course of action, I still highly value to know what you think of it, for, now that it has been done, I am

⁶ Rous was librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and fellow of Oriell College, cf. *DNB* 49.322.

¹ *o*: BL, Add. 34.727, f. 58. Presumably sent to Leiden, yet forwarded to Amsterdam, **A**. For the date, cf. **i**.

² To the address is added in an unidentified hand, "*vuer spinhuys.*" The letter was

quid sentias tu; nam, cuius integra re consilium exquirere optassem, huius etiam peracta iudicium nosse mire concupisco.³

b Meministi me annos abhinc novem operam meam familiae Arundeliana addixisse, Wintoniensi Episcopo plurimum suadente, Londiniensi vero minime dissuadente.⁴ Suscepi ergo provinciam longe durissimam, cuius onus si tantum opinione prima concipere potuissem quanto me exinde, dum fero, premi sentiebam, maturius consuluissem vires meas.⁵ Utcunque tamen exhibui me parem negotiis certatim ingruentibus, dum initio pudor omittendi quod receperam constantiam exprimit, mox, crescente in dies labore, per omnes tamen difficultates animo me sustentavi, urgentibusque blandae spei illecebris, deficere potius quam desperare in animum induxi, ne perderem scilicet quod fere iam putabam effectum, messemque in ipsa veluti herba destituerem.⁶ Salva est mihi constantiae fama, nec poenitet; recte facti, fecisse merces est.⁷

c Interea nonnihil subdubitanti mihi de fide promissorum, culpam tamen officii temere et sine ulla conventionem perseverantia in gloriam vertere student, obtulit se durum iustissimi metus exemplum.⁸ Pettaeus noster redux exsortem praemii sensit industriam.⁹ Non opus est pluribus, apud paucos post rem manet gratia.¹⁰ Ibi tum ex re, ut fit, aucta est formido laboris in irritum casuri.¹¹ Metuebam tamen ne forte persuasio, apud sollicitos semper in deterius prona, animum quoque meum transvorsum ageret, ac suspicionum incertis involveret.¹²

presumably forwarded to the *spinhuissteeg* in Amsterdam, where Vossius and his family had moved in May, cf. Rademaker (1981:239; 1982:29–31).

³ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 3.4.1.1–2.3, “Quamvis et amici quos praesentes habebam, et sermones hominum factum meum comprobare videantur, magni tamen aestimo scire quid sentias tu. Nam, cuius integra re consilium exquirere optassem, huius etiam peracta iudicium nosse mire concupisco.” Junius had probably discussed his move with Grotius, William Petty and possibly Bishop Laud, **76b**.

⁴ Junius had entered the service of the earl of Arundel in 1622 at the instigation of Bishop Andrewes, **39d**, **42e**. He may have discussed accepting the position with Bishop Laud.

⁵ Quintilian, *Institutiones oratoriae* 12.pr.1.1–4, “Ventum est ad partem operis destinati longe gravissimam, cuius equidem onus [sit] si tantum opinione prima concipere potuissem quanto me premi ferens sentio, maturius consuluissem vires meas.”

⁶ Quintilian, *Institutiones oratoriae* 12.pr.1.4–2.1, “sed initio pudor omittendi quae promiseram tenuit, mox, quamquam per singulas prope partis labor cresceret, ne perderem quae iam effecta erant, per omnes tamen difficultates animo me sustentavi;” *ibidem* 12.pr.2.3–4, “deficere potius quam desperare;” *ibidem* 12.pr.1.5–2.1, “ne perderem quae iam effecta erant;” Ovid, *Heroides* 17.263, “sed nimium properas, et adhuc tua messis in herba est.”

⁷ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 9.1.3.1, “salva sit tibi constantiae fama;” Seneca the Younger, *Epistolae morales ad Lucilium* 81.19.10–20.1, “recte facti, fecisse merces est.”

exceedingly desirous of hearing the opinion of you, whose advice I had wished to seek when it was still undecided.

b You remember that I offered my service to the Arundel family nine years ago at the bishop of Winchester's greatest instigation and the bishop of London's least dissuasion. So I took an extremely heavy task upon myself, and if I had only been able to fathom its burden at the first impression, by how much I felt oppressed since then while bearing it, I would sooner have taken my abilities into account. Still, in one way or another I have shown myself up to the troubles emulously afflicting me, for the disgrace of giving up what I had taken upon myself initially elicited constancy; soon, the toil growing daily, I still upheld myself in heart through all difficulties and, stimulated by the allurements of agreeable hope, I decided to desert rather than to suffer, in order not to lose what I thought I had almost accomplished yet, evidently, and not to leave the wheat in the very blade, as it were. My reputation of constancy has been saved and I do not regret it—having done something well is its own reward.

c Meanwhile, doubting somewhat about the fulfilment of promises, yet applying myself to turning failure of duty into honour through perseverance—at random and without any consultation, I was presented with a serious example of my just fear. On his return, our Petty discovered that his assiduity remained without reward. There is no need for more words; with few people gratitude lasts beyond the actual affair. There and then, due to this, as happens, the fear that my exertions would fall into the void was increased; still, I feared that my conviction—always inclined to the worse in anxious people—might also make my heart twisted and envelop it in the uncertainties

⁸ Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 7.7.2, “dubitare de fide quaestionum;” Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 8.18.10.2–3, “in gloriam perseverantia verterat;” Servius Honoratus, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 6.122.1, “quid thesea durum exemplum.” Junius had been doubting about the earl of Arundel's rewarding him for his service for some time, and had already suffered non-payment before, **76b**, **48b**.

⁹ Arundel was slow in rewarding William Petty for his travels in the Mediterranean, **76b**.

¹⁰ Seneca the Younger, *De beneficiis* 1.12.2.3, “apud paucos post rem manet gratia.”

¹¹ Servius Honoratus, *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros* 7.421.5–6, “patieris ut tot tui labores fundantur in cassum, id est in irritum cadant?”

¹² Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 11.3.11–12, “quia semper apud sollicitos in deterius prona persuasio est;” Valerius Maximus, *Facta et dicta memorabilia* 7.8.7.6–7, “consternatio quae<dam> animum eius transversum egit.”

Proinde etiam ex usu esse duxi penitius aliquanto voluntatem nobilis familiae introspicere.¹³

- d** Prendo itaque adolescentem mei amantissimum, “Semper,” inquam, “visus es mihi dare spem satis manifestam generosae indolis; neque unquam te aliter, atque es, in animum induxi meum.¹⁴ Scis te mihi saepe pollicitum, aliquid modo invenirem quod te vellem facturum in ea re utilitatem ut noscerem tuam.¹⁵ Inventa est adeo digna res, ubi tu nervos intendas tuos; omnino enitendum tibi est, res meas in tuto ut colloques.¹⁶ Si nunquam avare labori meo pretium statui, quaes-tusque maxumi vicem apud me semper obtinuit commodis tuis quam maxume servire; age, da te mihi vicissim nunc; fac sciam quod praemium mihi apud parentes tuos pro fideli tot annorum opera positum sit.”¹⁷ Non distulit adolescens pro fide sua et proluxa qua me complectitur benevolentia sciscitari matrem indulgentissimam, quae iussit eum esse securum et sollicitudinem istam mittere; “Nihil apud nos,” inquit, “Iunio defieri patiemur, quin, quod opus erit, benigne semper praebebimus.”¹⁸
- e** Mirificum quidem visum est hoc responsum; non destiti tamen post quaedam temporis intervalla iterato ac tertio nobilissimum adolescentem rogare ne caussam meam desereret, quam ei grata longae consuetudinis memoria, amor, pudor denique commendabat. Obsequitur nobilis iuvenis. At mater pari prorsus promissorum caligine verba sua involvens, suspensum porro tenuit animum non satis intelligentis quo valerent ambages responsi usque adeo confusi turbatique.
- f** Nihil aequae amarum, quam diu pendere, et aequiore animo feras praecidi spem tuam, quam trahi.¹⁹ Sumpsi ergo consilium a con-

¹³ Cf. Johanna Junius to Vossius, “Cosyn Reels die segt dat Monfreer doch syn verbant wel vast bespreken soud want de werelt te valsch is, en laten daer een sterck schrift van maken voor eenighe jaren” [Cousin Reels says *my brother* should make a quite definite agreement on his contract, since the world is too dishonest, and have a powerful deed of it drawn up for several years], 31 03 01, Rawl. 79, f. 68, not in *ICVossius* (1993). Cousin Reels, who may have been a relative of Isaac de Brune, unidentified.

¹⁴ Quintilian, *Institutiones oratoriae* 1.3.2.1, “non dabit mihi spem bonae indolis;” Terence, *Adelphoe* 597, “numquam te aliter atque es in animum induxi meum.” William Howard was actually already about seventeen at the time.

¹⁵ Terence, *Eunuchus* 308–09, “scis te mihi saepe pollicitum esse ‘Chaerea, aliquid inveni modo quod ames: in ea re utilitatem ego faciam ut cognoscas meam’.”

¹⁶ Terence, *Eunuchus* 312, “adeo digna res[es]t ubi tu nervos intendas tuos;” *Heauton timorumenos* 695–96, “videndumst, inquam,/ amici quoque res, Clinia, tui in tuto ut conlocetur;” *ibidem*, 689, “amici quoque res est videnda in tutum ut conlocetur.”

¹⁷ Terence, *Heauton timorumenos* 48–50, “si numquam avare pretium statui arti

of suspicions. Hence I also considered it of use to examine the noble family's intentions somewhat more deeply.

d So I seized the young man who is deeply devoted to me and said, "You have always seemed to me to give a quite clear promise of a noble disposition, and it has occurred to me that you do never otherwise than you are. You know you have repeatedly promised me that if I just found anything I would wish you to do, I would come to know your usefulness for it. Something quite worthwhile for you to exert your vigour has turned up; you must altogether attempt to place my interests in safety. If I never greedily fixed a price for my exertion, and if serving your conveniences as much as possible has always taken the same place as the greatest profit for me, come on, serve me in turn now; make that I know what reward is set aside for me with your parents for the faithful service of so many years." In accordance with his loyalty and the obliging kindness with which he treats me, the young man did not delay to ask his kindest mother, who told him to rest assured and let go this anxiety; she said, "We will not let Junius fail anything with us; why, we will always kindly supply what is necessary."

e This answer seemed wonderful indeed; still, I did not fail to ask the most noble young man after a period of time again and for the third time not to forsake my cause, which the happy memory of long companionship, love and, finally, decency commended to him. The noble young man obeyed. But his mother kept my heart in suspense by wrapping her words in an exactly similar cloud of promises, so that I did not quite know what was intended by the circumlocutions of her still quite muddled and confused answer.

f Nothing is as bitter as being long in suspense, and one will bear with more placid heart that one's hope is crushed than that it is prolonged. So I took the resolution to move somewhere out of this family's sight for a while, meanwhile offering some kind of opportunity to demonstrate generosity by my departure. But since I had experienced

meae et eum esse quaestum in animum induxi maxumum, quam maxime servire vestris commodis;" *ibidem* 688, "age, da te mihi vicissim;" *Hecyra* 584, "nunc tibi me certumst contra gratiam/ referre ut apud me praemium esse positum pietati scias."

¹⁸ Terence, *Hecyra*, 767–68, "nil apud me tibi/ defieri patiar, quin quod opu' sit benigne praebeatur." Countess Aletheia.

¹⁹ Seneca the Younger, *De beneficiis*, 2.5.1.1–2, "nihil aeque amarum, quam diu pendere; aequiore quidam animo ferunt praecidi spem suam quam trahi."

spectu familiae istius aliquantisper aliquo concedendi, repraesentaturus interim discessu meo qualemcumque exercendae liberalitatis occasionem.²⁰ Sed quoniam exploratum habebam familiae huic ipsam per sese benignitatem, sine tacita aliqua ratione ad utilitates suas redundante, minus gratam, illatis pluribus caussis quas mihi ad proficiscendum necessarias esse dicebam, adieci spem plenioris imposterum operae, si paterentur me aliquantisper in exteris regionibus vacare studiis, dum filius, curae meae quondam delegatus, aulae vacat.²¹ Superesse nepotulos, tenerrimae etiamnum infantiae, quibus (daretur °modo respirare) manum °admoveere nunquam gravarer.²² Speciosa haec, dices. Erant, fateor; non tamen istiusmodi, °quadam imagine honesti circumdata, vel minimam fallaciae meditationem continerent.²³ Non convenit moribus meis aliud palam, aliud agere secreto.²⁴ Tum illi cedere quidem instanti, diem tamen ex die prolatando tempus quam longissime ducere, et variis artibus profecturum odiose demorari; sperare denique profectionis institutae mihi rationem erepturos, si ardorem dilatione abstulissent; neque ullum interea de laborum praemio verbum facere; exspectare, credo, ut miserabili tandem fletu et humili obstestatione praemium laboris ad genua accidens ipse genu nixus peterem. Ego vero memor operae satis liberaliter impensae, non sustinui inliberaliter ac demisse supplicare oculatis meritorum meorum testibus.

g Adest tandem dicta itineri dies; quare alligatis iam sarcinulis ad Comitem advolo, visurus numquid me vellet. At ille testatur nihil sibi gratius potuisse obtingere, quam si mei amantissimis operam

f modo: [+ m]odo (*Sheet torn*) | admoveere nunquam: admo[+ vere nun]quam | quadam: q[+ uadam]

²⁰ Junius had already considered going to France and Italy in **76b**.

²¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 17.5.10.3–11.1, “qui benigne facit nulla tacita ratione ad utilitates suas redundante;” Caesar, *De bello Gallico*, 1.39.3.1–2, “quorum alias alia causa inlata, quam sibi ad proficiscendum necessariam esse diceret.” The contract for Junius’ tutorship of William Howard had finished, cf. “dat hij in den Jaere xvi[hondert] Tweentwintich gecomen wesende . . . hemselven hadde laeten bewegen in dienst vanden Grave van Arondel om gebruijct te worden als Praeceptor van sijnen jongste Soone . . . dat hij den tijt van negen jaeren hebbende . . . hem selven tot sijn eigen costen van nootdruft versien” [that, having arrived in the year 1622, he had been moved into the service of the earl of Arundel to be employed as preceptor of his youngest son . . . that he had provided in the costs of his own sustenance himself for a period of nine years], ARA, p. 2; Joannes Vossius to Vossius,

that kindness *per se*, without any silent motive which contributed to their own benefits, was less welcome to this family, I raised hopes of further service in the future, upon producing several reasons which I said made it necessary for me to leave, if they allowed me to be free for studies abroad for some time, now that the son who had once been entrusted to my care is free for the court. And that there remain the little grandsons, still of rather tender childhood, to whom I would always be willing to put my hand (provided I be granted to live). You will call this too beautiful. So it was, I grant, but not such that, wrapped in an honest appearance, it contained even the slightest contemplation of deceit. It does not suit my habits to do one thing openly and something else in secret. Then, they actually yielded to my insisting, but drew out time as long as possible by postponing it from day to day and hatefully retarded my departure by various tricks. They hoped finally to remove the real motive for my planned departure, if they took away my desire by delaying; and in the meantime they did not say a word about a reward for my service; I believe they wait until in the end I will beg on bended knees and falling at their knees for a reward for my service in miserable lament and humble supplication. But thinking of the service I had bestowed quite nobly, I did not bear to kneel down ignobly and humbly before the eyewitnesses of my merits.

g Finally the appointed day of the journey was there, and so, having already packed my luggage, I rushed to the earl to see whether he wished anything of me. But he asserted that nothing more welcome could have happened to him than if I had continued to fulfil my service to those deeply devoted to me; after some other such points he added a commission for buying drawings of famous paintings in Paris. So, having understood the chief point of his wishes

“Uncle is still engaged for three years,” 28 11 07, **App3** [trl. SvR]. Junius may have intended to collect further data abroad for his *Catalogus artificum* (1694), i, **58b**.

²² Thomas Howard’s grandchildren were the sons of Henry Frederick, lord Maltravers: Thomas (1627–1677), the future third earl of Arundel and fifth duke of Norfolk, who turned out to be mentally disturbed, Henry (1628–1684), the future Lord Howard of Castle Rising and earl of Norwich, later sixth duke of Norfolk, and Philip Thomas (1629–1694), the future Cardinal of Norfolk. Cf. *DNB* 28.32–33, 54–57, Howarth (1985:216).

²³ Quintilian, *Declamationes minores* 253.3.2, “quadam imagine honesti circumdata.”

²⁴ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae*, 5.1.3.1–2 “non convenire moribus meis aliud palam aliud agere secreto.”

praestare perseverassem, post alia id genus pauca addit mandatum de coemendis Lutetiae nobilium picturarum delineationibus.²⁵ Intellecta ergo votorum summa (qui finis omnium cum potentioribus), grates ago et propere transeo ad Comitissam, quae bidui tridive moram, caussas nescio quas interserens, postulavit. Postquam vero vidit me obfirmato animo graviter in proposito pertendere, petiit ut melioris notae flores conquisitos ad se quandoque transmitterem; medio tempore nunquam non gratissime accepturam laetum reditus mei nuntium; sic meritum esse meum, ut mihi semper Arundelliana domus patere debeat.²⁶ Post haec protendens manum, decem libras sterlingas ipsa, vultu nihil interim mutato, in abeuntem contulit atque ita magnifice donatum dimisit, non sine promisso tamen frequenter postea munusculo huic nonnihil adstructuram, subinde modo facerem eam certiore ubi terrarum agerem.²⁷ Mihi certe visa est dicere, “Abi sis ac suspende te, utcunque laboris tui fructus apud nos °residet; si vis, affectum nobis debes et servitii constantiam, sin minus, honestae gloriae patientiae.”²⁸ Mox alias decem libras filius ad me (nescio an matre iubente) detulit, quas gratissime accepi, praesertim quum adolescens optimus ad iter accincto equum insuper de suo offerret.

h Auctus itaque et equo et viginti libris, destinatum iter bene prospereque explicui, ac parvo temporis spatio intermisso litteras ad *nobilem* adolescentem dedi, in quibus perscripsi me non ultra ferre posse lentum incertissimae spei tormentum; omissis itaque splendidis blandae spei illecebris, ab ipsa veluti messe discessurum et privatis rebus meis deinceps pro viribus consulturum.²⁹ | °Hic est praesens rerum mearum status, quem fusius aliquanto prosecutus sum, quia de °omnibus quae me vel delectant vel angunt non aliter tecum quam mecum loqui soleo.

Nunc mihi quid suades, post damnum temporis et spes
Deceptas, festinat enim °decurrere velox
Flosculus.³⁰

g residet: [- *istas*] residet | **h** Hic: [+ H]ic (*Margin cut off*) | omnibus: omnibu[+ s]
| decurrere: decurr[+ ere]

²⁵ No information on the drawings Junius was asked to buy for Arundel in Paris was found. Nativel’s interpretation of this phrase (1996:56) suggests that Junius went to Paris to see paintings.

²⁶ The Arundel couple, Countess Aletheia in particular, put much effort into

(which is everybody's aim with more powerful people) I thanked him and hastily passed to the countess, who desired a delay of two or three days by adducing certain reasons. But on seeing that I seriously and resolutely persisted in my intention, she asked me to send her costly flowers of exquisite quality now and then; that she would in the meantime always gratefully receive the happy news of my return; that my merits were such that Arundel House should always be open for me. After this she reached out her hand and gave me ten pounds sterling, but with an unmoved face, as I left, and thus she sent me away rewarded generously, and with the promise repeatedly to add something to this small gift in the future, provided I informed her where I stayed now and then. To me she really seemed to say, "Go away, if you wish, and hang yourself; the fruit of your exertion remains with us anyway; if you wish, you owe us affection and constancy of servitude, but if not, the renown of honest patience." Soon the son gave me another ten pounds (I do not know whether by order of his mother), which I accepted gratefully, especially because the excellent young man also offered me a horse of his own as I was ready for the journey.

h So, enriched with a horse and twenty pounds, I made the intended journey well and agreeably; and after the passing of a short period of time I wrote a letter to the noble young man, in which I explained that I could no longer bear the slow torment of uncertain expectation and, leaving the splendid attractions of luring expectation, would consequently leave the harvest itself, so to speak, and take care of my own interests as best I can from now on. This is the present state of affairs, which I have described rather at length, because I usually speak to you about everything which pleases or troubles me no differently than to myself.

Now what do you recommend me, after the loss of time and
Deceived expectations, for the swift floweret is already hastening
To pass through . . .

growing beautiful gardens, especially at their estates at Highgate and their favourite Albury, Surrey. Cf. **81a**, Hervey (1921:97, 346), Howarth (1985:64, 123–25).

²⁷ A considerable amount of money; for comparison, Junius was later to receive an annuity of £50, **86a**.

²⁸ Terence, *Andria* 255, "abi cito ac suspende te."

²⁹ Seneca the Younger, *Epistolae morales ad Lucilium* 22.9.4–5, "ab ipsa messe discedam." Junius' letter to William Howard, dated Spring 1631, unretrieved.

³⁰ Juvenal, *Saturae* 9.125–27, "nunc mihi quid suades post damnum temporis et spes/deceptas? festinat enim decurrere velox/flosculus."

Ego certe perenni fide familiae isti adhaesissem, si mediocrem °tam assidui laboris fructum reportare contigisset; sed hoc pati non possum, quod °expectata dilatione augentes, et quasi lenocinium ali-quod muneri suo mora quaerentes, °praeter exiguam et avara manu erogatam pecuniae summulam, spem tantum °alimentorum semper veluti petendorum et accipiendorum, relinquunt; nihilque prorsus tribuant °quod possim quibus velim relinquere, quandocunque fatalis et meus ille dies veniet.³¹ Sed °non est turpe cum re mutare consilium; etenim faciendi aliquid vel non faciendi vera cum hominum ipsorum, tum rerum etiam ac temporum conditione mutatur.³² Restat ne desim.

- i *Clarus* Grotius haud cessat pro me eniti.³³ Te quoque in partem curarum °venire oportet. Mihi certe Britannia, ut ut in ea nobilium familiarum fere principem expertus ingrattissimam, nondum displicet. Probi certe mores, ut alia mittam, °aut vitae integritas, recens adhaec fidelis industriae documentum nunquam non °plurimum ibi profuerint.³⁴ Sed cesso iudicium meum promere, quum tuum expectem, °ac adeo te huius iudicii mei iudicem faciam.³⁵ Vale.
Lutetiae *Parisiorum*, MDCXXXI, XIV idus °Iunii.³⁶
Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

h tam: ta[+ m] | expectata: expectat[+ a] | praeter: praet[+ er] | alimentorum: alimentoru[+ m] | quod: qu[+ od] | non: [+ non] | **i** venire: ve[+ nire] | aut: au[+ t] | plurimum: plurim[+ um] | ac: a[+ c] | Iunii: I[+ unii]

³¹ Tacitus, *Dialogus de oratoribus* 13.6.3–5, “nec plus habeam quam quod possim cui velim relinquere; quandoque enim fatalis et meus dies veniet.”

³² Seneca the Younger, *De beneficiis* 4.38.2.1–2, “non est turpe cum re mutare consilium.”

³³ Grotius still lived in Paris, trying to be restored to honour in Holland, **84d, 86c**.

³⁴ Possibly Junius had just finished a first version of his *Catalogus artificum*, on which he was to elaborate in the future, **f, 93a**.

³⁵ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 4.27.3.2, “atque adeo iudicii mei te iudicem faciam.”

³⁶ The date allows for several interpretations. Junius presumably mixed up old

I would certainly have adhered to that family with enduring loyalty, if I were granted to gain average fruit for such unremitting service; but what I could not bear is that by increasing my expectations by deferring and seeking an allurements for their gift by delaying, as it were, they only leave hope for provisions that must always be begged for, so to speak, and accepted with thanks, besides a trivial sum of money paid out by a greedy hand, and that they give absolutely nothing which I could leave to whom I wish whenever that day of fate will also come as mine. But it is [not] a shame to change one's resolution with the situation; indeed, the resolution to do something or not is changed with the actual condition of the people themselves, of the circumstances, as well as of the times. Remains that I do not fail.

- i The renowned Grotius does not cease to exert himself for me. You should also take part in the cares. England does not yet displease me, at least, much though I have experienced in it almost the chief of noble families to be most ungrateful. My definitely upright habits—not to mention other matters—or the integrity of my way of life, and in addition the recent demonstration of my faithful diligence will never fail to prove much to my advantage. But I cease to disclose my judgement, because I will expect yours and even make you the judge of my judgement. Farewell.

Paris Paris, 1631, on the 14th Ides of J[uly] [20 Jun.].

Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

and new styles of dating, for the 14th before the Ides of June was 31 May, which was commonly referred to as “*pridie Kalendas Iunii*” [the day before the Kalends of June], instead. He may have intended to change “4th day before the Ides old style,” that is, 10 June, into new style, and mistakenly written it as “14th before the Ides,” that is, 31 May, instead of the “12th before the Kalends of July,” that is, 20 June new style. The month cannot have been July, for the 4th before the Ides of July old style, changed into new style, was 22 July, but Vossius attested to having received this letter already one or two weeks before 25 July, **84a**. Other interpretations are 19 May or 18 June, if Junius mixed up Ides and Kalends, yet not 13 June or July, as Nativel (1996:44n, 56n) suggests. Cf. Introduction.

⁸³ **84** 31 07 25 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [PARIS]¹

A Francisco Iunio, F.F.

a Literas tuas, coniunctissime affinis, ante unam atque alteram hebdomadam accepi, atque ex iis de tuo in Gallias discessu certior factus sum, simul etiam de causa huius itineris.² Equidem verebar iamdudum aliquid eiusmodi, cum cogitarem non alio loco habitum Pettaeum, cuius labores nossem. Nihilominus cum mente revolverem tot a comite promissa, vix poteram a me impetrare, ut suspicioni ulterius indulgerem.³ Interea gaudeo, tibi que gratulor, quod omnia viri boni et fidi doctoris munia expleveris.⁴ Si erunt qui te hic mercede iusta fraudabunt, at non deerit is, qui venturo saeculo cum foenore omnia rependat.

b Quod quaeris, an probem abitum, mihi certe videris recte atque ordine fecisse. Si enim eo compensare operam tuam illustris comes distulit, quod in liberorum aliis ea indigeret, fortassis, ubi viderit nolle te amplius animi pendere, gratus esse maturabit pro beneficiis tuis; quam ad rem plus absentia valet, praesentia enim plurimum vilesunt; ac magis quid habuerimus videmus, ubi °e[o] nobis carendum. Sin is semper ei animus fuit vanis tantummodo promissis lactare, longe etiam magis consilium tuum probem; nam quid aeque miserum, quam inani spe animum sustinere ac tempus terere? Ut omnino praestet, mature rebus suis consulere. Scis poetae illud, “nocuit differre paratis.”⁵

c Utinam autem occasionem hic viderem utilem tibi operam navandi. Fortasse id aliquando erit. Sed nunc tamen nihil occurrit. Forte tui °hic ratio haberi posset, si professorum numerum augere proceres Amstelodamenses vellent.⁶ Putarem te maxime idoneum, qui Mathesin

a nossem: *p* noscam | **b** e[o]: *p* et | **c** hic ratio: *p* ratio hic

¹ *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 46; heading in an unidentified hand. *p*: Colomesius 1.146. Presumably sent to Paris, where Junius had moved, **83**.

² Letter **83**.

³ The earl of Arundel.

⁴ For this and the following sentence, cf. Matthew 25.14–46, the “Parable of the talents” and description of the Last Judgement.

84 31 07 25 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [PARIS]

A To Francis Junius F.F.

- a** I received your letter, dearest Brother, one or two weeks ago and was informed in it of your departure to France, and also of the reason for this journey. I had actually already feared such a matter long before, when I considered that Petty, whose exertions I knew, is held in the same position. Nevertheless, when I was mentally turning over the earl's many promises, I could hardly get myself to yield to the suspicion any further. Meanwhile, I am glad and congratulate you that you have fulfilled all duties of a right-minded gentleman and trustworthy scholar. If there are people here who cheat you of a deserved salary, then He will not lack to repay everything with profit in the age to come.
- b** What you ask, whether I approve of your departure; you certainly seem to me to have acted correctly and appropriately. For, if the illustrious earl delayed to compensate your service for this reason, because he desired it for his other children, perhaps he will hasten to give thanks for your kindnesses when he sees that you do not want to be in suspense any longer, and for this purpose absence has more weight, for presence make it worth far less, and we see better what we have if we must lack it. If, however, it has always been his intention just to allure you with idle promises, I even approve of your decision much more, for what is as pitiable as sustaining one's heart with idle hope and wearing time away? So that it is altogether better to care for one's circumstances in time. You know this saying by the poet, "It is injurious to put off for what one is ready."
- c** Yet, I hope that I could see a useful position here to come to your assistance; perhaps this will happen one day, but now nothing presents itself yet. Perhaps you could be brought into consideration if the Amsterdam dignitaries wish to add to the number of professors. I would think you most able to lecture mathematics in public,

⁵ Lucan, *Bellum civile* 1.281, "nocuit differre paratis."

⁶ At the future Athenaeum Illustre, **78b**. The context of the letter indicates this was just a suggestion, not an actual, though unsuccessful attempt by Vossius to get Junius a professorship in Amsterdam, which Rademaker (1981:256–57), and following him, *Literature* 1.xxxviii suggest.

publice tractares.⁷ Sed nec Amstelodamensium mihi animus est cognitus, nec tuus. Ac ne ipsi quidem docere aggressi sumus.⁸ In causa est lis, quam Lugdunenses Amstelodamensibus intentant.⁹ Nec ea tamen in rebus meis sollicitum te habere debet. Ita enim prudentes omnes censent, non posse aliter fieri, quin pro Amstelodamensibus curia utraque pronuntiet. Interea occupor in digerendis iis, quae superioribus annis scripsi, praesertim quae ad literas, et historiam externam pertinent.¹⁰ Volo enim semel iis defungi, ut reliquam aetatem sacris literis, historiaeque Ecclesiasticae liceat impendere.¹¹ Ad te redeo, mi affinis.

d Valde optem, ut in Galliis commoda affluat occasio, qua tui studiorumque tuorum rationem honeste ac commode habere possis. Gaudeo quod ea nunc sis in urbe, ubi degit summus vir et amicus Hugo Grotius.¹² Is enim consilio iuvare possit. Sed si deinceps illustris

⁷ Junius had a keen interest in trigonometry and algebraic geometry, probably inspired by William Oughtred, and Oughtred's friends Henry Briggs (1561–1630), professor of astronomy in Oxford, and Edmund Gunter (1581–1626), professor of astronomy at Gresham College, London, who were studying the use of logarithms, which had been invented and published by the Scot John Napier in 1614, for navigation and geometry. Junius' interest is revealed by his intensive use of and annotations in the copy now UBL, 536 F 11 (from Isaac Vossius' collection), a compilation of treatises and tables, comprising Bartholomew Pitiscus, *A Canon of Triangles: or the Tables, of Sines, Tangents & Secants, The Radius asumed to be 100000* (n.p., 1630); Edmund Gunter, *Canon Triangulorum or Tables of artificiall Sines and Tangents to a Radius of 10000,000 parts, and each minute of the Quadrant* (London, 1623); Henry Briggs, *The first thousand Logarithmes now againe set foorth . . .* [n.p., n.y.]; as well as excerpts from other mathematical work in Junius' hand bound to the front and back of the copy. Junius' acquaintance with Adriaan Vlacq, **115a**, who had improved and published a second edition of Briggs' logarithmic tables, may have been induced, at least in part, by their joint interest in logarithms. Cf. *DNB* 6.317, 23.350, 42.356.

⁸ Vossius was to hold the inaugural address at the Athenaeum on 8 January 1632, **86f**.

⁹ As the only Holland town with a university, Leiden felt threatened by the proposed founding of the Athenaeum Illustre in Amsterdam, which supplied a majority of the students for Leiden. The dispute between Leiden and Amsterdam had been brought before the Court of Holland and Zeeland on 6 June, and before the Supreme Court, and was decided in favour of Amsterdam on 22 December 1631. Franciscus Vossius represented Amsterdam as the city attorney. Cf. Frijhoff (1997:61–65), Rademaker (1981:162, 252).

¹⁰ Presumably preparations for his *Aristarchus* (1635) and *De theologia gentili* (1641), **86f**, **118i**.

¹¹ Since all his movements had been carefully followed by the church ever since the Synod of Dordrecht until 1628, Vossius had had to refrain from studying theological subjects, as they might be interpreted as expressions of potentially Remonstrant

but I know neither Amsterdam's inclination nor yours. Even we ourselves have not begun teaching. This is caused by a suit with which Leiden is suing Amsterdam. Yet it should not make you worried about my circumstances, for all sensible people judge that it cannot be otherwise than that both courts will pronounce in favour of Amsterdam. Meanwhile, I am engaged in arranging what I have written during the past years, especially what pertains to literature and history, for I want to finish them once and for all, in order to be able to devote the rest of the time to sacred letters and church history. I return to you, my brother.

d I deeply wish that a suitable position with which you can honourably and conveniently care for yourself and your studies would appear in France. I am glad that you are now in that town where the greatest gentleman and friend Hugo Grotius lives, for he can assist you with advice. But if an illustrious house next wishes to use your service in a similar employment as before, there is no need for a warning that you must act more carefully, because you have been

sympathies. He had accordingly concentrated on rhetorics and secular history instead. Cf. **37a**, **f**, **47d**, Rademaker (1981:143–49, 168).

¹² Vossius urged Grotius to assist Junius in a letter dated 31 07 29, to which Grotius replied, "Junius noster in Anglia nunc est, quam etiam tam indigne habitus amare non desinit. Literas illi dedi ad Londinensem episcopum . . . Si Barones Wottonii, quos tibi commendavi, in patriam brevi redierint, habebit ibi Iunius fidos adiutores" [Our Junius is in England now, which he has not ceased to love, although he has been treated so unworthily. I wrote a letter for him to the bishop of London (William Laud). If the Barons Wotton, whom I commend to you, return to their fatherland soon, Junius will have faithful supporters there], 31 08 29, *BWGrotius* 4.1670. Since Grotius commended the barons to Vossius, they were possibly with him in Paris, where they may also have seen Junius. One of them was presumably Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639), diplomatist and, from 1624, provost of Eton. Junius used Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* . . . (London, 1624) for his studies of art, **105h**, **116b**. The other Baron Wotton unidentified. Vossius then also wrote a letter of support for Junius to Laud, dated 31 09 30, to which Laud replied in November, "Franc. Iunius rediit in Britanniam citius multo quam opinabar, utpote qui satis novi quo animo in Gallias profectus sit. Attulit secum literas ab amplissimo viro Hugone Grotio, ad me datas . . . Nota etiam mihi probitas et eruditio Iunii, nec opus ut a te habeam illum commendatiorem. Scias velim, me et tui et Grotii et sui causa facturum quod possum" [Francis Junius returned to England much sooner than I had expected, since I knew well with what intention he had left for France. With him he brought a letter from the most renowned gentleman Grotius addressed to me . . . As I know of Junius' uprightness and learning, there was no need for you to commend him to me. I want you to know that I will do what I can because of you and Grotius and himself], 31 11 17, Colomesius 2.133. Cf. *BWGrotius* 4.1665, *DNB* 63.51, Colomesius 1.150.

aliqua domus in simili, ac ante, negotio opera tua uti volet, nihil monito opus, cautius tibi agendum esse cum id abunde malo tuo sis edoctus. Nimirum paciscendum est cum iis, qui longe sortem nostram excedunt; quia si non adstringantur, simulatque opera est praestita, amor flaccescit, spes verbis factae in vanum abeunt; durumque cum iis certamen est inferioribus. Interdum suspicio oboritur, te fortasse, quia tam male tibi nunc cecidit, aulas odisse sublimiaque illa vitare. Non tamen ab uno omnes discere licet.¹³ In quo non minus peccaretur, quam si alba omnes linea signaremus.¹⁴ Tu pro iudicio, quo plurimum vales, facile discrimen facies. Ego, quod haec perscribo, non alia de causa facio, quam ut postulato tuo morem geram.¹⁵

e Si nulla est occasio in Galliis, qua consulere tibi possis, malim te duos tres menses apud nos degere, ut interea aliquid dispiciatur boni. Nec metuere debes, ne interea oneri nobis sis. Nam affectum meum nosti. Et ut mittam alia possis consilio meos iuvare, praesertim in Mathesi. Nec mihi quicquam eruditus ac piis colloquiis tuis suavius esse possit. Et tamen nolim te propterea ullam praetermittere occasionem, qua prosis tibi. Nam sic simul erit, quo afflictam germanae domum iuves.¹⁶

f | Ea nunc bimestri cum tribus liberis mecum fuit. Quartana laboravit, quae ante triduum remisit.¹⁷ Etiam soror Maria cum filiola Casimiri fratris Dantisco venit, ac nobiscum vivit.¹⁸ Fecimus viduam affinis certiore de adventu filiolae, quae iam decennis.¹⁹ Ac quia praevidebat uxor, eam continuo ad nos advolaturam, coacti sumus adiicere, ut differre hoc iter velit, usque dum soror Ioanna Middeburgum repetierit. Nam quia iam viginti numero sumus, nullum cubiculum vacat. Id spero fore, ut optime interpretetur. Aliter si

¹³ Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.65–66, “crimine ab uno/disce omnis.”

¹⁴ Lucilius, *Saturae* fragm. 29.831, “signat linea alba.” Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* pr.11.3–5, “Graeci multa et varia lectitantes, in quas res cumque inciderant, ‘alba’ ut dicitur ‘linea’ sine cura discriminis solam copiam sectati converrebant” [Greeks whose reading covered many and various subjects used to sweep whatever matters they had come across together (by marking them) with a so-called “white line,” pursuing mere quantity with no concern for distinctions.]

¹⁵ Junius had asked Vossius for advice, **83a, h–i**.

¹⁶ Johanna Junius had to run her family and a shop on her own.

¹⁷ The previous year she and her children had also suffered from the quartan fever, **77b**.

¹⁸ Maria Junius had returned to Danzig again this year, **62d^a**. Maria Junius the Younger (c.1621–after 1672), daughter of Johan Casimir Junius and Maria Dison, enjoyed her education partly with Maria Junius. Maria Junius had invited Maria

amply taught so by your misfortune. One must certainly bargain with people who exceed our position by far, for if they are not put under an obligation, their inclination will wither and promises made by words vanish into the void as soon as the service has been fulfilled; and their inferiors have a tough struggle with them. Meanwhile, the suggestion offers itself that you may hate courts and avoid those lofty circles, because you have fared so badly now. Yet, one cannot know all on the basis of one; in this one would make no less a mistake than if we were clearing all with a white line. You will easily make the distinction by judging, at which you are very good. That I write this I do for no other reason than to gratify your request.

e If there is no position in France with which you can care for yourself, I would prefer you to spend two or three months with us to reflect upon something profitable in the mean time. You need not fear that you will be a burden to us in the meanwhile, for you know my affection. Not to mention other matters, you can assist my children with advice, especially on mathematics. And to me nothing could be sweeter than learned and pious conversations with you. Still, I would not want you to let pass any opportunity with which you can benefit yourself on that account, for in such a manner you will also assist Sister's distressed house.

f She has now been with me with three children for two months. She suffered from the quartan fever, which abated three days ago. Sister Maria has also come together with Brother Casimir's little daughter from Danzig and is staying with us. We informed Brother's widow of the arrival of her little daughter, who is already ten, but because my wife foresaw that she will immediately hurry to us, we were forced to add that she consents to postponing that journey until Sister Johanna has returned to Middelburg, for there is no bedroom vacant, because we are already twenty in number. I hope she will interpret it in the best sense. If she took it otherwise, she would inflict cruel injury upon me and my wife, because we measure everything in accordance with the honour and convenience for the Junius

Dison's children to Danzig in 1625, and Maria the Younger had indeed gone there. Cf. **113c**, van Romburgh (1998:237, 239), de Crane (1821:55n), Rademaker (1981:256–58), Franciscus Gomarus' letter to Vossius, dated 25 03 14, quoted in van Itterzon (1929:413), who mistakenly identified the widow of Junius mentioned in it as the widow of Junius the Elder instead of Maria Dison.

¹⁹ Maria Dison.

saperet, atroci me, et meam, iniuria afficeret, quia omnia Iunianae domus honore ac commodis metiamur, quod satis est insolens seculi nostri moribus, ubi nemo aliud spectat quam se et liberos suos. Naeranus Dantisci remansit, ut expediat negotia quaedam, quae coniugis bona spectant. Nam homo simplex (veniam dabit, quod sic loquar) homini obaerato quinque florenorum millia credidit; neque nunc videt, quomodo ultra mille florenos recipere possit. Dubitat Maria utrum velit nobiscum degere, an Delphis.²⁰ Coniux posterius malit. Nam quia valetudinaria est, non posset mea eius habere rationem, quam vellet. Et tertia esset famula opus, quae res in tam numerosa familia plus incommodi adferret. Quare satius sit, si seorsim cum marito et famula degat, et subinde nos diebus plusculis invisat. Id neutrius fiet incommodo, et magis erit alendi amore sororio. Vides quam familiariter ac libere omnia perscribam, haud aliter ac si praesens adesses.

g Haec postquam scripsissem, intellexi quiddam ex sorore Maria, quae id se accepisse aiebat ex Barthio, cognato prioris mariti sui.²¹ Id istiusmodi est. Illustrem Comitem Arundelium, postquam literas tuas accepisset, confestim rescripsisse nihil aequae sibi gratum fore, quam ut ad se redeas, ac deinceps cum discipulo veteri Italiam lustrares, velleque se tibi supra victum ac vestes annumerare quotannis centum libras Sterlingicas.²² Id si est gaudeo. Verum filius meus Ioannes putat vanum esse id plane.²³ Et causam addebat, quia discipulus tuus sponsus sit, si vera est fama, ut de Italico itinere nihil esse possit. Barthius tamen pertendebat, nihil esse certius, atque ita se ex duobus Anglis fide dignis accepisse.²⁴ Tu quid rei sit, quaeso,

²⁰ Maria Junius had lived in Delft before moving to Danzig.

²¹ Probably Abraham van Barthem, **42i**. His relationship to Isaac Diamant is unidentified.

²² Junius had written an unretrieved letter to William Howard from Paris, **83h**. No reply from the earl of Arundel to Junius has been retrieved. Junius had already indicated in **76b** that he might travel to France and Italy. However, he seems to have fallen seriously ill in Paris, and Arundel had him moved back to England by express, urgently asking him to reenter his service. Junius refused, unless he be paid 1000 or 2000 guilders cash in addition to an annuity of £100. William Petty took pains to arrange this. Cf. Joannes Vossius to Vossius, "Oom Junius is tegenwoordig hier, en nu redelijk wel te passe, dats siet noch wat bleijk, naer de doodelijke siekte, die hij te Parijs gehad heeft. De Graeve van Arundell heeft hem met een expresse post daervandaen laeten haelen, wort seer *versocht* om weder in het huys te komen,

family—which is quite unusual to the habits of our time, where nobody has regard for anything but himself and his children. Naeranus remained in Danzig to arrange business affairs concerning his wife's possessions, for the simpleton (he will forgive me for speaking like this) lent five thousand guilders to a debtor and does not see now how to get back more than a thousand guilders. Maria hesitates whether she wants to stay with us or in Delft. My wife prefers the latter, for she could not care for her as she would wish, because she is sickly. And we would need a third maid, which would cause greater inconvenience in such a numerous family. So it were better if she stays on her own with her husband and maid, and comes to see us now and then for a couple of days. This will not be inconvenient to either of them, and there will be more to nourish by sisterly love. You see how intimately and freely I write everything, not at all otherwise than if you were here.

g After having written this, I heard something from Sister Maria, who said she heard it from her first husband's relative van Bartem. It is as follows; that after having received your letter, the illustrious earl of Arundel immediately wrote back to you that nothing will be as welcome to him than that you return to him and next visit Italy with your former pupil, and that he wants to pay you one hundred pounds sterling yearly on top of provisions and clothes. If this is so, I am glad. But my son Joannes thinks it is completely groundless, and the reason he added was that your pupil is betrothed, if the rumour is true, so that there can be no question of a journey to Italy. Yet, van Bartem insisted that nothing is more certain, and that he had heard so from two trustworthy Englishmen. I pray, inform us as soon as possible what is the matter, so we can either rejoice

dan will daer geen sins toe vørstaen, ten sijde sij 1 ofte 2000 guld. op de hant geven willen ende 100 ll. s'jaers, Petteus werkt daer seer in, meene dat het vallen sal," [31] 10 27, Rawl. 79, f. 16–17. Nativel (1996:56) interpreted this section as if Vossius had intervened for Junius and now informed him he could return to Arundel again. Cf. **85a**, **86a**.

²³ Joannes Vossius, who was staying with his parents but returned to Cambridge in the autumn, **77b**.

²⁴ The rumour was false, for William Howard was to marry only in 1637. His future wife was Mary Stafford, sister of Henry (d. 1637), fifth baron Stafford, who had been educated together with William Howard, possibly also by Junius. Cf. *DNB* 28.81–83, Hervey (1921:237–38, 407–08).

nos quamprimum fac certiores, ut vel tecum gaudeamus, vel porro quod facto opus sit cogitemus. Vale, optime et carissime affinis. Amstelodami, MDCXXXI, VIII kalendas Sextilis. Tuus totus, Ger.Io. Vossius.

85 [32 01–02 00] MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

a Mi avuncule,

Iam dudum nos sollicitos tenet, quo °in loco res tuae sitae sint, aut cuiusmodi tibi valetudo. Equidem ab eo tempore, quo in Galliam ex Anglia discedens veneras, nullas a te vidimus literas.² °An vero tabulariorum °incuria, an °adversa °valetudo °tua in culpa sit, dubitamus. Morbo enim te gravi decumbere °scripserat ad nos frater, °at paulatim te vires °recipere °subiungebat.³ Nunc itaque inter spem et metum constituti, nescimus nosmetipsis satisfacere. Amor °namque, quo inter sanguine iunctos maior, tanto magis ad deteriora credenda °incitat.⁴ Avertat tamen Deus, °ut omnia in te simul incidant mala, ne oppressus °succumbas. Veruntamen °eam numinis °celestis °bonitatem °cum reputo si tentare hominem velit, mala malis aggerendo, °non dubito, quin et tibi vires °largita sit ad ea fortiter sustinenda. °Graviora aliquando es perpessus, dum non unus Calchas tibi adversus

a in: [- an] in | An vero: [Quod > An vero] | incuria: incuria [- factum puto, qui diutius quam oporteat saepius premunt] | adversa: [- ob] adversam | valetudo: valetud[inem > o] | tua: tua[- m, suspensos nos tenet] | scripserat: scrips[it ad nos > erat] | at: [caeterum > at [- verum]] | recipere: [- tuas] recipere | subiungebat: [- tua] subiungebat | namque: [- enim] namque | incitat: [- pronus nos] incitat | ut: [ut in > ut] | succumbas: succumba[t > s] | eam: [- raro] eam | celestis: celesti | bonitatem: bonita[s > tem] | cum reputo: [ea animi tui magnitudo, eae corporis vires ut meliora, ut \[quin]/ raro > cum reputo] | non . . . tibi: [ut > non dubito, quin et tibi] | largita sit: [etiam subministret > largita sit] | Graviora: [- Magnitudo animi tui, et corporis robur, quum aliquando graviora \sis/ perpessus, meliora nos sperare cogunt. At si vana haec suspicio. Sic eluctatus Sic Calchantum minus sprevisti contumelia sprevistis] Graviora

¹ d: UBA, D 96b. In the top margin in an unidentified hand, “[– Anno 988 [Ultero secundus imperator],” and in crayon, “1628.” Overlapping partly with 85I, this seems to be a newer version, which is so distinct that it justifies the treatment of both texts as separate, yet related items. This draft has greater emphasis on Junius’ sick-

with you, or think of what else must be done. Farewell, excellent and dearest Brother.

Amsterdam, 1631, 8th Kalends of August [25 Jul.].

Wholly yours, Ger.Jo. Vossius.

85 [32 01–02 00] MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS
[LONDON]

a My uncle,

For a long time we have been kept concerned in what situation your circumstances may be, or how your health may be. Indeed, from that time when you departed from England and had come to France, we have not seen a single letter from you. We are uncertain whether the couriers' carelessness or your bad health should be blamed. For Brother wrote to us that you are laying ill with a serious disease, but he added that you were gradually regaining your strength. So, placed between hope and fear, we do not know now how to ease ourselves. For, as for love, the greater it is between those bound by blood, the more it incites to believe the worst. May God avert that all misfortunes occur to you at one and the same time, so that you do not succumb, overcome by them. Yet, when I reflect upon this bounty of the heavenly Divinity, if He wishes to put a man to the test by piling misfortunes upon misfortunes, I do not doubt that He also grants you the strength to bear them bravely. You endured more serious blows once, when not just a single Kalchas was against you, and you would have been overwhelmed by their miseries very

ness, and less on Matthaeus' indignation at how the earl of Arundel had treated Junius. Like **85I**, written in the beginning of the year, **c**, after Junius had been in France and returned to England, **83**, **84**, but had not sent a letter to Holland yet; possibly contemporaneous with Vossius' letter to Joannes Vossius dated 32 02 01, **a**ⁿ.

² Junius had moved to Paris in the summer of 1631 and fallen seriously ill, **83**, **84g**. Vossius also asked Joannes Vossius, who was in Cambridge again, for information on Junius—even twice in one letter, dated 32 02 01—because they had not yet heard any news after letter **83**. Cf. Colomesius 1.159.

³ For Joannes Vossius' letter, **84g**ⁿ.

⁴ Curtius Rufus, *Historiae Alexandri Magni* 4.3.22.2, "ad deteriora credenda proni;" 10.1.39.3–4, "ad deteriora credenda."

foret, °eorumque prope diem obrutus miseriis esses.⁵ °Eluctasti tamen, et te salvum vidimus. Animi tui magnitudo atque corporis vires eundem nunc °finem, °ut spero, dabunt.

b °Caeterum si °vana haec sit suspicio, et nos animus fallit, quod abominamur, optamus periculi tui nos certiores facias. °Et si non eae tibi vires, ut manus qualescumque literas ducere possit, per fratrem, qui ante aliquot menses ad Anglos °est reversus, id comode fiet, qui ut sollicitudinem hanc parentibus suis, adeoque omnibus nobis °adimat, nihil °omissurum confido. °Iuvabunt tum nostrae ad Deum preces, qui optimus aegroti atque °animi male affecti °medicus.

c O quanto nobis erit °gaudio, ubi te °sanitati restitutum intelleximus! Quam exoptatae illae litterae, quae indicium faciant! Quam gratus nuncius, qui °eas attulerit! Non °aeque quidem °verbis haec exprimere possum. Nam nullus °dubito, quin ubi vires corporis receperis, caetera in expedito futura sint. Quare, mi Avuncule, id parentum, °id °fratrum, °id sororum, °id totius denique Iunianae familiae votum, ut eos tuarum rerum certiores reddas, quaeve salus tua, quaeve tibi conditio nunc oblata. Vale, et °me amore, quemadmodum hactenus fecisti, proseguere, et si quae scripta °familiarius, magis quam iuvenem oporteret, condona. Salutant te plurimum parentes, fratres atque sorores, qui una mecum hunc tibi faustum ac felicem praecantur annum.⁶

a eorumque . . . esses: [*eluctasti tamen eluctatus tamen et vicisti cedenda vicisti* > eorumque [- *dum*] propem diem obrutus miseriis esses.] | Eluctasti: Eluctast[us > i] | finem: fi[d > n]em | ut spero: \ut spero/ | **b** Caeterum: [*Quod* > Caeterum] | vana: [- *tamen*] vana | Et: [*Si tam Et si At At Et* > Et] | est: \est/ | adimat: [ex > ad]im[at > at] | omissurum confido: omi[*tet* > ssurum confido] | Iuvabunt: [- *Iu*] Iuvabunt | animi: \animi/ | medicus: [- *animi*] medicus | **c** gaudio: [- *gau*] gaudio | sanitati: sanit\ati/ | eas: [- *vel*] eas | aeque quidem: aequidem | verbis . . . possum: [*laetiora nobis ad ferri possent* > verbis [- *id*] haec exprimere possum] | dubito: [- *qui*] dubito | id: [- *id sororum tuarum*] id | fratrum: fratrum [- *meorum*] | id: [*atque* > id] | id: [- *unicum votum*] id | me: me[- ..] | familiaris: [- *minus* > *magis*] familiaris

⁵ The meaning of Matthaëus' mention of Calchas, the seer of the Greek army

soon. But you fought back, and we found you safe. The greatness of your heart and strength of your body will grant the same end now, so I hope.

- b** But if this suspicion is wrong and if our heart deceives us—which we abhor—we wish you to inform us of your hazard. And if you do not have such strength that your hand can write any kind of letter, this may conveniently be done by Brother, who returned to England several months ago and whom I trust will not at all fail to remove this concern from his parents and indeed from all of us. Our prayers to God, who is the best physician of a sick and badly afflicted heart, will help then.
- c** Oh, how great our joy will be, when we hear your health has been restored! How much wished for that letter which bears witness to it! How welcome the messenger who brings it! I actually cannot express this in words. For I do not doubt at all that the rest will be well when you have regained your bodily strength. Therefore, my uncle, this is my parents', brothers', sisters' and, in short, the whole Junius family's wish, that you inform them of your circumstances, either what is your health, or what the condition in which you are now. Farewell, and honour me with love just as you have done as yet, and pardon me, if I wrote this more intimately than a young man should. My parents, brothers and sisters give you warmest regards and they, together with me, wish you a prosperous and happy year.

in the Trojan war is unclear with relation to Junius. Calchas prophesied Agamemnon's victory, **52b**, requested Iphigeneia's sacrifice, saw the cause of an epidemic in Agamemnon's rape of a priestess of Apollo and died of anger in a match with the seer Mopsos. Possibly it refers to a serious illness Junius once had, or to the troubled end of his Hillegersberg ministry, **25b**. Cf. *DNP* 6.153.

⁶ For the new year wish, cf. **77d**.

851 [32 01–02 00] MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS
[LONDON]¹

a °Ab eo tempore quo in Galliam ex Anglia discedens veneras nullas a te accepimus literas. °Quae, quanto °maiori °nos affecerunt gaudio, ubi tuas vidimus, tanto magis indignatio °animum occupavit, °quando °percurrere licuit. Occurrebat quantas labores, molestias, pro illustrissimo comite eiusque filio pertulisses, quam saepe totas °vigil traduxisses noctes, °quam ardenti amore totam complexus fuisses °familiam. Rursum quam exiguum praemium, haut aliter quam si vile mancipium, pro victu insudasses. Certe movet animum °quando donativum abeunti factum reputo. Adeone °contemnenda esse generis splendorem, nomen parentis, °eruditionem animi candorem, vitae integritatem, et quae singula per se magna °commendare aliquem solent, nunc in uno inventa °contemni? Haec mihi cogitanti, quum non omnibus datum °sit Iunii adaequare virtutes, propemodum fastidium studiorum obveniret, °ubi pro °meritis non maiora videam rependi praemia. Sed reprimam me. Longius namque °abripuit amor, quo te complector. °Dabis °itaque veniam °quod iuvenis tui causa, °extra orbitam cucurrerim. °Interim cogitare te velim nihil esse quod magis oderim quam adulari, aliutque °chartis committere, aliudque pectore abstrusum gerere. Hollandum me memini, °qui ut °libertatis amantes, ita veritatem saepius tacere nesciunt, quamquam id fieri expediat. °Quod tamen magis in iis laudandum, quam si °assentationis vitium eorum obreperet animis, quod saepius summa iuris confundere solet.

a Ab . . . tempore: [*Iam [-du] diu est quod nos sollicitos tenet, [quomodo > quo in loco] res tuae sitae sint, [-qu] aut quomodo tecum agatur. Aequidem ab eo tempore, quo in Galliam veneras, nullas a te vidimus literas > Ab . . . literas*] | Quae: \Quae/ | maiori: [- autem] maiori | nos: [- et] nos | animum: animum [- animum] | quando: [- ubi] quando [- [eam > eas]] | percurrere licuit: per[legissemus > currere licuit] | vigil: vigil[- es] | quam: [- quanto] quam | familiam: familiam [- et alia quae] | movet: [- non est] movet | quando: [- ubi] quando | contemnenda esse: [- vilem ei visam igitur contemptu incedit > contemnenda [- sunt] esse] | eruditionem: [- eruditio] eruditionem | commendare: [- sunt, [- si quo] si in aliquo inveniuntur, nunc in uno] commendare | contemni: [nullius aestimabuntur > contemni] | sit: \sit/ | ubi: [quum > ubi] | meritis: [- po] meritis | abripuit: [- me a] abripuit | Dabis: Dabi[t > s] | itaque: \itaque/ | quod iuvenis tui: [Illustrissimus comes, quod avunculi > quod iuvenis tui, tui.] | extra: [- quamquam quae taciturnitati committantur non latens] extra | Interim cogitare te velim: [Nihil enim est > Interim cogitare te velim] | chartis: [- fro] chartis | qui: [- qu.] qui | libertatis: [- p. homines] libertatis | Quod: [- Non enim omnia proferre poss] Quod | assentationis: [- alterum] assentationis

85I [32 01–02 00] MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS
[LONDON]

a From that time when you departed from England and had come to France, we have not received a single letter from you. And the more happiness your letter brought us, when we saw it, the greater indignation occupied our mind, when we could run through it. It occurred to us how many pains and troubles you had gone through on behalf of the most illustrious earl and his son, how often you had passed so many nights awake, with how great love you had embraced the whole family. On the other hand, how small was the reward, not at all differently than if you had sweated for your sustenance as a lowly slave. For sure, it troubles the mind when I think about the donative made to you on your departure. And are splendour of birth, one's father's name, one's learning, one's uprightness of mind, the integrity of one's way of life to be despised so much, and are these great aspects, which each individually use to commend someone *per se*, contemptible now they are found in a single person? When I was thinking this over, since it is not given to everybody to equal Junius' virtues, almost a loathing of studies befell me, since I see that not greater rewards are paid for merits. But I shall restrain myself. For the love with which I embrace you has carried me away for too long. Thus you must excuse that I, a boy, have run off course for your sake. Meanwhile, I would want you to believe that there is nothing that I would hate more than to flatter, and commit one thing to paper, and carry something else concealed in the heart. I remember that I am a Hollander, who, just as people who love freedom, too often do not know to silence truthfulness, even if it is expedient that that happens. Yet this must be praised more in them, than if the fault of flattery stole upon their minds, which too often uses to confound the highest matters of justice.

¹ *d*: UBA, D 124 f. Overlapping partly with **85**, this seems to be an earlier version, which is so distinct that it justifies the treatment of both texts as separate, yet related items. This draft has greater emphasis on Matthaëus' indignation at how the earl of Arundel had treated Junius, and less on Junius' sickness. For the topics discussed, cf. **85**. Written in the beginning of the year, **85**. Dirk van Miert has brought *d* to my attention.

- b** Caeterum, °mi avuncule, iam diu est quod nos sollicitos tenet, quo in loco res tuae sitae sint, aut °cuiusmodi tibi valetudo. °Movebant nos non leviter litterae °quas nuper a fratre accepimus, quum te grave °decumbere morbo traderet. Nonnihil tamen eadem refecere animum °cum °te paulatim convalescere °scriberet. Hanc plane tu sollicitudinem, quam °minime veram auguror, adimere °epistola potes. Si tamen, quod Deus avertat, non eae tibi vires, ut manus qualescumque literas ducere possit, per fratrem nostrum id commode fiet, °qui ut °nos periculi tui certiores faciat omnia praestabit, quo °ad Deum omnipotentem °pro °sanitate tibi restituenda praeces convertere possimus.
- c** O quanto nobis erit gaudio, °ubi °hoc °metu liberabimur! Quam exoptatae °illae litterae, quae °indiciam faciat! Quam nuntius gratus, qui °vel charta vel voce, °adeo °laeta °pertulerit! Non aequidem maiori in gaudio fuisse mihi viderer, quum tantopere, quod non mirum, res tuas me tangere °putem. Quare mi avuncule, id parentum, fratrum, sororum, totiusque denique familiae Iunianae votum, °ut eos °tuarum rerum certiores reddas, quaeve salus tua, quaeve tibi conditio nunc °in Anglia oblata. Vale. °Salutant te multum, parentes, fratres, atque sorores.
Datum Amstelodami.

86 32 05 12 DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

- A** Nobili doctissimoque viro Francisco Iunio in aula illustrissimi Comitis Arundelliae, Londinum.²

b mi: mi[- hi] | cuiusmodi: [- quu] cuiusmodi | Movebant . . . litterae: [*Magnum incusserant terrorem* > Movebant nos non leviter litterae] | quas: [quae > quas] | decumbere: [*decubuisse* > decumbere] | cum: [- ut] cum | te: [- ex iis] te | scriberet: [*intelligere licuit* > scriberet] | minime veram: [*vanam* > [minime] veram] | epistola: [*litera* > epistola] | qui: [- qui ut hoc [vane] nos metu liberet, omnia praestabit] qui | nos: [- nob] nos | ad: [*in nostris ad* > ad] | pro: [- [praetu . . .], ut tibi succurrere velit, p] pro | sanitate: [- tua] sanitate | **c** ubi: [- ut b] ubi | hoc: [- vano] hoc | metu: [- forsitan/] metu | illae litterae: [*illae litterae, quam nuntius gratus* > illae litterae] | indicium: [- eius] indicium | vel: [- eas deferi] vel | adeo: [*tam* > adeo] | laeta: laeta[- ti] | pertulerit: [*defert* > *perfert* > pertulerit] | putem: [- pu] putem | ut: [- ut non diutius] ut | tuarum: [- liberes] tuarum | in: [- iterum] in | Salutant: [- et] Salutant

- b** But, my uncle, it has already been long that we have been kept concerned in what situation your circumstances may be, or how your health may be. The letter we recently received from Brother troubled us deeply, because he told that you are laying ill with a serious disease. Yet the same letter reinvigorated the mind, because he wrote that you are gradually recovering. You, clearly, can remove this concern, which I predict to be not in the least true, with a letter. Yet if—which God forbid—you do not have such strength that your hand can write any kind of letter, this may conveniently be done by Brother, who will do everything to inform us of your danger, so that we can turn our prayers to God almighty for the restitution of your health.
- c** Oh, how great our joy will be, when we will be released from this fear! How much wished for that letter which bears witness to it! How welcome the messenger, who either on paper, or by mouth brings quite happy tidings! I would, indeed, not seem to myself to have been in greater happiness, because—which is not surprising—I believe that your affairs affect me so very much. Therefore, my uncle, this is my parents', brothers', sisters' and, in short, the whole Junius family's wish, that you inform them of your circumstances, either what is your health, or what the condition offered to you now in England. Farewell. My parents, brothers and sisters give you warmest regards.
Written in Amsterdam.

86 32 05 12 DIONYSIUS VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

- A** To the noble and most learned gentleman Francis Junius, at the court of the most illustrious earl of Arundel, London.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 98d.

² Junius had probably informed Vossius of his return to Arundel House in an unretrieved letter, **a**ⁿ. Until his renewed service, he had not had a position nor stayed with the Arundel family, “weder in Engeland gearriveert sijnde, ende levende daer privatelijck in sijn logement” [having arrived in England again and living privately in his lodgings], ARA, p. 9.

- a** Venerande avuncule,
Adeo iam diu est, quod postremum ad te scripsi, ut ambigam ipse, ullane in te memoria literarum nostrarum remanere potuerit.³ Sed et primo tuum iter fecit, ut putarem nequaquam temere mittendas literas, quippe qui ignorarem, ubi locorum ageres.⁴ Postea quantum doloris °de gravissima aegritudine tua, at tantum voluptatis receptae valetudinis nuncius attulit.⁵ Caetera quae indignationem magis, quam tristitiam nobis attulere sileo.⁶ Nam et magna laborum merces recti conscientia est; imo tanta, ut multi praeter eam nihil aliud expetiverint.⁷ Sed haec mitto, quia meliorum spes incessit.⁸
- b** Opus, seu potius translatio nostra, annalium Belgicorum iam tandem post multam moram praelo subiici coepta est.⁹ Laborem quem impendi haud facile °expresserim. Sed gratulor mihi quod magnus ille Grotius impense operam nostram probavit.¹⁰
- c** Ille iam temporum saevitia patria ingrattissima denuo pulsus est, summo cum dolore omnium bonorum.¹¹ Imprimis patris mei, cuius amorem erga illum nosti. Caeterum sic tempora sunt, ferendum est quicquid corrigere nequeas, et frustra iniquitati temporum oblutere, quorum plerumque °tempestas in optimos viros °saevit.
- d** Nos quoque molimur aliquid in Iulium Caesarem, partim amore auctoris, quem non iniuria summum vocat gravissimus scriptor annalium, partim quia tam multos in eo errores doctorum oscitantia irrepisse indignamur.¹² Manuscriptum codicem unum habeo.¹³ Vellem si in Britannia °copia tibi veteris codicis fieret, et vel eo, vel collatione

a de: [- .] de | **b** expresserim: expressim | **c** tempestas: tempesta[te > s] | saevit: [- [des]] saevit | **d** copia tibi: copia[m > tibi]

³ Probably letter **78**.

⁴ Junius had moved to Paris in the summer of 1631, but returned to England a little later, **83**, **84g**.

⁵ Joannes Vossius had informed them of Junius' illness and subsequent improvement, **84g^a**.

⁶ Junius had left the Arundel family because they failed duly to reward him, **83h**.

⁷ Cf. Pliny the Younger, *Panegyric* 44.6.2, "nec bene factis tantum ex conscientia merces."

⁸ Junius had returned into Arundel's service as tutor to the grandchildren at an annuity of £50 as per contract dated 25 March—presumably 4 April new style—1632. He had probably informed Vossius of this in an unretrieved letter written after 4 April, **A**. Joannes wrote that Junius stayed at Arundel House again, but that he did not yet know on which conditions in a letter dated 32 06 25. Cf. *ARA*, pp. 2–3, *Rawl.* 79, f. 131, **83f**, **90a**.

a Venerable Uncle,

It is already so long ago that I last wrote to you, that I myself doubt whether any recollection of my letter could have stayed with you. But then, at first your journey meant that I thought I must not fortuitously send a letter, because I did not know where you stayed. Later, news brought as much grief over your most serious illness, as delight at health regained. I keep silent about the other matters, which brought us more indignation than sadness. For a clear conscience is also a great reward for exertions; so great even, that many people have aspired to nothing else beyond it. But I leave this, because hope for the better has occurred.

b My work, or rather my translation, of the Dutch annals has now finally begun to be submitted to the press after much delay. I could not at all easily describe the work I put into it. But I congratulate myself that this great Grotius zealously approved of my work.

c He has yet again been exiled from our ungrateful fatherland by the violence of the times to the utmost grief of all right-minded people, especially of my father, whose love for him you know. But the times are such that one must bear what one cannot improve and must struggle in vain against the injustice of the times, the storm of which mostly rages against the best people.

d I am also attempting something on Julius Caesar, partly out of love for the author, whom the serious author of the annals rightly calls the best, partly because I consider it as improper that so many errors have sneaked into it by scholars' carelessness. I have one manuscript codex. If you have an ancient codex at your disposal in England, I would wish you to be able to support my exertion either with it, or with a collation of it. But I hardly suppose so; yet if you

⁹ Dionysius' translation of Everard van Reyd, *Historie* (1631), 69b.

¹⁰ For Grotius, cf. c.

¹¹ Grotius had returned from Paris to Holland in October 1631 in the hope of being fully restored to honour, and Vossius had wanted to try give him a professorship at the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre, but on 7 April 1632 the States had decided to banish him once more, giving him ten days to leave the country. Cf. Nellen (1985:49–58), Rademaker (1981:247), Israel (1995:514–15).

¹² Dionysius' edition of Caesar, begun in 1629, was published only in 1697, as *Quae extant . . .* (Amsterdam, 1697). His critical edition came to be based on more manuscripts than his example, Joseph Justus Scaliger, *Quae extant . . .* ([Leiden], 1606). Tacitus called Caesar "summus auctorum divus Iulius" [divine Julius, the highest authority] in *Germania* 28.1. For Dionysius' method and attention to the customs described by Caesar, cf. Katchen (1984:174–78, 326n).

¹³ Manuscript unidentified.

eius laborem nostrum iuvare posses.¹⁴ Sed vix arbitror; tamen si per occasionem incidas rogo ut meminisse nostri velis.

e Scripsi quoque ea de re ad fratrem Ioannem, a quo longo tempore nihil literarum °vidimus; neque ut habeat se, aut quid agat audivimus.¹⁵ Quamobrem orat pater ut quid faciat, quid de eo homines iudicent exquirere et significare ne graveris. Vellem sane cura isthac opus haud esset.

f Mittit tibi parens orationem a se habitam in gymnasio Amstelodamensi.¹⁶ Nunc vetus illud opus Institutiones Grammaticas edere in lucem coepit.¹⁷

g Menses iam quatuor quinque elapsi sunt, quod ad professionem me in Livoniam vocavit illustrissimus vir Ioannes Skytte, Livoniae Ingermanniae, Careliaeque vastissimarum terrarum praefectus.¹⁸ Sed nec parentes me tam longe abscedere haud sinunt, nec libet patria excedere, saltem primis annis. Quid post futurum sit videbimus. Alioqui conditio satis liberalis erat; spes etiam multo maiores. Et ea iam serenissimi Suecorum Regis potentia est, ut felices sint qui aliquem gratiae locum apud eum tenent.¹⁹ Quod si ivissem futurum de me fuisse, non dubito. Sed video me temporis angustias oblitum longius provehi quam illae sinunt, itaque te reverende avuncule supremo Numini commendo. Idem faciunt parentes, totaque nostra familia. Amstelodami, °MDCXXXII, XII Maii die.
Tuus omni officio, cognatus Dionysius Vossius.

e vidimus: vid[e > i]mus | g MDCXXXII: MDCXX[I > X]II

¹⁴ Dionysius placed similar requests with Joannes Meursius in Sorø and the Louvain professor Erycius Puteanus (1574–1646), cf. Colomesius 1.149, 181, 23, Katchen (1984:326n).

¹⁵ The most recent retrieved letter from Joannes at Cambridge to Vossius was dated 32 02 09, cf. *ICVossius* (1993:477).

¹⁶ Vossius, *De historiae utilitate oratio habita in illustri senatus populique Amstelodamensis Gymnasio, cum publicam historiarum et politices professionem ordiretur, anno 1632, 6 Id. Ianuarii* (Amsterdam, 1632). With this inaugural address on history Vossius had opened the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre on 8 January, cf. Rademaker (1981:242).

¹⁷ Vossius, *De arte grammatica libri septem* (Amsterdam, 1635), and the second edition, *Aristarchus, sive de arte grammatica libri septem* (Amsterdam: W. Blaeu, 1635), an impressive descriptive grammar already planned in Dordrecht and virtually completed early in Vossius' Leiden period. After a general introduction, the *Aristarchus*

happen to find one on an occasion, I ask you to be willing to remember me.

e I have also written about this to Brother Joannes, from whom we have not seen a letter for a long time, nor have we heard how he is doing, or what he is doing. That is why Father is asking of you not to consider it troublesome to inquire after what he does and what people think of him and to intimate this to us. I would truly wish this concern not to be necessary at all.

f Father sends you the oration he held at the Amsterdam athenaeum. He has now begun to publish this ancient work, *Principles of Grammar*.

g Already four or five months have passed since the most illustrious gentleman Joannes Skytte, the Prefect of the vast countries of Livonia, Ingria and Karelia, invited me for a teaching post to Livonia. But neither do my parents allow me to go away that far at all, nor does it please me to leave my fatherland, at least in the first years. We will see what happens later. Otherwise, the condition was sufficiently generous and there was even hope of greater ones. Furthermore, the power of the serene king of the Swedes is now such that those are happy who occupy a place of goodwill with him, which I do not doubt would have happened to me, if I had gone. But I see that, forgetting the brevity of time, I am carried further than it allows, and so I commend you, reverend Uncle, to the highest God; my parents, and our whole family do the same.

Amsterdam. 1632, on the 12th day of May.

Obligingly Yours, Nephew Dionysius Vossius.

dealt with orthography (book 1), syllables (book 2), morphology—including declensions (books 3 to 6), and syntax (book 7). Attributing great importance to words, Vossius distinguished between the mechanisms of analogy, by means of which the true forms of words could be reconstructed, and etymology, which assisted in the recovery of the true meaning of words. This distinction was to influence Junius in his Germanic studies, 204d. Cf. 95c, 98a, 99h, 101h, k, Rademaker (1981:293–96, 368), Dekker (1999:219–21).

¹⁸ Johan Skytte (1577–1645), State Councillor of Sweden, had had Dionysius invited for a professorship in history and rhetoric at Dorpat University, which was to be opened in October 1632, in Livonia (Estland). He also seems to have intended him to become historiographer of Sweden. Skytte's three sons had studied with Vossius and stayed with the Vossius family in 1630–31, and the eldest son Johan the Younger (1612–1636) had befriended Dionysius there. Cf. Wrangel (1901:125–30), Rademaker (1981:277).

¹⁹ Gustav II Adolf (1594–1632), king of Sweden from 1611 to 1632.

87 33 01 23 MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [HOLLAND]¹

- a** Praestantissime avuncule,
 °Quando illustrissimus comes Arundelius traicere ad Anglos cogitet, si gnarus iam sis, optat parens rescire, quo °tua utatur opera literis quibusdam ad amicos deferendis; °ne pulchra adeo oblata occasio, spreta, sinistram °his opinionem iniiciat.² Accedit causa, quo fidentius te onerare °parens audeat, °affinitas et suspecta tabulariorum fides, °quorum incuriam et saepe experti sumus, et nunc novissime a te °intelleximus.³
- b** Est et alterum, mi avuncule, in quo non operam solum tuam, sed et consilium °postulamus. Accepit hodie °parens °alteras a reverendissimo Londinensium antistite literas, °plane °alius quam expectarat °argumenti.⁴ Quippe in his longe diversa de fratre sibi ab amicissimis perscripta, quam a te exaudieramus, refert.⁵ °Enimvero non illum °vitam modo agere dissolutam, sed speciosae et parum

a Quando: [- Num] Quando | tua: [- onerare] tua | ne: [- movent rationes, quod non oportere te, sine literis Illus. etenim te affere \ne/, postquam [hic veneris > hic fueris] nullis suis.] ne | his: [fidissimis > his] | parens: \parens/ | affinitas: \affinitas/ | quorum: [- qui] quorum | intelleximus: intelleximus. [- Eo iterum iterumque rogamus, ut si abitus imminent dies, significes, sin minus, et moraturum adhuc aliquamdiu Comitem credas, confidas, rursum tuo frui consortio pa possimus.] | **b** postulamus: postula[t > mus] | parens: [- d] parens | alteras: \alteras/ | plane: [- alterius] plane | alius: \alius/ | argumenti: a\r/gumenti | Enimvero... Caeterum: \Enimvero... Caeterum/ | vitam: [- vita nunc di] vitam

¹ *d*: UBA, D 96a. On the top of the sheet is the end of a draft of another, unidentified text by Matthaeus. Presumably sent to The Hague, **a**.

² The earl of Arundel was sent by King Charles to his sister Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, at her court-in-exile in The Hague to persuade her to move to England now that her husband, Frederick, the Elector Palatine and king of Bohemia, had died in November. Arundel arrived in Holland on New Year's Eve 1632 and was in London again on 6 February 1633. Junius evidently accompanied him, and presumably stayed in The Hague, **89c**. At the request of Bishop Laud, Junius had looked after the son of the Secretary of State Sir Francis Windebank (1582–1646), Thomas (b. 1612), who was in Arundel's service, on the outbound journey. Only Vossius' letter to Laud has been retrieved. Cf. **88c**, Hervey (1921:308–34), Colomesius 2.161, *DNB* 62.165, *ICVossius* (1993:176).

³ Possibly, Junius had recently sent letters to his family which had not arrived.

⁴ Junius had delivered a letter from Laud, which announced, "Iunius vester, nos-terque, vos et nativum solum recepit. Causa itineris est Comes Arundelianus, cui iam foeliciter servit... Hinc occasionem avidè arripiens Iunius, me gaudium per-fusus adit, et vos desiderio prius quam ulnis amplectitur" [Your and our Junius has regained you and his native soil. The reason of the journey is the earl of Arundel,

87 33 01 23 MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [HOLLAND]

- a Most distinguished Uncle,
If you already know when the most illustrious earl of Arundel intends to cross to England, Father wishes to hear in order to employ your assistance for delivering some letters to his friends, so that he does not make an unfavourable impression to them by allowing such an excellent opportunity that presented itself to pass. An additional reason why Father dares to burden you all the more confidently is our family relationship and the questionable reliability of couriers, whose carelessness we have often experienced and have also recently now heard of from you.
- b There is also something else, my uncle, for which we ask not only your assistance, but also your advice. Today, Father received a second letter from the right reverend bishop of London on a truly different topic than he had expected. Indeed, he says in it that very good friends wrote him completely different news about Brother than we had heard from you. That is, not only that he is leading a licentious life, but, captured by love for a beautiful and hardly honourable girl, that he is hastening his ruin. But I suppose I must not write

whom he is serving successfully now . . . Eagerly seizing this opportunity, Junius came to me filled with happiness, and embraced you earlier with his desire than with his arms], 32 12 26, Colomesius 2.161. Laud's second letter, however, indicated, "Clamant [amici mei intimi] filium tuum, non otiosum tantum, sed et pene dissolutum . . . Aiunt illum amore puellae et famae non satis integrae (utpote degentis in diversorio) captum esse. Si matrimonium contrahat et tale, quantus dolor! Statim in ipso nunc literarum istarum scripsi ad illos, ut omnia facerent quae aegrum filium tuum possint sanare, aut saltem impedire ne sic miser pereat. Societas enim qua fruitur in Collegio Iesu, illa altera societate perditur . . . Consilium dant amici, nec aliud ego, ut tu quam citissime tanquam aliud volens filium accersas, celerrimum reditum promittas, sed quum in tuam, i.e. patriam potestatem devenerit, potes alia et salubria consilia capere. Num Iunius abeuns, eum non adiit? Num adiit et nihil est suspicatus novi?" [(my intimate friends [SvR]) are crying that your son (Joannes Vossius [SvR]) is not only leisurely, but also almost ruined. They are saying that he is seized by love for a girl of insufficiently unblemished reputation (since she dwells in an inn). How great a grief if he contracts marriage and such! Immediately now, on the very (date [SvR]) of that letter, I have written to them to do everything which could heal your sick son, or at least prevent him from perishing so miserably. For the fellowship he enjoys at Jesus College is lost by that other bond. My friends advise you, and so do I, to summon your son as soon as possible, as if wishing something else, and promise a speedy return, but when he has returned in your, that is, his father's power, you can take other and wholesome measures. Did not Junius go to him on his departure? Or did he go to him and did not he suspect anything new?], 33 01 14, Colomesius 2.137. Cf. below, Rademaker (1981:333).

honestae virginis amore captum, °sibi ruinam °maturare.⁶ Caeterum, °scribenda °mihī haec non °puto dum commodius me facturum °credit parens si literarum exemplar °descriptum mitterem, quo ipsum loquentem audires antistitem.⁷ °Cuius consilium admittit pater si diutius has in oras moraturus comes Arundelius, °tametsi ignorare se fateatur, quid aliud domi sit facturum, quam ut Baccho litet et Divae Vacunae.⁸ Sin vero reditum ad suos °legatus maturet, optimum videtur, tibi totum °committēre negotium, °unaque ad illum aliosque literas det, quo °in rectam reducatur viam.⁹ °Hoc itaque rogamus, ut si abitus immineat dies, perscribas, °et quanto °citius, tanto °magis gratum erit, quo cognoscat parens, quid sibi agendum °maneāt. Vale, °plurimum te iuncta affinitate domus salutāt. °Amstelodami, °MDCXXXIII, tertio et vicesimo Ianuarii die.

88 [33 02 03] VOSSIIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS [THE HAGUE]¹

A Francisco Iunio F.F.

a *Salutem plurimam.* Magnopere doleo, optime affinis, quod ea de filio intelligam ex reverendissimo Domino Episcopo, quae non illius modo,

b sibi: [- *Caeterum*] sibi | maturare: [*parare* > maturare] | scribenda: [- *Cuiusmodi haec sinē*], scribenda | mihī haec: \mihī haec/ | putō dum: [*putavi* > putō dum] | credit parens: [*ratus* > credit parens] | descriptum: [- *mitterem*] descriptum | Cuius . . . maneāt: \Cuius . . . maneāt/ | Cuius . . . pater: [*Nam* > Cuius consilium admittit pater] | tametsi: [- *revocare statuit*] tametsi | legatus: \legatus/ | committēre: commit[*tat* > tere] | unaque: [- *tuaeque faciat prudentiae*], unaque | in: in in | Hoc itaque: [*Eo iterum iterumque* > Hoc itaque [- *rogā*]] | et: [*et* > [- *d*] et] | citius: [*celerius* > citius] | magis: [- *gratius*] magis | maneāt: maneāt. [- *Hac adeo in re tuum iudicium requirimus, [et > quod] quidem quanto celerius perscribas, eo gratius futurum, quo deliberata tecum re pater, quid hic agendum sit maneāt sit cognoscat*] | plurimum: plurimum [- *que*] | Amstelodami: [- *et sī*] Amstelodami | MDCXXXIII: (I)(I)XXXIII. (*Often, 'M' was written as '(I)' and the following 'DC' as '(I)', but here 'DC' appears as '(I)', as well.*)

⁵ Laud's warning heralded years of trouble with Joannes Vossius, which Junius helped to solve because of his proximity to Cambridge. Joannes had contracted many debts, thus giving his family a bad name, and seemed about to marry a girl below his standing, which would not only bring dishonour to the family but also terminate his fellowship, as it was granted only to unmarried students, cf. this section, 101e. Vossius asked Junius to consult with Laud and take care of the affair, yet proposed that Joannes would stay, 88. However, Laud, William Beale, master

this, because Father thinks I will do better if I send you a transcribed copy of the letter, so that you can hear the bishop speak himself, whose advice Father accepts, if the earl of Arundel stays longer in this country, although he admits to not knowing what else he will do at home than sacrificing to Bacchus and goddess Vacuna. But if the ambassador hastens his return to his family, it seems best to entrust the whole affair to you and to write letters to him and others at the same time, so that he may be led back to the straight and narrow path. So we ask you to write if the day of departure is at hand, and the sooner the more welcome it will be, so that Father may find out what remains to be done for him. Farewell; the house bound by kinship gives you warmest regards.
Amsterdam, 1633, the twenty-third day of January.

88 [33 02 03] VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS [THE HAGUE]

A To Francis Junius F.F.

a Warmest regards. I deeply deplore, excellent Brother, that from the right reverend lord bishop I am hearing news about my son

of Jesus College, and others urged for Joannes' departure, **90a**. Then, Joannes was seen in London on his way back home, but Junius also lost sight of him for some days, **89a**. During that time, Joannes must have returned to Cambridge to actually marry on 23 February 1633 new style, **105c**. His wife was Prudence Greene, **96b**—a different girl, according to Joannes, than the one Laud was warning for and Junius was to write about, **99b**, **101e**. For their marriage, Joannes borrowed six hundred guilders in London, **89b**, **101f**. He did not tell his family about it for more than a year, and dissimulated the number and amounts of his debts, **101b**, **e–f**, although Junius urged that he confess how much he owed in order not to give the family a bad name, **90a**. For most of 1633–34, no letters on these matters have been retrieved, though there were probably some written. The affair received a new impetus when Junius managed to fish out some facts in Cambridge, and Joannes confessed what had happened, **95d**.

⁶ By this time, Junius also told Vossius that Joannes had contracted debts in England, **101j**.

⁷ Copy of Laud's letter unretrieved.

⁸ Bacchus, or Dionysus, god of wine and intoxication, and Vacuna, goddess of rural leisure.

⁹ Cf. **88**.

¹ *ca.* BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 43; heading in an unidentified hand. For the date, cf. c. In *ICVossius* (1993:357) this letter, called "00 00 00 JUN2," is dated only "after 1628." Presumably sent to The Hague, **87a**.

sed totius familiae nostrae honori tantopere adversentur.² Sed quanto res gravior, tanto magis prudentia hic opus, quam oro Deum, ut nobis largiatur.

b Mihi sic videtur. Si nihil de connubio periculi sit, nec ab eiectione e Collegio, nec ab aere alieno, satius fore, ut annum unum vel alterum in Collegio remaneat. Nam quid otiosus hic agat? Mihi id cruci erit, et uxori; malo etiam exemplo erit liberorum aliis; denique omnes nos propter unum illum male audiemus, si tantum vagari et poculis indulgere volet. Nec fieri id possit, quin aes contrahat alienum. Sin studiis Medicis in Collegio annum unum alterum impendat, possit brevi in Britannia rem facere. Scis enim apud vos quantum emolumentum ex ea arte capere sit iis qui rerum suarum satagunt. Vel si omnino malit in patria vivere, tum veniat, ubi didicerit non esse oneri nobis, vel saltem non multum incommodet. Sin ita se componit, ut tuto istuc vivere non possit, peto ut meo nomine iubeas, quamprimum ad me veniat. Et hoc fine scribo ad eum tribus verbis; quod epistolium ei tum demum trades, si opus sit Regenti Collegii ostendi, quo abeundi veniam consequatur.³ Si periculum est a creditoribus, velim libros quos a me habet optimae notae, tibi, vel alteri amico asservandos det, ne fortasse eo absente in illos involent. Si non est magnum aes alienum, animus sit quotannis portiunculam eius persolvere, quo tandem defecato esse animo possit. Sed, ut dixi, paullatim, ne eo persoluto, confestim contrahit novum.

c Scripsi ad reverendissimum Dominum Episcopum, quicum te velim consultare.⁴ Scis enim quanti nostra intersit, ut nihil hic temere faci-

b amico: [- *hol*] amico | velim: [- *cum*] velim

² William Laud had written that Joannes bungled his studies at Cambridge and intended to marry, **87b^a**.

³ Vossius' letter to Joannes unretrieved. William Beale (d. 1651), master of Jesus College, Cambridge, from July 1632 until he became master of St. John's College in February 1634. In 1634 he also became vice-chancellor of the university. Later incorporated at Oxford, he was chaplain to King Charles there. Cf. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, 1.116, *DNB* 4.7–8.

⁴ In his letter, Vossius informed Laud, "ab affine meo Iunio, qui nunc cum illustrissimo Principe Arundelio in Britanniam reditum parat, petii ut simulac pedem Londini posuerit, consultare tecum velit, atque illud exsequi, quod optimum vobis videbitur. Nec solum si nuptias eiusmodi cogitet revocari eum quamprimum expediat, sed etiam si vita sit dissoluta, vel aes alienum contrahat; ac utroque alterove horum periculum sibi arcessat. Itaque illud etiam affinem meum Iunium rogavi, ut Cantabrigiam ipse eat, deque omni re cognoscat" [I have asked of my brother-in-

which not only greatly impairs his honour, but also that of our whole family. The more serious the matter, the more need there is here of prudence, which I pray God to grant us.

b I believe as follows. If there is no risk of marriage, nor of rejection from college, nor of debt, it will be better for him to stay at college for a year or two. For what can he do here without employment? It will be a trouble to me and my wife; he will also be a bad example to the other children, and finally, all of us will be in bad repute because of him alone, if he only wishes to wander about and indulge in drinking. And that cannot happen without contracting debts. However, if he devotes a year or two to the study of medicine at college, he may soon be able to make money in England. For you know how much profit those who have their hands full can gain from that profession with you. Alternatively, if he absolutely prefers to live in his fatherland, that he will come only then, when he has learnt not to be a burden to us, or at least not to bother us much. However, if he behaves in such a way that he cannot safely live there, I am asking of you to tell him on my behalf to come to me as soon as possible. To this end I have written him in a few words, which letter you must give him only then, if it must be shown to the regent of the college in order for him to get permission to leave. If there is a risk of creditors, I would wish him to give the higher quality books he has of me to you or another friend to keep, so that they may not take them in his absence. If the debt is not great, let the idea be for him to pay a small part of it every year, so that he can finally have a cleansed heart. But, as I said, little by little, so that he does not immediately contract a new debt when this one will have been paid.

c I wrote to the right reverend lord bishop, whom I would wish you to consult. For you know how important it is for us not to do anything fortuitously here. I have not sealed up the letter I wrote

law Junius, who is now preparing his return to England with the most illustrious Nobleman Arundel, to be willing to consult with you as soon as he has set foot in London and carry out what will appear best to you. It is expedient to summon him back as soon as possible, not only if he considers such a marriage, but also if his life is in disorder or he contracts debts, and by both or one of these calls down misfortune on himself. For that reason I have also asked my brother-in-law Junius this, to go to Cambridge himself to inform himself about everything], 33 01 29, Colomesius 1.191.

amus. Literas, quas ad eum scripsi, non obsignavi. Signum tamen apposui, ut postquam perlegeris, claudas pusillo cerae sigillo subiecto, ac sic reverendissimo Episcopo tradas.

Raptim; secunda nocturna, diei Dominicæ.⁵

Tuus totus, G. Vossius.

89 33 02 28 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO MERIC CASAUBON [CANTERBURY]¹

A Clarissimo viro Domino Merico Casaubono, Isaaci filio.

a Clarissime vir,

Boni consules quod iam pridem Cantuariam vestram e Belgio reversus te insalutato equis ^odispositis transierim; praeceps festinatio, quae Londinium repetentem urgebat, nullas me ibi moras trahere, ne quidem ad necessariam quietem, patiebatur.² Quinimo Londinium reversus postridie statim Cantabrigiam petii, ne in mora essem quo minus Iohannes noster parenti optimo ipsum in patriam revocanti prompte obsequeretur.³ Inspectis illis patris sui litteris spondit sine mora se circa initium subsequentis hebdomadae Londinium excursurum, neque patris iussa moraturum, sed prima quaque occasione in Belgium transmissurum.⁴ Stetit hactenus promissis ut dicta die Londinium excurreret, iam tamen quinque aut sex dies sunt quod nos Londinium regressos fugiat.⁵ Neque enim reverendissimum Antistitem, cui et Vossius et nos omnes plurimum debemus, vidit, aut me salutare curavit.⁶ Nescio quibus latebris sedulo me inquirentem fugere potuerit. Spero meliora.

b Cum tamen mercatori De Peyster affinis mei nomine in mandatis dedissem ne plus pecuniae quam satis esset adolescenti praeberet, et

a dispositis: [- cur] dispositis

⁵ This letter was written at the same time or soon after Vossius' letter to Laud, dated 33 01 29, which was enclosed in it, cf. below. Since 29 January 1633 was a Tuesday, the present letter was presumably written on the following Sunday, 3 February 1633.

¹ *o*: BL, Burn. 369, f. 65.

² Junius had returned to London from a stay in Holland on 6 February, **87a**.

³ Joannes Vossius was summoned home from Cambridge. Cf. **87b**, **88b**.

⁴ Vossius' letter to Joannes, unretrieved, **88b**.

to him. But I added the seal, so that you can close it with a bit of wax put under the seal after you have read it through, and in this way hand it to the right reverend bishop.

In haste. On the second nocturnal hour of Sunday.

Wholly your G. Vossius.

89 33 02 28 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO MERIC CASAUBON [CANTERBURY]

A To the widely renowned gentleman Mr. Meric Casaubon, Isaac's son.

a Widely renowned sir,

You must excuse me that on my return from the Low Countries, I passed your Canterbury already before, without coming to see you when the horses were stationed in relays. The rash haste which pressed me to return to London did not permit me to pass any time there, not even for a necessary break. Rather, the day after my return to London I immediately rushed to Cambridge in order not to delay our Joannes from promptly obeying his excellent father, who has called him back to his fatherland. Upon examining his father's letter, he promised to hasten to London without delay around the beginning of the next week and not to delay his father's orders, but to cross over to the Low Countries at the first possible opportunity. He kept his promises so far as to hurry to London on the said day, but for five or six days now since we returned to London, he has been avoiding us. For he has neither seen the right reverend bishop, to whom both Vossius and all of us owe much, nor troubled himself to come and see me. He could escape me in any hiding places, although I am zealously looking for him. I hope for the better.

b Yet, since I had instructed merchant de Peyster on my brother's behalf not to give more money to the young man than what would be enough, and since, without consulting me, another man did not

⁵ Joannes must have returned to Cambridge, for he married Prudence Greene on 23 February, five days before this letter was written, **105c**.

⁶ Bishop Laud.

alter Cantabrigia reverso non satis nummorum pro arbitrio me inconsulto exhibere vellet, stomachabundus discessit, et apud alios tale quid rettulit, ac si apud vos nummos sibi paratos habiturus esset.⁷ Nihil illi hic quod ad itineris sumptus honeste tolerandos requiri possit defuturum est. Non puto fore ut vestram hac in parte operam postulet. Si tamen id fiat, nolui te ignarum habere eorum quae hic transacta sunt.

- c** Dionysius Vossius unice tibi et claro Decano commendari postulat, et utriusque vestrum Panegyrici sui exemplar transmittit.⁸ Raptim; in aedibus Arundelianis, anno 1633, 18 Februarii. Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.
- d** Si Iohannes apud vos est, dissimula tibi quicumque horum per me innotuisse.

90 33 03 14 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]¹

A Coniunctissimo affini Gerardo Vossio.

- a** Adfinis optime,
Londinium reversus, eo ipso quo veneram die *reverendum* Antistitem adii, quid in negotio Iohannis nostri factum esset opus sciscitaturus; qui ratione consilii tui intellecta et litteris Cantabrigiensium, qui super ea re ad eum scripserant, inductus, auctor fuit ut prima quaque occasione Cantabrigiam excurrerem et Iohannis nostri abitum maturarem.² Postridie itaque, ne totius quidem diei moram ferens, lassus etiamnum ex molestissimo itinere, Cantabrigiam petii, ubi Doctorem

a negotio: negotii

⁷ Jonas de Peyster (d. 1638), Dutch merchant in London, residing at St. George Buttolph Lane, Billingsgate Ward. He was to be dean of the Dutch Church at Austin Friars from 1636. Vossius enjoyed a Canterbury prebend, from which Joannes received money by Casaubon's mediation, **72c**, **75b**. Joannes needed the money for his wedding, **101f**. Cf. Grell (1989 s.v.).

⁸ Dionysius Vossius, *Panegyricus, dictatus Frederico Henrico, Aurosionensium Principi, eiusdem Fredericus victor* (Amsterdam, 1633), a panegyric in prose and verse on Prince Frederick Henry. Junius had brought the copies for Casaubon and Isaac Bargrave, dean of Canterbury, from Holland, as Vossius informed Casaubon, "exemplar affini

want to give enough money, after his opinion, to him who had returned from Cambridge, he left angrily, and announced such a point with other people, as if he had money ready for him with you. He will lack nothing here that could be required for covering the expenses of the journey decently. I do not think he will ask your assistance in that respect. Yet if he does, I did not want you to be unaware of what has been settled here.

c Dionysius Vossius asks to be especially commended to you and the renowned dean and sends a copy of his *Panegyric* to both of you. In haste. At Arundel House in the year 1633, 18 February.
Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

d If Joannes is with you, please conceal that you have heard any of this through me.

90 33 03 14 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]

A To dearest Brother Gerardus Vossius.

a Excellent Brother,

On my return to London, on the very day that I arrived, I went to the reverend bishop to inquire what had to be done in our Joannes' affair. Having heard the reasoning of your advice and being persuaded by a letter from Cantabrigians who had written to him concerning this, he advised me to hurry to Cambridge at the first possible opportunity and speed up our Joannes' departure. So, the next day—in order not even to tolerate a full day's delay—I went to Cambridge, although still exhausted from the troublesome journey. There I met Dr. Beale, master of the college, and others who wish us best, but

Iunio misi Haghham, qui simulac in Angliam rediisset, curaturum recepit" [I have sent a copy to The Hague to Brother-in-law Junius, who has promised to take care of it as soon as he has returned to England], 33 02 16, Colomesius 1.195. This indicates that Junius had stayed in The Hague, 87a. Cf. Rademaker (1981:253).

¹ *o*: BL, Add. 34.727, f. 60. On the address side in the top margin in two unidentified, yet later hands, "[*aug. 1715* > *prodi[ou]sses*]."

² When Junius was in Holland, Bishop Laud had written that Joannes Vossius bungled his studies, 87a–b.

Beale, praefectum Collegii, aliosque qui nobis optime volunt conveni, sed omnes uno ore longiorem filii tui in hisce partibus moram dissuadebant. Non est mihi dubium quin *reverendus* Antistes uberius hac °de re, quemadmodum facturum recepit, scripserit.³ Supersedebo itaque °exequi singularum rerum circumstantias, hoc unum addidisse contentus; omnino mihi videri e re Iohannis nostri esse, ut ingenue profiteatur quantum Cantabrigiae debeat, neque enim videtur e re familiae nostrae esse ut in ea urbe in qua tanta litteratorum hominum frequentia est malum nomen existimetur. Satius igitur arbitror minores in ea urbe summas statim solvere quoniam infamiam aliter effugere non potest—quod contra est in vastissima Londiniensi urbe, nam ibi maiores summae et gravius aes alienum contractum non ita facile quibusvis potest innotescere.⁴

b Ineunte mense Maio per Peysterum trecenti floreni vobis annumerabuntur meo nomine, quorum dimidiam partem sorori Mariae, alteram sorori Iohannae annumerari velim.⁵ Dabo operam ut intra annum aliquantum pecuniae ad vos transmittam, quo subitis mortalitatis nostrae casibus prospectum sit, et omnia inter merito amissimos aequa conditione transigentur. Dabit Deus, spero, ne quisquam de me iustam querendi occasionem habere possit. Vale, cum coniuge dilectissima et lectissimis liberis.

Anno 1633, 4 Martii *stilo vetere*, in aedibus Arundellianis.

Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

a de: d[+ e] (*Ink completely faded*) | exequi: exequ[+ i]

³ Laud's letter to Vossius was dated 33 03 16, cf. *ICVossius* (1993:177).

⁴ Evidently a reference to the Arundel family, who were so slow in paying Junius for his services, **83**. Although he had returned into the earl of Arundel's service in March, **86a**, Junius had still been negotiating with him for a long time, as Joannes informed Vossius: "Oom Junius is hier geweest om mij te bezoeken, heeft eenige conditie nu met den graef gemaekt, maer niet naer wenschen, alsoo het niet en excideert de som of 5 of 600 guld., doch op belofte van *verbetering*, en soo blijft daer een weijnich" [Uncle Junius was here to see me. He has made some arrangements with the earl now, but not to his desire, for it does not exceed the sum of 5 or 600 guilders; yet at the promise of improvement, so that a little money will

everybody advised with one voice against a longer stay of your son in this country. I have no doubt that the reverend bishop has written more fully about this, just as he promised to do. I will accordingly refrain from describing the circumstances of the particular events and be satisfied to add just this, that it altogether seems to me to be in our Joannes' interest to confess frankly how much he owes at Cambridge, for it does not seem to be in our family's interest that he be considered a bad risk in that town in which there is such a large crowd of scholars. That is why I think it better to pay the smaller sums in that town immediately, because a bad name can not be avoided otherwise—which is the opposite in the vast town of London, for there great sums and a serious debt that has been contracted cannot so easily become known to anyone.

- b** In the beginning of the month of May three hundred guilders will be paid out to you by de Peyster on my behalf, of which I want half to be paid out to Sister Maria, and the other half to Sister Johanna. I will take pains to send some money to you within a year, so that there has been provided for the sudden calamities of my mortality, and everything will be settled among the deservedly beloved ones on a reasonable condition. God will grant, I hope, that no one can have a just cause to complain of me. Farewell, with your dearly beloved wife and your most excellent children.
In the year 1633, 4 March old style, at Arundel House.
Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

remain], 32 08 13/23, and again, “Oom Junius is noch met den graef niet geacordeert maer geloof schoon in dese drie weken het te performeren” [Uncle Junius has not yet reached agreement with the earl, but believes now he can do so within three weeks], [32] 10 28, BLO, Rawl. 79, ff. 134, 139. Even if satisfactory arrangements were eventually made, the case Junius felt forced to impose on his former employers in the 1650s, **188a**, substantially reveals that such conditions did not ensure him of actually receiving the money.

⁵ This money for Maria and Johanna Junius, paid out by Jonas de Peyster, must have resulted from Junius' negotiations with Arundel.

91 33 06 01 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHN FRANCIUS (CAMBRIDGE)¹

A *To his honoured freinde, Mr Johannes Francius, fellowe of Peeter-house dd.² Cambridge. port is payed.*

a Amicorum integerrime,

Cantabrigiam rediturus postulabas ut prima quaque occasione, si quid de Iohanne Vossio novi ad me perlatum esset, ad te perscriberem.³ Facturum recepi. Quare promissis standum esse iudicans, non potui non certio rem te facere triduum iam esse quod soror mea, non illa quidem Iohannis mater, sed alia quaedam, illum iamdudum in Bataviam salvum appulisse et in paternis aedibus a se visum scribat; et ipsa quoque litteris meis, quas Iohanni ad illam perferendas dederam, responderit.⁴ °Pater vero eius et mater °imo ne ipse quidem, nihil ad me litterarum (quod miror) dederunt. Provocandi itaque erunt secundis litteris, quas tamen differam, dum ex te rescisco, an tibi in Collegio Iesu innotuerit aliquis George Stearne; is enim, nisi forte alius quispiam sub hoc nomine latere voluerit, litterulas dedit ad me, quibus alias ad Iohannem Vossium deferendas incluserat, obnixè rogans ne ignoto sibi hac in parte deessem.⁵ Aveo scire an ex quaquam expiscari possis, quid huic cum illo sit negotii. Vale vir optime, et porro, quod hactenus a te sedulo factum est, demereri me perge. A me vicissim iure tuo omnia honesti animi officia exspecta. Londinii, in aedibus Arundellianis, 22 Maii anno 1633. Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

b Aveo scire an etiamnum perstes in proposito.⁶ Quod si est, omnino curabis ut ante abitum videam te. Nos, Deo volente, brevi Grenovicum

a Pater: [- De] Pater | imo . . . quidem: \imo . . . quidem/

¹ *o*: BL, Hl. 7011, ff. 111–112; address on f. 112v, ff. 111v–112r blank. On f. 112v in an unidentified hand, “Fides obed[i]entia est; ὑπόστασις est, [. . .] οὐ βλέπομένων. Deus *Christum* in vitam revocatum non *omni* vulgo sed solis discipulis illique exhibuit quod nos fidei exercendae mannam habere vellet. Act.10.41.” In another, later, unidentified hand, “Bought of Mr. G. Paul’s Landlady.”

² John Francius (d. 1665), fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, from 1628 to his death, originally from Silesia and incorporated M.A. from Frankfurt. He did his Ph.D. in 1628, became senior proctor in 1640, was licensed to practise medicine in 1644, became M.D. in 1647, and was also president, tutor and bursar of his college. He may already have been D.D. before coming to England. Joannes Vossius had stayed at Peterhouse before being chosen fellow of Jesus College. Cf. *Alumni Cantabrigienses* 2.172, Rademaker (1981:231).

91 33 06 01 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHN FRANCIUS (CAMBRIDGE)

A [See the original address.]

a Most virtuous friend,

On your return to Cambridge you asked of me to write you at the first possible opportunity if I had received any news of Joannes Vossius. I promised to do so. So, since I feel that promises must be kept, I could not refrain from informing you that three days ago now, my sister, not she indeed who is Joannes' mother, but another one, wrote that he had landed safe and sound in Holland long before and that she had seen him in his parents' house; and she also answered to my letter, which I had given to Joannes to deliver to her. But neither his father and mother, nor even he himself, have written me a letter (which surprises me). So they must be challenged by a second letter, which I am postponing, however, until I have heard from you if you know a certain George Stearne in Jesus College; for he—unless someone else may have wanted to hide under that name—wrote to me a small letter, in which he had enclosed another one to be given to Joannes Vossius, with the urgent request not to fail him in that respect, although I do not know him. I wish to know whether you can fish out from anyone what business he has with him. Farewell, excellent man, and continue to oblige me further, just as you have zealously done as yet. Expect from me in turn all favours from an honest heart in accordance with your right. London, at Arundel House, 22 May, in the year 1633.
Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

b I wish to know whether you still persist in your determination. If that is so, you must by all means let me see you before your departure. We will soon go to Greenwich, God willing, and spend a large

³ Joannes Vossius had been summoned home upon bungling his studies at Cambridge, **87b**.

⁴ Both Johanna Junius' letter to Junius, and Junius' to her are unretrieved.

⁵ George Stearne (d. 1638), pensionary at Jesus College, Cambridge, from 1631 until he died of the plague. He had matriculated in 1627, became scholar in 1628, did his B.A. in 1629/30, and his M.A. in 1633. Cf. *Alumni Cantabrigienses* 4.159. He was one of Joannes Vossius' friends, **97f**. Junius may have suspected that the sender of the letter was Joannes' love, **87b**. Stearne's letters to Junius and Joannes are unretrieved.

⁶ Francius seems to have intended to go abroad.

petemus, atque ibi magnam aestatis partem transigemus.⁷ Grave non erit Londinium ad te excurrere, simulac adventus tui nuntium accepero. Iterum vale.

92 [34] 05 16 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

a Francisco Iunio Ger.Io. Vossius *salutem plurimam*.

Tandem, mi affinis, silentium rumpo atque ad officium redeo. Occasionem scribendi praebet illustrissimus Comes de Leshno, iuvenis eruditus et doctorum aestimator.² Qui cum aliquid literarum a me posceret ad amicos meos in Anglia, scribendum putavi Cantabrigiam ad Doctorem Beale, Praefectum Collegii Ioannis; et Doctorem Martin, Collegii Reginalis Praesidem; Oxonium autem ad Doctorem Fruen, Collegii Magdalensis caput, et Ioannem Rouse, Bibliothecae Bodleanae Praefectum.³ Nempe sic illustrissimus Comes arbitrabatur, facilius se innotescere posse summis his, et per eos aliis egregiis Angliae viris, si mea quoque commendatio accessisset. Quare siqua in re ei opera quoque tua utilis esse possit, defugere non debes.

b Iuvenis est in magnam spem natus.⁴ Parentem habet illustrissimum Polonici regni Palatinum, magnum columnen ecclesiarum reformatarum iis terris; sane non minoris a nostris fit in Polonia, quam magnus ille Ravezilius in Lituania.⁵ Horum enim erga ecclesiam merita prae omnibus praedicantur. Etiam idem ille heros serenissimo Regi nostro

⁷ The Arundel family had property in Greenwich, although the original house there had burnt down in 1617, cf. Hervey (1921:119–20), Howarth (1985:57).

¹ c: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 59. *p*: Colomesius 1.259.

² Count Boguslaw Leszczynski, details unidentified, a member of the very powerful Polish Leszczynski family. Graduated in 1630 from the Leszno Academy, **b^a**, he went to Cambridge and Oxford for studies under supervision of John Johnston, **b**, right after the present letter was written—not in 1633, as Hans suggests. He wrote to Petrus Cunaeus from Oxford in August, and from Antwerp at the end of October. Cf. UBL, CUN 2, Hans (1958/9:200), Lerski (1996:42, 301).

³ At the request of Leszczynski's tutor John Johnston, in a letter dated [34] 05 15, Vossius wrote letters of commendation to William Beale, master of Jesus College—not Jerome Beale, as *ICVossius* (1993:195) suggests, for he had been master of Pembroke Hall and died in 1630—of which Joannes Vossius was a fellow, **59d**; Edward Martin, president of Queens' College; Accepted Frewen, or Fruen (1588–1660), president of Magdalen College, Oxford, chaplain to King Charles, dean of Gloucester and canon of Canterbury (which is how he may have met Vossius), from 1644 bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and elected archbishop of York in 1660; and John Rous, librarian of the Bodleian Library, Oxford. All letters were dated 34 05

part of the summer there. It will be no trouble for me to hasten to you in London as soon as I receive news of your arrival. Again, farewell.

92 [34] 05 16 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

- a Ger.Jo. Vossius [gives] warmest regards to Francis Junius. Finally, my brother, I break the silence and return to my duty. An occasion to write is furnished by the most illustrious count de Leszno, a learned young man and appraiser of scholars. When he asked letters from me to my friends in England, I thought of writing to Cambridge to Dr. Beale, master of Joannes' college, and to Dr. Martin, president of Queens' College, and to Oxford to Dr. Frewen, head of Magdalen's College, and to John Rous, head of the Bodleian Library. For the most illustrious count thus believed he could more easily make an acquaintance with these very high men, and through them to other distinguished men in England, if my recommendation was also added. So, if it is possible for your assistance also to be useful to him in any respect, you must not avoid it.
- b He is a young man born to great expectations. He has as father the most illustrious Elector of the Polish kingdom, the great pillar of the Reformed Church in those regions; he is truly considered by our people to be no less in Poland than that great Radziwill is in Lithuania. For their merits for the Church are praised over everybody else's. This same nobleman is even known to our right serene King Charles through a letter and the king in turn also made his

15 or 16, or, the one to Rous, 34 05 14(!). Cf. Colomesius 2.216, *DNB* 20.271–73, *ICVossius* (1993:194–5).

⁴ Vossius copied "Parentem . . . testatum fecit" almost literally from Johnston's letter.

⁵ Probably Count Rafael Leszczynski, Boguslaw's father, details unidentified. Leszno, a town belonging to the Leszczynski family, was a haven for Protestants from Moravia—the Unity of Czech Brethren—and Silesia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It became an important centre of the Reformation, with Protestant printing houses and an academy led by the educational reformer and religious leader Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670). Janusz Radziwill (1612–1655), Grand *Hetman* (superior military commander) of Lithuania, Poland, one of the most powerful Polish magnates and the leader and guardian of Lithuanian Calvinists. In 1632 he had been a member of a delegation to the Low Countries and England announcing the election of Wladyslaw IV Wasa as the new king of Poland and Lithuania. Cf. Rood (1970:113), Lerski (1996:42, 301, 260, 492–93), Kiedron (1994:76–77).

Karolo per literas est notus, ac vicissim litteris quoque Rex suum erga eum affectum abunde testatum fecit. Haec eo lubentius perscripsi °quia Barones Slupeskkii de Conari, quos scis °sesquiannis mecum vixisse Lugduni, ex eadem familia sunt; ut decus tantae domus non possit non mihi perspectissimum esse.⁶ Qui ei a studiis est, Iohannes Ionstonus, iuvenis est pereruditus ac admodum probus, et his diebus in doctorum Medicinae numerum cooptatus a Lugdunensibus nostris.⁷

- c De filii mei Dionysii discessu ad superos nihil possum scribere, tantus me dolor premit, quoties cogito.⁸ Amisi plus quam dicere possum. Deum Immortalem! Quanto ille intervallo patrem post se relicurus erat! Quippe qui iam nunc in non uno longe °superavit. Accedebat tanta probitas, ut ego hac aetate non ausim mihi eam tribuere. Sed sic visum Deo, qui unus novit, quid illi, quid mihi, quid familiae toti maxime expedierit.⁹ Hoc me solor, optime adfinis, teque salvere iubeo; quod et facit coniux, et tota domus °nostra. Amstelodami; raptim; postridie idus °Maias.

93₉₄ 34 [10 00] JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]¹

A Clarissimo viro Gerardo Ioanni Vossio, affini coniunctissimo.

- a Coniunctissime affinis,
Iamdudum, cum hic apud nos esses, quid de conscribendo artificum catalogo in animo haberem, ex me audivisti; haud muto factum.²

b quia: c, p qui | sesquiannis: [sesquiannis], p sesquiann | c superavit: p superat | nostra: c noster | Maias: p Maias 1635

⁶ Krzystof (b. 1606) and Mikolai (1604–1672) Slupecki de Conari, who had stayed with Vossius in 1631. Cf. Rademaker (1981:165, 279), *BWGrotius* 6.1396.

⁷ John Johnston (1603–1675), who had become doctor of medicine in Leiden the day before the present letter was written. Born in Poland from Scottish parents, he had graduated from Leszno Academy and studied medicine at St. Andrews, Cambridge and Franeker before matriculating at Leiden in 1630. After the journey to England as Leszczynski's tutor, he returned to Poland to practise medicine as his former pupil's physician and to assist at the Academy. He was to decline a chair at Leiden in 1640. Junius already knew Johnston, for he had shown him the Arundel collection several years before, as Johnston indicated, "D. Iunius Francisci filius . . . haec et alia monstrabat" [Mr. Junius, Franciscus' son, has shown these (treasures at Arundel House) and others], *Naturae constantia* . . . (Amsterdam, 1632:94–95), quoted after Ellenius (1960:47). Cf. his letter to Vossius, aⁿ, Hans (1958/9:200), *DNB* 30.80–81, Rademaker (1981:222–23), *Literature* l.xxxivn.

⁸ Dionysius Vossius had died of smallpox on 25 October 1633, when he was just about to go to Livonia with his friend Johan Skytte the Younger to study

affection for him exceedingly manifest in a letter. I have written this all the more willingly, because the Barons Slupecki de Conari, whom you know to have stayed with me in Leiden for half a year, are from the same family, so that the glory of such a great house must needs be evident to me. The one who is his tutor, John Johnston, is a most learned and quite virtuous young man, and he was elected to the order of doctors of medicine by our Leiden doctors these days.

- c I cannot write anything about my son Dionysius' departure to the gods, such profound grief overwhelms me whenever I think of it. I lost more than I can say. Immortal God! He was about to leave his father behind at such a great distance! For already now he outstripped me by far in not just a single respect. To this was added such a great uprightness as I would not have dared attribute to myself at that age. But thus it has been ordained by God, who alone knows what is most profitable for him, for me, and for the whole family. I comfort myself with this, excellent Brother, and I bid you be well. My wife does so too, as well as our whole house.
- Amsterdam. In haste. On the day after the Ides of May [16 May].

93 34 [10 00] JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]

A To the most illustrious gentleman Gerardus Joannes Vossius, dearest Brother.

a Dearest Brother,

A long time ago, when you were here with us, you heard from me what I had in mind about the drawing up of a catalogue of artists; I do not at all change what I have done. But because I felt that some introductory sections had to precede it, and because one small

Swedish language and history in preparation of a position as historiographer there, **86g**. This seems to indicate that Vossius had not yet written to Junius after Dionysius' death the previous October, as he had done, for instance, to Erycius Puteanus. Junius probably sympathised with the Vossius family on Dionysius' death in an unretrieved letter which Vossius had received several weeks before he sent a letter to Jacob de Witt in Dordrecht dated 34 06 04, **101i**^a. Cf. Wrangel (1901:130), Rademaker (1981:335), Colomesius 1.215.

⁹ 1 Corinthians 6.12, "omnia mihi licent sed non omnia expediunt;" 10. 23, "omnia licent sed non omnia expediunt."

¹ *p1*: Colomesius 2.210. *p2*: *Epp. Vossius* 323; not collated. Delivered in Amsterdam by Johan van Heemskerck on 20 October 1634, so presumably written little earlier, **a**^a.

² Vossius had been in England in 1629 and seen the manuscript of Junius' *Catalogus artificum* (1694), **66a**, **58b**.

Sed dum ei rei prolegomena quaedam praemittenda putabam, observatiuncula una aliqua plures alias quandoque elicente ac post se veluti trahente, excrevit opus in iusti fere voluminis formam.³ Ac nova se quotidie materia suppeditante, metuo ne in nimiam tandem excrescat molem, quicquid illud est, quod ex diversissimis authoribus in unum quasi corpus congeffi. Interea per otium inspicias, scio, opusculum hoc a me elaboratum; ac me iudicii tui scientem quamprimum facies.⁴ *Dominus* Pettaeus, atque alii quidam viri, optimi meique amantissimi, ut edam suadent; minime tamen persuadere poterunt, nisi forte suffragio tuo iuventur.⁵ Vale, coniunctissime *Domine* affinis, cum sorore carissima atque omnibus liberis.

Raptim; Londini, in aedibus Arundelianis, anno 1634.

Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

⁹³ 94₉₅ 34 11 04 VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

- a Literis ad reverendissimum *Dominum* Archiepiscopum scribendis, atque aliis quibusdam, toto hoc mane distentus fui.² Et nunc imminet hora, quo nautae solvunt. Tamen eunte ad vos doctissimo et amicissimo Stephano Goffe, Ecclesiaste Anglo, non potui quin eam

³ Junius' "De pictura," which was to be published as *De pictura veterum libri tres* (Amsterdam: J. Blaeu, 1637) [On the Painting of the Ancients in Three Books], 99g^a. Originally the preface to the *Catalogus artificum*, it actually already consisted of several books, to which more material would still be added, and which had a reference title, 94b, 95b, 100a. It was dedicated to King Charles, 100a–e, 108. It is not a work on painting only, as Junius explained, for the term "painters" must be understood as referring to "all such Artificers as practise in any way any of the other Arts of that nature [any of the "imaginative" arts]," *Painting* 1.3.13, 116b. Furthermore, "the ancients" included the Greek and Roman worlds, as well as ancient Christian and—to a lesser extent—medieval societies. Although he had made it appear as if the result of his endeavour were just a large quantity of quotations on art from ancient sources, Junius had arranged them in such a way that they came to support his own theory of art. Thus, the book is a renaissance art theory, defence of art and instructional handbook at one and the same time, compiled from quotations of classical authors, 108. As Nativel (1996:15) has observed, *De pictura* "consiste dans un montagne de citations qui l'apparente tantôt au commentaire, tantôt au centon" (a "cento" being a poem composed of quotations of other poems). It met with such acclaim, 110, 114, that he prepared an English translation, a Dutch translation, and added material for a second edition, which was posthumously published together with *Catalogus artificum* in 1694, 116b, 129e, 155b. No manuscript copy of *De pictura* has been retrieved. Cf. Nativel (1986), *OCD* (1996:309);

observation now and then elicited many others and dragged them along behind itself, so to speak, the work almost swelled to the shape of a real book. And because new material is presenting itself daily, I fear that whatever it is that I have compiled from different authors into one corpus, as it were, will finally swell to too high a pile. Meanwhile, between times you will examine this small work I have endeavoured, I know, and you will let me know your opinion as soon as possible. Mr. Petty and some other excellent men who are deeply devoted to me advise me to publish it, but they will not in the least be able to persuade me, unless they may be supported by your vote. Farewell, dearest Brother, with dearest Sister and all children. In haste. In London, at Arundel House in the year 1634. Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

94 34 11 04 VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

- a** This whole morning I have been busy writing a letter to the right reverend lord archbishop and other ones. And now the time has come that the sailors set sail. Yet, since the most learned and friendly Stephen Goffe, the English minister, is going to you, I could not refrain from taking the opportunity to send you Hesychius and the

for an introduction to and discussion of *De pictura*, and a re-edition of Junius' English translation, cf. *Literature* 1; for a re-edition and French translation of Book 1 of the Latin second edition of 1694, general introduction and art-historical commentary to the text, cf. Nativel (1996); and both titles also for further references.

⁴ The manuscript of *De pictura* and the present letter accompanying it were delivered to Vossius by Johan van Heemskerck on the return of a delegation of the Dutch East India Company, of which he had been a member, on 20 October 1634, **107d**. For Vossius' opinion, cf. **94b**. Cf. Merens (1942:248n638, 249–50).

⁵ William Petty, who had been in Italy from the spring of 1633, but who may have briefly returned to England later that year to accept the living of Greystoke, part of the Arundel inheritance, as the earl of Arundel wished him to do. If so, he may have seen *De pictura* in a more advanced state than when he had left for Italy. Cf. Hervey (1921:336–39).

¹ *o*: UBA, M 99i.

² William Laud had become archbishop of Canterbury at George Abbot's death in August 1633. In his letter, dated 34 11 05, Vossius asked his advice on whether to dedicate the *Aristarchus* (1635) to either or both of King Charles' sons, **95c**. Vossius also wrote to Stephen Goffe. Cf. below, Colomesius 1.239, *ICVossius* (1993:202).

amplecterer occasionem mittendi tibi Hesychii, et glossarii veteris.³ Addidi et Reidanum filii, et Conciliatorem ab eo ex Hispanico translatum, cum oratione in laudem principis Frederici, ac *versibus*.⁴ Maimonidem eius proxima hebdomade praelo subiiciemus.⁵

b Tuos de pictura libros intra duas tres hebdomades remittam.⁶ Placet valde *opus*, etsi dimidiam sol[a]m partem legerim. Sed non dubito, quin caetera similiter sis mihi probaturus. Non remittam, nisi probe constiterit tuto committi. °Hesychius hic quoque tam rarus est, ut si quando reperiatur, nunquam minoris quam 12 aut 13 florenis veneat.⁷ Tuo tamen voto satisfaciendum putavi.

c Uxor valde imbecillis est. Metuere ei a tabe incipio. Indies macrescit, et tussicula augetur. Do operam, quantum possum, ut eam soler, et oblectem. De Iohanne quid dicam?⁸ Nulla ex parte mihi satisfacit. Sed de eo intra duas tres hebdomades.⁹ Nam tua mihi opera *opus* erit. Vale et a nobis omnibus salve.

MDCXXXIV, IV Novembris *stilo novo*.

Tuus affinis, Ger.Io. Vossius.

b Hesychius: Hesychi[i > us]

³ Stephen Goffe, or Gough (1605–1681), chaplain to the English regiment of Colonel Horace Vere (1565–1635), a relative of Junius' future pupil Aubrey de Vere, **152e**, in the Low Countries. In 1636 he was appointed one of King Charles' chaplains, and employed as his agent in Holland and elsewhere. Later he turned to Roman Catholicism and lived in Paris, where he was Queen Henrietta Maria's chaplain and catered for royalist exiles during the Commonwealth. Goffe attested to having delivered the present letter to Junius in a letter dated [34] 11 20/30?, Colomesius 2.194. *Hesychii Dictionarium* (Hagenau: Thomas Anshelm of Baden, 1521), one of the earliest publications of Hesychius' invaluable comprehensive Greek lexicon of rare words in poetry and the Greek dialects, probably composed in the 5th century A.D., yet only known from a fifteenth-century abridgement. Either this copy or the one Junius had bought for himself, **95a**, is now UBL, 759 B 3 (from Isaac Vossius' collection). It contains Junius' annotations, mainly underlinings and cross-references to pages. Junius must have asked for these books in an unretrieved letter written before August, when he had managed to buy a copy of Hesychius himself, **95a**. Junius may have needed the glossaries for *De pictura*, especially for the Greek passages included in it, **100e–g**. One of these was Bonaventura Vulcanius, *Thesaurus utriusque linguae, hoc est Philoxeni, aliorumque veterum authorum glossaria Latino–Graeca et Graeco–Latina* (Leiden, 1600), **95a**. Junius' copy is unretrieved, but the copy UBL, 758 B 19, has the inscription "Isaaci Vossii anno 1634," and may have been bought at the same time as Junius'. No appropriate auction catalogue is recorded in Gruys and de Kooker (d.d. 16 03 2001). Cf. *DNB* 22.69–70, *OCD* (1996:701–02).

⁴ Dionysius' translation of Everard van Reyd, *Historie* (1631), **69b**. Menasseh ben Israel, *Conciliator, sive De convenientia locorum S. Scripturae, quae pugnare inter se videntur* (Amsterdam, 1633), for which Dionysius had prepared the Latin translation from

ancient glossary. I have also added my son's van Reyd, and the *Conciliation* he translated from Spanish, with a speech in praise of Prince Frederick and as poetry. We will submit his *Maimonides* to the press next week.

- b** I will return your books on painting within two or three weeks. The work pleases me much, although I have read only half of it; but I do not doubt that you will please me in the same way in the rest. I will not return it, unless it is absolutely certain that it is safely entrusted. Also here Hesychius is so rare that, if it is found at all, it never sells for less than 12 or 13 guilders. But I thought your wish had to be fulfilled.
- c** My wife is very weak. I begin to fear for her because of consumption. From day to day she is losing weight and her light cough is growing worse. I am taking pains to comfort and divert her as best I can. What shall I say about Joannes? He does not please me in any respect. But about him within a week or two, for I will be needing your assistance. Farewell, and all of us wish you well.
1634, 4 November new style.
Your brother Ger.Jo. Vossius.

the Spanish *Conciliator . . . Esto es Conciliador* (Amsterdam, 1632), which Menasseh ben Israel (1604–1657), the Amsterdam rabbi who was befriended with the Vossius family, **186c**, had written “to reconcile the seeming contradictions of Scripture” (Katchen 1984:128) by means of Jewish commentaries on vexed passages in the Bible. Junius had presumably already received a copy of Dionysius’ *Panegyricus* (1633) when he was in Holland in 1633, **89c**. For Menasseh’s *Conciliador* and Dionysius’ translation, cf. Katchen (1984:128–44).

⁵ Dionysius Vossius, *R. Mosis Maimonidae De idololatria liber, cum interpretatione Latina et notis* (Amsterdam: J. and C. Blaeu, 1641), a Latin translation and a commentary of *Hilkhot ‘Avodah Zarah*, the part on idolatry of the *Mishneh Torah* of Moses ben Maimon (1135–1204), “a Hebrew codification of Jewish law and tradition” (Katchen 1984:vii) which had pressed its mark on the Jewish world. Menasseh ben Israel had suggested Dionysius to prepare it. It was intended to be printed in August 1637 and sent to William Laud the following October, but instead appeared together with Vossius’ *De theologia gentili* (1641), with which it shared the subject-matter, only in 1641. Cf. Colomesius 1.128, 287, **152a**, **118i**; on Dionysius’ *Maimonides*, cf. Katchen (1984:162–67, 178–235).

⁶ The manuscript of Junius’ *De pictura* (1637), which evidently already consisted of several books and bore “De pictura” as a reference title, **93a**. Junius asked Vossius in **95b** to fish out people’s opinion of it. Cf. Nativel (1996:93–94).

⁷ The copy Junius had bought in England was one guilder cheaper, **95a**.

⁸ Joannes Vossius had been summoned home from Cambridge, **87b**.

⁹ Cf. **99a–c**.

⁹⁴ 95 34 11 25 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]¹

A Praestantissimo viro Gerardo Ioanni Vossio, affini coniunctissimo.

a Coniunctissime *Domine* affinis,

Exprimere verbis nequeo, quam mihi gratae venerint literae, Glossarium Vulcanii, Hesychium aliosque libros ad me pervehentes; interim, quod verbis nunc assequi non possum, re ipsa, Deo dante, testabor.² Hesychium tribus quatuorve abhinc mensibus, in eum praeter spem incidens, undecim *florenis* emeram; Vulcanii Glossarium nusquam reperiebam.³ Quapropter, ut de eo mihi gratulor, ita neque impertune missus a te Hesychius, cum melioris notae plerosque authores bis coemere soleam, ut et hic Londinii, et in agris, ubi plerumque aestatem transigere solemus, bibliothecam qualitercumque instructam possideam.⁴

b Ingenue quid de schedis, quas ad te transmisi, sentiam fatebor.⁵ Invasit me commune hominum vitium, qui arbitrantur ea quae ipsi cum labore scripserunt ab aliis quoque cum voluptate legi. Nunc vero cum tute eas tibi non displicuisse testeris, teneri non possum, quin porro urgeam, ut certio rem me facias, an tuto famam periclitari possim deque edendis iis cogitare.⁶ Vidi Iul. Caes. Bulengeri, atque aliorum quorumdam super hac materia tractatulos; mihi tamen minime satisfacere potuerunt; requirebam in iis nescio quid, quod an ipse assequi potuerim, iudicandum tibi relinquo.⁷ Non contemnendum commentationibus istis adieci auctarium, ex quo ad vos missae sunt.⁸ Spes adhaec est uberioris materiae, prout ea se quotidie Catalogum Artificum perscripturo offert; non obstabo tamen quominus primos istos conatus ad periclitanda hominum iudicia divulges per amicorum aliquem, suppresso tamen scriptoris nomine, quod non

¹ p1: Colomesius 2.209. p2: *Epp. Vossius* 322; not collated.

² Letter 94, Bonaventura Vulcanius, *Thesaurus utriusque linguae* (1600), *Hesychii Dictionarium* (1521), Dionysius Vossius' translations of Everard van Reyd, *Historie* (1631), and Menasseh ben Israel, *Conciliator* (1633), and his *Panegyricus* (1633), 94a.

³ Junius accordingly may have bought it in August, and have asked Vossius for it in an unretrieved letter written before that time, 94a^a. He had bought it for one guilder less than Vossius, 94b.

⁴ The Arundel family used to spend summers at their country retreat in Albury, Surrey, cf. Hervey (1921:346), Howarth (1985:123).

⁵ Junius' future *De pictura* (1637), 93a.

95 34 11 25 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]

A To the most excellent gentleman Gerardus Joannes Vossius, dearest Brother.

a Dearest Brother,

I cannot express in words how welcome the letter which brought me Vulcanius' glossary, Hesychius and the other books was to me; meanwhile, I will testify in deed, God granting, what I cannot equal in words now. I bought Hesychius for eleven guilders three or four months ago, when I came across it beyond all hope; I have nowhere found Vulcanius' Glossary. And therefore, just as I congratulate myself with it, so you have sent Hesychius fittingly, because I usually buy most higher-quality authors twice, in order to have a modestly furnished library both here in London and in the country, where we are mostly used to pass the summer.

b I will frankly confess what I think of the sheets which I sent to you; I was seized by a common fault of mankind, who believe that what they wrote with pains will also be read by others with delight. But now that you yourself have testified that they did not displease you, I cannot be withheld from pressing you further to inform me whether I can safely risk my reputation and consider their publication. I have seen the small treatises on this subject by Jul.Caes. Bulengerus and some others, but they could not in the least satisfy me; in them I was missing something which I leave it to you to decide whether I have been able to achieve myself. To those commentaries I have been appending a considerable addition since they were sent to you. Moreover, there is promise of still more material according as it is daily presenting itself, when I am writing the catalogue of artists, yet I will not object to your spreading these first efforts through some friend in order to test people's judgements, but

⁶ Cf. **94b**. The book was printed by Joan Blaeu through the agency of Vossius, presumably at Junius' request, **98a***, **99g**.

⁷ Julius Caesar Bulengerus, *De pictura, plastice, statuaria* (1627), **58b**. For other work Junius may have known, cf. **63d**, *Literature* 1.lxiv-vi, Nativel (1996:88-90).

⁸ This addition and any more recent material was sent to Vossius with letter **100**. Contrary to Nativel's suggestion (1996:94; 1998:22), no material seems to have been sent with the present letter, so that the manuscript of *De pictura* cannot be taken to have been more or less finished at this time.

nisi curis secundis deberi puto.⁹ Caeterum de his plenius, si tu idem sentias.¹⁰

- c** Literas Stephani Goffe ad te transmittio, ex quibus reverendi Archiepiscopi consilium a proposito tuo diversum non esse intelliges.¹¹ Det Deus ut labores tui, quemadmodum merentur, Regi nostro ac Principi adlubescant. Siquid super ea re ad Dominum Goffe literarum perscribas, prima quaque occasione eas ad ipsum perferam; aut si forte absit, in agris ad eum perferendas curabo, quod ut comode fieri posset, ipse *Dominus* Goffe prospexit.
- d** Vivit Cantabrigiae in Collegio Divi Petri amicissimus mihi totique vestrae familiae *Dominus* Ioannes Francius, qui inclusas a se ad filium tuum Iohannem literas dedit.¹² Ait Praefectum Collegii Iesu, Richardum Stearne, ac reliquos istius Collegii socios paratos esse, ut prorogetur tempus illud absentiae, quod filio tuo indulserant; si modo per ipsum filium tuum aut per te postuletur.¹³ Siquid tibi tuisque ulla in re gratificari possim, nunquam expectationem tuam fallam. Precabor interim Deum *Optimum Maximum* ut tibi, uxori tuae, totique familiae vitam ac valetudinem firmam largiatur. Raptim; in aedibus Arundelianis, anno 1634, 15 Novembris *stilo vetere*. Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

96 34 12 11 JOANNES VOSSIUS (TEXEL) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

- A** *To his worthij and worschupfull friend Mr Fracois Junius att mij Lord of Arundell house att strand in Londo.*² *Cito Cito Cito.*
- a** Waerde ende Waerdige Oom
Dewijle mijn avansementen in Engeland vrugteloos sijn, en hier te landen buijten reden te hooge sonder weerdicheit aen te sien te coop.

⁹ Junius' *Catalogus artificum* (1694), **58b**.

¹⁰ Junius presumably continued on *De pictura* in the unretrieved letter.

¹¹ Stephen Goffe had informed Vossius that, after consultation with King Charles, Archbishop Laud advised him to dedicate all seven books of the *Aristarchus* (1635) to Charles, Prince of Wales (1630–1685), the future King Charles II, cf. **94a**, Colomesius 2.194.

¹² John Francius' letter to Joannes is unretrieved. Joannes had been summoned home from Cambridge, **87b**.

¹³ Though this is the first mention of Joannes' affair for most of 1633–34, more letters addressing it were no doubt written. In an unretrieved letter from the summer of 1633, Junius had written about a girl, **99b**, but Joannes admitted to having married only much later, **101e**. Vossius then asked Junius, presumably also in

keeping back the author's name, which I think is only due in a revised version. More about this if you feel likewise.

c I am sending to you Stephen Goffe's letter, from which you will understand that the reverend archbishop's advice is not at variance with your proposal. May God grant your exertions to be pleasing to our king and prince, just as they deserve. If you write a letter about this to Mr. Goffe, I will bring it to him at the first possible opportunity, or if he is perhaps away, I will let it be delivered to him in the country; Mr. Goffe himself saw to it that this could happen conveniently.

d In Cambridge at Peterhouse lives Mr. John Francius, who is deeply devoted to me and to your whole family, and who gave the enclosed letter by him to your son Joannes. He said that the master of Jesus College, Richard Sterne, and the other fellows of that college are prepared to extend that period of absence which they granted to your son, provided that it will be requested through your son himself or through you. If I am able to do a favour to you and your family in any respect, I will never fail your expectation. Meanwhile, I shall pray Allgood and Almighty God to bestow life and a firm health to you, your wife and whole family.

In haste. At Arundel House in the year 1634, 15 November old style.
Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

96 34 12 11 JOANNES VOSSIUS (TEXEL) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A [See the original address.]

a Worthy and venerable Uncle,
Since in England my progress is fruitless and in these parts for sale for too excessively high a price without prospect of honour, and

an unretrieved letter, to see if the master and fellows of Jesus College be prepared to prolong the two years' period of absence permitted to fellows, to which request Junius here replied. Since Joannes had been home from March 1633, his leave of absence would terminate in March 1635, 97b, 99a. An extra leave of absence was needed, because Joannes was at present equipping himself to sail as a fiscal to the East Indies, 96a. Richard Sterne (1596?–1683), master of Jesus College, Cambridge, had succeeded William Beale earlier in the year. In 1633 he had become chaplain to William Laud. Later he was to be archbishop of York. Cf. *Alumni Cantabrigienses* 3.160, *DNB* 54.221–23.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 102. First sent to Vossius and then forwarded to Junius only with letter 99.

² Possibly Joannes had copied the form of address, with its peculiar use of "friend" instead of "uncle," from a letter sent to him by one of his English friends.

ende het leeg gaen mijn schaedelijk, schandelijk, en *verdrietig* valt, hebbe met vrunden die mij wel wenste geraedslaegt, ende alsoo aengenommen, het Fiscaelschap Generael *over* een vloot van elf wel gemonteerde schepen naer oosten.³ (Doch dit moet *propter considerationes* V.E. wel bekend niemant geseijt worden voor al eer mijn plaets gere-nuntieert is) wesende daer bij raed inde krijgsraed van Batavia, met brieven van hooge recommandatie, naer mijn comportedement, daer ick hoope. sal God mijn genade toe geven, verhoopende dat neffens V.E. gebed daer toe V.E. ook mij sal assisteren inde Procuratie, mijn lieve vader gegeven, om mijn saeke in Engeland te effene, te weten in het beneficiëren van mijn plaets, in het ontfangen van mijn dividende, ende goederen mijn toecomende, in het *Collegie* aldaer.⁴

- b** Wat aengaet de saeke °van Prudentia Greene ende mijn, ick hebbe haer van alles geschreven.⁵ Ende V.E. sal co[m]en een Charitabele acte doen in haer te troosten, van wegen mijn gedwongene absentie, hebbe nu °alreede een ridderlijke dienst, jae beter als Reael gehad heeft in sijn uijt vaeren,⁶ en sal niet weder te huijs comen, door de Genade Gods, ofte sal haer, en mijn, en alle vrunde, tot groote eere wesen, assisteert haer daeromme, lieve oom, met troosten. *Charus Parens* heeft mijn belofte gedaen mijnes niet te *vergeten*, nocte dien ick wel will. Ick sal naer mijn *vermogen*, niet naer laeten mijn °concientie te toonen, twijfele niet ofte het officium, ken haer en

b van: [- *aldaer*] van | alreede: [- *ald*] alreede | [- *consitie*] concientie

³ Having spent nearly two years at home upon bungling his studies at Cambridge, **87b**, **95d**, Joannes had just become chief public prosecutor before a court martial for the Dutch East India Company, which position Vossius had managed to secure for him, **b**, **97a**, **101a**. Founded in 1602, the powerful and prestigious Company was concerned with trade and government in the East, and included many of the Amsterdam magistracy among its board. In this way, Joannes could earn the money to pay off his debts and support himself and Prudence Greene on his return, **b**, **97a**. Since getting him equipped had cost another two thousand guilders, his departure to the Indies should be kept secret in England, so that his leave of absence from Cambridge could be prolonged and Junius could then try to sell the Cambridge fellowship to one of those who had already before offered money for it, **97**, **101c**, **e**. Junius was also asked to arrange the remaining affairs of Joannes' Cambridge life, such as collecting the shares Joannes used to receive from his fellowship, in order to solve the debts, and taking care of his books and furniture, **97f**. To this end, Joannes had granted his father authorization to arrange his affairs during his absence, **97d**. Joannes also wished his uncle to care for Prudence, **b**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:333), Gaastra (1982, esp. 26–34).

being idle is disadvantageous, disgraceful and saddening to me, I have consulted with friends who wish me well, and thus accepted the position of chief public prosecutor on a fleet of eleven well-equipped ships to the East (but this should not be told to anyone *for reasons* you know well before my place has been relinquished), being in addition councillor in the Council of War of Batavia, with letters of great recommendation. In accordance with my behaviour, as I hope, God will grant me grace, in the hope that, besides your prayer, you will also assist me to this end with the authorization given to my dear father to settle my affairs in England, that is, profiting from my place, receiving my allowance, and the furniture belonging to me at the college there.

b As for the affair of Prudence Greene and me, I wrote to her about everything. You will come to do something charitable by comforting her because of my enforced absence. I have a knightly position already, well, even better than Reael had at his setting out to sea, and I will only return, by God's grace, to be a great honour to her, me and all friends. Do assist her, dear Uncle, by comforting her. Dear Father promised me not to forget me, nor those whom I would wish. I will not fail to show my concern as best I can; I do not

⁴ *beneficieeren*: probably from "to benefit," "to get advantage, to profit," cf. *OED*. Joannes' authorization unretrieved.

⁵ Prudence Greene, the girl Joannes Vossius had secretly married in Cambridge, details unidentified, **100j**. At Vossius' request, Junius fished out that she came from a decent yet impoverished family, **101d**, **104c**, **105b**, **e-g**. For initial support, she received Joannes' college furniture and what was left of his College share, cf. below, **99b**, **100j**, **101f**, **102h**, **105d**. In order to save money she furthermore decided to move to her sister in Lincolnshire, **105g**. Several times she urged Junius to consider her situation, **111d**, **113e**, and he was prepared to support her somewhat from his own money, if need be, although Vossius and Elizabeth Junius were not in favour, **111d**, **112d**. Joannes' untimely death, of which they heard in the autumn of 1637, made her try to get an inheritance, and renewed the question of the legitimacy of their marriage, **100j**, **115d**. Joannes may have written her with the assistance of a native speaker, for he claimed he could not write in English, cf. below. This was probably the letter Junius attested to have with him in **100j**.

⁶ Laurens Reael (1583–1637), the Dutch Governor-General of the East Indies from 1616 to 1619, at the time of the present letter one of the administrators of the East India Company in Amsterdam, and member of the Amsterdam magistracy. He had first sailed out as commander of a fleet of four ships destined for the Moluccas in 1611. He was probably one of the connections that had helped secure Joannes' position, for he was a close friend of Pieter Cornelisz Hooft and Joost van den Vondel, with whom Vossius was also befriended, **129e**^a. Cf. *NNBW* 4.1121–25, Rademaker (1981:260–64).

mijn dubbelt voeden. Indien sij mijn sin soude doen sij soude gaen woonen bij haer oom Robert Bendich, alwaer sij welkom sal sijn, *vermaent* haer ook dat sij moet hebben van den selvigen oom eens 5 ll. en eens 4 ll. sterl. dien ick sijn soon Roger *verschooten* hebbe reijssende naer Westindien.⁷ Excuseert mij ook dat °ick haer niet schrijve, want sij soude uijt mijn Engels spelle geen sin vatten.⁸ den 11 *Decembris* 1634 *stilo novo*. uijt onse Vloot leggende in Texel op het schip Amstelrdam uijt vaerende met den commandeur Generael.⁹

V.E. dienstwillige neef Johan de Voss.

97 35 01 03 MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

a *Mi Avuncule,*

Postquam diu animo frater Iohannes fluctuavit, tandem °maiore spiritu arrepto, quamvis parentes incumbere studiis maluissent et medicum vel aliud quid agere, in Indiam Occidentalem ire statuit.² Nec defuit parens, animo eius perspecto, pro immenso amore erga liberos, hanc eius opinionem °fovere, omnemque movere lapidem, ut pro honore familiae dignitatem apisceretur.³ Itaque indefessus rogando urbis huius rectores, eo tandem perduxit, °fisci ut °advocatus designaretur. Unde profecto emolumenti non parum, °nec minus honoris ad ipsum, si qualem oportet se gerat, sit redundaturum. Etenim quamvis stipendium quingentos °floreos °non multo excedat, lucrum tamen °futurum triplo maius ob delinquentium multitudinem (quod in incondita °turba

b ick: \ick/

97a maiore: [- *gen*] maiore | fovere: [- *fov*] fovere | fisci: [- *ut*] fisc | advocatus: advocatu[- *m*]s | nec: [- *ad*] nec | florenos: [- *non*] florenos | non: \non/ | futurum: \futurum/ | turba... solet: [*multitudine locum habere ipse scis* > turba... solet]

⁷ Robert and Roger Bendich, Prudence Greene's uncle and cousin, details unidentified.

⁸ Joannes had presumably learnt English from hearing, not from reading. In his first letter from England, he had spelt English words as they sounded to Dutch ears, such as "Hangtenkoert" for "Hampton Court," "miledi" for "my lady," Rawl. 84b, ff. 117–18, cf. App3. He had written her, though, cf. below.

⁹ The ship "Amsterdam," with Commander-General Pieter Dircksz, was to sail from Texel on 26 December 1634, in a fleet of six vessels, and arrive in Batavia, East Indies, on 14 June 1635, cf. Bruijn *et al.* (1979, no. 451.2).

doubt that the post can support her and me twice. If she were to do as I pleased, she would stay with her uncle Robert Bendich, where she will be welcome. Do also tell her that she should get from this same uncle once 5 pounds and once 4 pounds sterling, which I lent to his son Roger when he travelled to the West Indies. Do excuse me also that I do not write her, for she would not be able to make sense of my English spelling.

11 December 1634 *new style*, from our fleet moored at Texel, from the ship *Amstelrdam*, sailing with the commander general.

Your obliging nephew Johan de Voss.

97 35 01 03 MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

a My uncle,

After he had long mentally hesitated, Brother Joannes took rather great courage and finally decided to go to the West Indies, although our parents had preferred him to devote himself to studies and to become a physician or something else. Having noticed his [son's] resolution, Father did not fail to favour his opinion in accordance with his boundless love for his children, and to move every stone to acquire an official dignity in accordance with the family honour. So, by indefatigably soliciting the magistracy of this town, he finally succeeded in him being appointed chief public prosecutor, from which surely great profit and as much honour will ensue, if he behaves himself as he should. For, although the income does not much exceed five hundred guilders, most people are assured that the profit will be thrice as much because of the high number of transgressors (which

¹ *d*: UBA, D 96c. On an otherwise blank part of the sheet, "a quanqua S.P. Quamquam a o/ A fama fama malum quo non aliud velocius fama." Vergil, *Aeneid* 4.174–75, 12a.

² Having spent nearly two years at home upon bungling his studies at Cambridge, Joannes Vossius had just sailed off to the East Indies as chief public prosecutor, 96a. In the present letter, Matthaëus informed Junius of Joannes' proposal to sell his Cambridge fellowship and of the steps they would like Junius to take. The information in this letter reached Junius earlier than letter 96. Joannes went to the East, not the West Indies, cf. Rademaker (1981:333–35).

³ Erasmus, *Adage* 330, "omnem movere lapidem." Vossius, 96a.

usu venire solet) plerique confidunt. Sed haec tibi, °mi avuncule, dicta sunt, urgente taciturnitatem necessitate.

- b** Enimvero cum socius collegii Iesu sit, atque adeo tempus ipsius pene expiravit, omnis in eo metus ne priusquam hac °in re provisum fuerit, re palam facta, dignitate °privetur. Nec tantum inde ipsius damnus sed et familiae sequeretur. Quippe °multos, °abhinc °aliquot °mensibus spes ea fovit, °fieri posse °fratri ut succederent, si magna aeris vi oblata perfundere °potuissent, loco ut cederet suo. Nec hactenus, quamdiu in incerto animus ipsius °pependit, conata perficere potuerunt. Nunc in aliis se addixerit, spreta placent. Forsan sero nimis, nisi quid in te opis sit. Biennium impetrarat, quo ipsi collegio abesse liceret; atque id tempus °impleturum °kalendis Martii.
- c** Scripseras, °mi avuncule, eo forsam rem deduci posse, continuaretur ut ipsi °societas.⁴ Quod °impetrari si valeat, °priusquam in Indias profectum fama vulgaverit, salva res erit, °dum maiori lucro cum his qui aere suo dignitatem eam se indepturos sperant transigere detur. °Tuum ob id erit pro veteri affectu nihil inausum intentatumve relinquere, quo °nos, quo ipsum, beneficio hoc obstringere valeas. Plurimum certe eum in re poteris per °socios eiusdem collegii, quos postea mentionem facturum sumus ipsi addictissimos.⁵
- d** Hoc itaque ut impetretur primo postulatum venimus; sin fieri nequeat °antequam concessum tempus °expiravit, cum quodam °anhelantium sic convenias, petimus, ut lucrum °inde ad fratrem non exiguum perveniat. Mille ei hic florenos oblatos memini; tantumdem

a mi: mi[- hi] | **b** in: \in/ | privetur: [- ca] privetur | multos: mult[i > o]s | abhinc: [- iam] abhinc | aliquot: [- retro] aliquot | mensibus: mens[ibus > es > ibus] | fieri: [- futur] fieri | fratri: \fratri/ | potuissent: [fratri pos. > potuissent] | pependit: [penderet > pependit] | impleturum: d impletum | kalendis: [- circa] kalendis | **c** mi: [- mi] mi | societas: [canonicatus > societas] | impetrari: [fieri > impetrari] | priusquam: [- salva res erit] priusquam | dum: [- et] dum | Tuum: [- Tuum ob] Tuum | nos: no[- bi]s | socios . . . addictissimos: [- illustrissimum ac reverendissimum in Christo Patrem ac Dominum Wilhelmus Cantuariensium Antistitem, cuius ex ore habere te quod scripseras confidimus > socios . . . addictissimos.] | **d** antequam concessum: [ut ante > priusquam > antequam concessum] | expiravit: expira[tum > vit] | anhelantium: [- an] anhelantium | inde: [- aliquod] inde

⁴ Cf. 95d.

⁵ "socios . . . addictissimos" occurs instead of the deletion, "illustrissimum ac reverendissimum in Christo Patrem ac Dominum Wilhelmus Cantuariensium Antistitem, cuius ex ore habere te quod scripseras confidimus" [the most illustrious and right

is usually the case in rude company). But this is being told to you, my uncle, while silence is urged by necessity.

- b** For, as he is a fellow of Jesus College, and his time has almost entirely expired, he is all fear that he will be deprived of the dignity when it becomes public before there has been provided for him in this respect; and from this not only injury to himself but also to the family would ensue. For several months, actually, many people have been cherishing the hope that they might be able to take Brother's place, if they had been able to flood him by offering a large amount of money, so that he would relinquish his place. But as yet, as long as his mind was lingering in uncertainty, they have not been able to materialise their efforts. Now that he has devoted himself to something else, what he had formerly rejected will be welcome. Perhaps too late, unless you give any assistance. He was given two years in which he was allowed to be absent from the college, and this period will end on the Kalends of March [1 Mar.].
- c** You had written, my uncle, that it can perhaps be brought down to his fellowship being continued. If it is possible that this is accomplished before the rumour that he has left for the Indies has spread, all will be well, because it will be granted to him to negotiate with greater profit with those who hope to obtain that dignity with their money. It will therefore be up to you to leave nothing undared or untried in accordance with old affection, with which favour you can oblige both us and him. You will surely be able to do much for him in this respect through the fellows of the same college, of whom we will make mention later, who are deeply devoted to him.
- d** So, first of all, we have come to ask this to be accomplished; but if it is impossible to do so before the period granted has expired, we ask of you to agree with one of the aspirants in such a way that great profit ensues from it for Brother. I remember that a thousand guilders have been offered to him here. It is left to your discretion whether it can be brought about that he agrees to just as much or more. But if not, Father and Brother will still regard whatever you

reverend Father in Christ and lord William archbishop of Canterbury, from whose mouth you had what you wrote, we trust]. The Vossius family obviously decided it was wiser not to involve Archbishop Laud, who had urged for Joannes' return home, **87b**, **90a**; but cf. **101g**.

°vel amplius annuat impetrari valeat, tuae prudentiae committitur. °Sin minus quicquid °tamen ea in re factum a te fuerit firmum ratumque parens fraterque habituri sunt. Nec aliam ob causam exemplar °concessae parenti a fratre potestatis | traductum in linguam °Latinam ad te transmittitur, quam ut securus cuncta agas, et aliis tui arbitrii factam rem totam persuadere valeas.⁶ Scio inter tantas occupationes molestum id tibi fore, scio etiam nihil tibi arduum videri, modo familiae consulas, quae °si unquam opera indigerit tua, nunquam hoc tempore melius locare potuisti.

e Maximi sumtus facti adornando iis rebus quae itineri ipsius necessariae forent, magna etiam ipse debita contraxit, quibus cum ipse solvendo non sit, vadem reliquit parentem, qui pro ipso sponndit.⁷ Proin si °aliquantum aeris °ea ipsius societate confici valeat, °iucundissimum nobis erit. Idcirco ipse etiam reditus annuos donec satisfactum foret parenti, et °quicquid ei e collegio debetur hoc °quo affuit biennio °addixit.

f °Nunc id optat °frater, priusquam aliquid coneris, trimestri reditus petas, quo tanto maiori emolumento cuncta exsequi possis. Caeterum hac in re °nequicquam absque consilio Doctoris Hallii, Thomae Canonii atque Busilui fieri postulat, quos intimos ipse semper habuit.⁸ °Iohanni Francioni vix quicquid credi velit; causam ignoro.⁹ Utilem tamen ipsius operam in eo futuram; expiscando °cuius cuncti de se °opinionis °sint. °A Georgio Sterne catalogum librorum caeterarumque rerum a se in collegio relictarum expostulandum °censet.¹⁰ Eius tamen credo opinionis °est, ut in collegio relinquatur omnia donec °cum aliquo transactum erit. Thomam autem Canonium admonendum putat uti reditus biennii, quas dividendas ipse sua in

d vel amplius: [annu > vel amplius] | Sin minus: [Ita ut > Sin minus] | tamen: \tamen/ | concessae: [- conf] concessae | Latinam: [- linguam] Latinam | si: [- M] si | e aliquantum: [- quicquid] aliquantum | ea: [- ab] ea | iucundissimum nobis erit: [non alieno num inviti audiremus > iucundissimum nobis erit.] | quicquid: [- pro] quicquid | quo affuit: \quo affuit/ | addixit: [- ..] addixit | f Nunc: [- Ob id] Nunc | frater: \frater/ | nequicquam: quicquam | Iohanni . . . erit: \Iohanni . . . erit/ | cuius: [quatenus > cuius] | opinionis: opinion[- em]is | sint: [- habeant] sint | A: [- A] A | censet: [medit > censet] | est: \est/ | cum aliquo: \cum aliquo/

⁶ Joannes' authorization, 96a.

will have done in this as definite and settled. A copy of the authorization Brother granted to Father, translated into Latin, is sent over to you for no other reason than in order for you to do everything unconcerned, and to be able to convince others that it is all done in accordance with your judgement. I know this will be troublesome to you among such great occupations; I also know that nothing appears hard to you, as long as you take care for the family, and if ever it needed your assistance, you could never have better offered it than at this moment.

e Great expenses have been made in equipping him with that gear which will be necessary for his voyage, and he also contracted great debts, for which he left Father as a surety, who bailed for him, because he cannot pay them himself. So, if it is possible to procure any money from his fellowship, it will be most pleasant to us. For this purpose he has also resigned to his father the yearly revenues and whatever is owed him from the college during these two years that he was absent, until it is paid.

f Now, Brother wished you to ask for a revenue of three months before you try anything, to enable you to accomplish everything with so much more profit. Yet he solicited that in this nothing is done without the advice of Dr. Hall, Thomas Canon and Bussy, who have always been his friends. He wanted hardly anything to be confided to John Francius; I do not know why, but his assistance will be useful for fishing out what everybody's opinion is of him. He proposed that a list of books and other possessions he left behind in the college must be asked from George Stearne. Yet he is of the opinion, I believe, that everything should be left at the college until there is an agreement with someone. And he believes that, as he is the bur-sar of the college, Thomas Canon must be reminded to give you the revenue of the two years—which he calls shares legitimately owed

⁷ More than two thousand guilders in all, **101c**.

⁸ Stephen Hall (d. 1661), president of Jesus College, Cambridge, a fellow from 1619 until 1644 and benefactor of the college; Thomas Canon (c.1600–1668), a fellow of Jesus College from 1620 to 1637, and taxor of the college from 1627; and possibly Charles Bussy (d. 1662), fellow of Jesus College from 1626 to 1644. Cf. *Alumni Cantabrigienses* 2.288, 1.289, 1.271, Gray and Brittain (1960, s.v. Hall).

⁹ John Francius, who had sent Joannes a letter, **95d**.

¹⁰ George Stearne, who had sent Joannes a letter, **91a**.

epistola vocat, iuste sibi debitas °administrator enim proventuum collegii est tibi tradat. Ex antedictis tamen colligere °mihi videor °huiusmodi non esse ipsius °mentem, ut quamprimum eo veneris cuncta petas, °cum tantum trimestri reditus mentio facta ante fuerit.

g Nimum scio, mi avuncule, inter tantas occupationes tuas te oneramus. Caeterum in tali negotio quid agendum sit probe gnarus es; non potest totum exteris committi ipsi exsequi tam longo dissiti intervallo, non possumus; parati alioquin hoc oneris °et graviora subire. Utinam modo me °laborem istum recipere °daretur, ostenderem °quam paratus forem °te hoc liberare. Nunc cum fieri nequeat, ad te confugiendum est cuius prudentiae cuncta °committimus; gnari satis nihil acturum, nisi °quod ex re nostra futurum sit. °Etiam si non omnia ex animi sententia evenerint, satis superque nobis erit Iunium cuncta administrasse. Vale, mi avuncule, et plurimum salve a parentibus totaque familia, quae anni huius felix tibi exordium feliciter progressum, finem denique felicissimum precatur.¹¹
Dabam Amstelodami, anno 1635, °3 Ianuarii die.
Tuus in aeternum devinctus tibi cognatus, Matthaeus Vossius.

° 98 35 01 04 VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

a Ger.Io. Vossius Francisco Iunio F.F., affini coniunctissimo, *salutem plurimam*.

Accepi literas tuas, uti et ornatissimi et amicissimi Goffii.² Ex iis intellico, ut in epistolae inscriptione de principatu Walliae debeat praeteriri. Sed addit, super eodem ad me literas daturum *Dominum*

f administrator . . . est: \administrator . . . est/ | mihi: [*me* > mihi] | huiusmodi: [- *non*] huiusmodi | mentem: [*opinionem* > mentem] | cum tantum: [*dum* > cum tantum] | **g** et: [- *et graviora subire utinam modo liberai*] et | laborem istum: \laborem istum/ | daretur: [- *in me cuncta*] daretur | quam: [- *nihil*] quam | te: [- *onere*] te | committimus: [- *his literis omissa*] committimus | quod: [- *emolumento familiae*] quod | Etiam si: [- *Etenim si*] Etiam si | 3: [2 > 3]

¹¹ For the New Year wish, cf. 77d.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 100k. *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 48. Presumably a reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**.

² Junius' letter to Vossius unretrieved. It was written after letter 95 and "long before" letter 100, possibly at Christmas 1634, 100j. It contained information on Joannes Vossius' affairs in Cambridge and asked Vossius what to think of Prudence

to him in his letter. Yet, from the aforesaid I seem to gather that his intention is not such that you demand everything as soon as you come there, since mention was made before of a revenue of three months only.

g My uncle, we burden you heavily among such great occupations, I know. But you know well what must be done in such a business; all this cannot be entrusted to strangers; we ourselves cannot accomplish it at such a long distance, although we are otherwise prepared to take this burden, and heavier ones, upon ourselves. If only it were granted to me to assume this duty, I would show how prepared I am to relieve you from it; now, because it cannot happen, we must have recourse to you, to whose discretion we entrust everything, because we know well enough that you will do nothing that is not in our interest. Even if not everything happens in accordance with our heart's desires, it will be more than enough for us that Junius has managed it all. Farewell, my uncle, and my parents and the whole family wish you well, and they wish the beginning of this year to be happy, its progression happier and the end happiest for you. I wrote at Amsterdam in the year 1635 on the third day of January. Your nephew devoted to you for ever, Matthaëus Vossius.

98 35 01 04 VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

a Ger.Jo. Vossius [gives] warmest regards to dearest Brother Francis Junius F.F.

I received your letter, as well as the one from the most excellent and friendly Goffe. From it, I understand that the phrase about the principedom of Wales must be omitted in the title of the letter. Yet he adds that Mr. Dean, who instructs the prince of Great Britain,

Greene, **100j**. Presumably, it also included Junius' proposal to have *De pictura* (1637) printed by Joan Blaeu, **95b**, **99g**. And, while letter **95** had enclosed Stephen Goffe's letter dated 34 11 20, **95c**, the unretrieved letter enclosed Goffe's letter dated 34 12 03, which Vossius summarized in this section. In it, Goffe indicated he had consulted Brian Duppa, cf. below, who had consulted the earl of Arundel in his function as Earl Marshal, who had consulted King Charles on the question of whether Vossius should address Charles, Prince of Wales, as "Prince of Wales" in the dedication to *Aristarchus* (1635), **95c**. The king had declared his son was properly addressed not "Prince of Wales," but "Prince of Great Britain, duke of Cornwall, etc.," and had the correct form of address formulated and intimated to Vossius through William Boswell. Cf. Colomesius 2.192.

Decanum, qui principem magnae Britanniae informat.³ Eas avidè in horas exspecto.⁴ Nihil enim nunc aliud editionem praefationis moratur, caeteris ad umbilicum p̄ductis. Sed si intra dies sex septem nullas accepero, iudicabo eum scribendi consilium deposuisse. Nec ausim ulterius editionem differre. De caeteris cognosces ex literis, quas σὺν θεῷ proxima hebdomade scribam, ac tum quoque ad geminas Goffii nostri respondebo.⁵

Pridie nonas Ianuarii anni MDCXXXV, quem tibi totique Iunianae familiae prosperum exopto.

Tuus, G.V.

99₁₀₀ 35 01 15 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Nobili et praestantissimo Francisco Iunio Fr.F. agenti in aedibus illustrissimi Comitis Arondeliana, Londini. Cito Cito.

a Ger.Io. Vossius Francisco Iunio F.F. *salutem plurimam dicit.*

Spero iam acceperis fasciculum, quem de rebus Ioannis mei ad te ante duas hebdomadas misit filius Matthaeus.² Sed incuria famulae factum, ut tum reperiri non potuerint literae filii Ioannis tibi inscriptae, quas nunc mitto.³ Necessè sit negotium eius Cantabrigiae expediri ante kalendas Martias. Nam tum expirabit tempus emanendi e Collegio concessum. Rogo, agas in hoc eius negotio quantum honestas sinit. Quod vitae genus deinceps initurus sit filius, fortasse iam perscripserit. Sin reticuit, quod credere malo, proximis ex literis meis cognosces.⁴

b Petierat Ioannes, ut ex utensilibus pluscula darentur isti, de qua

a nostri: nosti

³ Brian Duppa (1588–1662), dean of Christ Church, Oxford, and chancellor of Salisbury, who had recently become tutor to Charles, Prince of Wales, and his brother Prince James (1633–1701), the future King James II, through Archbishop Laud's mediation. Later he was to be bishop of Chichester, Salisbury and Winchester. Cf. *DNB* 16.242–43. Vossius and Duppa had met in Oxford, cf. Colomesius 1.255.

⁴ No letter of Duppa to Vossius retrieved, cf. *ICVossius* (1993, s.v.).

⁵ Letter 99. Vossius' letter to Goffe unretrieved, cf. *ICVossius* (1993, s.v.).

¹ *o*: UBA, M 99j. On verso in unidentified hand, "4 stuiver." *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, ff. 49–50. *p*: Colomesius 1.244, after *c*. Colomesius silently inserted 101j–l, "Dum

will write me a letter about it. I am looking forward to it every hour, for nothing else delays the printing of the preface now, since the remainder has been brought to a close. But if I have not received one within six or seven days, I will conclude that he has given up the intention to write. I dare not delay printing any further. You will hear about the rest from the letter I will write next week, *God willing*, and then I will also answer the two from our Goffe.

The day before the Nones of January in the year 1635, which I wish to be prosperous for you and the whole Junius family [4 Jan.].
Yours, G.V.

99 35 01 15 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the noble and most distinguished Francis Junius F.F. residing at the house of the most illustrious earl of Arundel in London. Haste. Haste.

a GerJoh. Vossius gives warmest regards to Francis Junius F.F. I hope you have already received the parcel concerning my Joannes' affairs which my son Matthaeus sent to you two weeks ago. Due to the maid's negligence it happened then that we could not find my son Joannes' letter addressed to you, which I am sending now. His affair must be arranged in Cambridge before the Kalends of March [1 Mar.], for then the period permitted for being absent from the college will have expired. I ask you to do in this affair as much as our respectability allows. My son may already have written what kind of life he is about to enter next. But if he kept silent, which I prefer to believe, you will hear it from my next letter.

b Joannes had asked most of his furniture to be given to her about whom you already wrote to me a year and a half ago. If only she

in his scribendis sum . . . et ab uxore et liberis salve," at the end of this letter. This letter enclosed letter 96, cf. a.

² Matthaeus Vossius had sent letter 97 indicating how, having spent nearly two years at home upon bungling his studies at Cambridge, Joannes Vossius had just sailed off to the East Indies as chief public prosecutor, 96a. Sections a–c give Vossius' version of Joannes' situation, 101a–g.

³ Letter 96.

⁴ Cf. 101a.

iam ante sesquiannum ad me scripseras.⁵ Si modo eadem est, quod mihi negat. Verum toties deceptus, nescio quid credere debeam. Quae autem ei tribui velit, charta quadam complexus fuit, sed non possum nunc invenire.⁶ Sunt lectus, mensa, et similia; libros, chartas, picturam meam, et id genus, voluit huc transmitti.⁷ Sed nihil °certi adhuc possum °perscribere. Opera dabitur, ut reperiatur ipsius filii manus.

- c** Quam male sibi istis amoribus consuluit filius! Haec mihi devoranda, qui post quinquaginta annorum in studiis labores aliquam mihi in liberis requiem sperabam. Nunc non minus diu noctuque laborandum, quam adolescenti olim fuit. Quam illas veteres delicias °meas Dionysium desidero, qui ingenio divino, probitate eximia, assiduis in omni prope doctrinarum genere studiis, moribus adhaec suavissimis, quicquid molestiae obtingebat unus facile detergebat.⁸ Nunc et eo careo, et ex altero nihil nisi molestias percipio. Sic Deus castigat suos.
- d** Cui interea gratias ago, ob tot alia beneficia; et inter ea, quod non Franciscus modo et Matthaeus se valde mihi probant, verum Isaacus etiam cum Gerardo sic vitam et studia componunt, ut prope spem conceperim, quod damni et familia mea, et °literaria *Respublica* in Dionysio fecit per eos aliquando posse resarciri.⁹ Matthaeus intra hebdomadam unam alteram typographo excudendam dabit Historiam | Comitum Hollandiae.¹⁰ Non dubito quin placitura sit.
- e** Tandem ab amplissimo *Domino* Boswello, regia negotia apud nos curante, certi aliquid de inscriptione °sive principalibus titulis accipi.¹¹ Quare nunc nihil superest, quam ut praefatio excudatur. Maturabo quantum possum.

b certi adhuc: *p* adhuc certi | perscribere: *p* scribere | **c** meas Dionysium: *c*, *p* Dionysium meum | **d** literaria *Respublica*: *p* *Respublica* literaria | **e** sive principalibus titulis: \sive principalibus titulis/

⁵ Prudence Greene, but Junius had probably written about another girl, **101e**. Junius' letter to Vossius, dating from mid 1633, unretrieved. Prudence's mother had transferred the furniture to their place, **102h**.

⁶ Joannes' list of his Cambridge furniture unretrieved, **101f**.

⁷ The portrait of Vossius was probably a reproduction of one of the portraits by the Leiden painter David Bailly (1585/6?–1657) or Michiel Jansz van Mierevelt (1567–1641). The one drawn by Bailly and dated 1624 is reproduced in Rademaker

is the same, which he denies me. But having been deceived so often, I do not know what I should believe. He explained on a sheet of paper what he wishes to be given to her, but I cannot find it now. They are a bed, a table and the like; he wanted books, papers, a portrait of me, and that kind of things to be sent here. But I cannot write anything definite yet. We will take pains to find my son's writing.

- c What ill service he did to himself with these loves! They must be swallowed by me, who hoped for some rest for myself in my children after fifty years' toil in studies. Now I have to toil day and night no less than I had to as a young man. How I miss those old delights—my Dionysius, who easily removed whatever trouble arose on his own by his divine intellect, extraordinary uprightness, diligent studies in almost all kinds of learning, and besides, by the sweetest manners. Now I both miss him and get nothing but trouble from the other one. Thus God chastises his people.
- d I meanwhile thank Him for so many other blessings, and among them that not only Franciscus and Matthaëus are making themselves most acceptable to me, but also that Isaac and Gerardus are organizing their lives and studies in such a way that I have almost conceived the hope that whatever loss both my family and the Republic of Letters have experienced in Dionysius can be mended again by the others one day. Within a week or two Matthaëus will submit the history of the counts of Holland to a publisher to be printed; I do not doubt that it will be pleasing.
- e I finally received something definite concerning the address of princely titles from the most magnificent Mr. Boswell, who concerns himself with the king's affairs with us. So there remains nothing now than to print the preface. I will hasten it as much as I can.

(1981:iv), the one drawn by Bailly or van Mierevelt in 1632 in van Regteren Altena and van Thiel (1964, no. 73), cf. Rademaker (1981:207–08, 331–32).

⁸ Dionysius Vossius had died in 1633, **92c**.

⁹ Franciscus Vossius was Amsterdam city attorney; Matthaëus Vossius had applied himself to studying Dutch history; Isaac (1618–1689) and Gerardus Vossius (1619–1640) were educated by their father and brothers at home, **84c**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:252).

¹⁰ Matthaëus Vossius, *Annalium* (1635), **103c**.

¹¹ King Charles had had the Prince of Wales' titles for Vossius's dedication of the *Aristarchus* (1635) sent via William Boswell, **98a**.

- f** Scire te arbitror, ut iam tertium annum Lugduni vivat vir summus Claudius Salmasius, qui eo invitatus pretio, quo olim Ioseph Scaliger.¹² Atque id non mediocrem ei invidiam peperit apud unum alterum professorum, imprimis Gandensem.¹³ Mihi vero, qui gaudeo tantum virum his terris agere, non mediocris cum eo amicitia intercedit, nec per literas modo, sed sic etiam ut subinde alter alterius praesentia fruamur.¹⁴ Sane triduo toto ante menses duos cum uxore apud me °divertit.¹⁵ Qua occasione a me petiit, ut meo suoque nomine a te peterem exemplar statuæ °palliatae ex monumentis °Arondelianis.¹⁶ Habet sub manibus grande opus de re vestiaria, ubi ad amussim °ei exprimentae formae togae, pallii, sagi, paludamenti, et similium.¹⁷ Pollicitus est, quod pictori tribueris id quam primum se velle refundere. Conatus est aliquid in argumento hoc Bayfius, sed tantum conatus.¹⁸ Adeo nihil est prae illis, quae Salmasius praestabit. Eo minus patieris hic curam tuam desiderari. Scis, cuius magnitudinis esse soleant imagunculae quae in libris °exprimantur. Quamquam, quacunq̄ue tibi mittere visum erit, ipse facile imitabitur, sive sculptor potius, pro °libri modo, qua Salmasiana excudentur.
- g** Egregium opus tuum de pictura excudi non °poterit ante kalendas Maias.¹⁹ Praecipue in causa est quod Blauwius typographus

f divertit: *p* divortit | palliatae: [*togatae* > palliatae] | Arondelianus: *c*, *p* Arundellianis | ei: *c*, *p* - | exprimantur: *c*, *p* exprimuntur | libri modo: *c* libro; *p* libr... | **g** poterit: *p* potest

¹² Claudius Salmasius, or de Saumaise (1588–1653), renowned French philologist with a profound interest in Oriental languages and the affinity between language families. He gained such fame that he was invited as “decus academiae” by Leiden for a generous stipend in 1632. He lived in enmity there with Daniel Heinsius, cf. below. In 1650 he left for Sweden, at the invitation of Queen Christina, **176c**. Joseph Justus Scaliger had formerly been invited as “decus academiae” by Leiden, **42f**. Cf. *NNBW* 5.649–52, Bresson (1992), Jehasse (1997).

¹³ Daniel Heinsius, who hailed from Ghent and had been Scaliger’s favourite student, was averse to Salmasius’ presence in Leiden, cf. Vossius to Joannes Meursius, “Valde totum hoc aegre fert Heinsius, ut facile potes cogitare” [Heinsius bears all this with difficulty, as you can easily imagine], 31 08 30, Colomesius 1.148. Cf. Bresson (1992:17–18), *NNBW* 2.554–57.

¹⁴ Vossius valued Salmasius and Grotius as the greatest scholars at the time, cf. Rademaker (1981:275).

¹⁵ Anne Mercier, who had married Salmasius in 1623, cf. Bresson (1992:xvi).

¹⁶ Salmasius had already asked Junius for drawings of the Arundel marbles, **56b**, via Boswell, but had not yet received an answer, **100h**. In a letter to Salmasius dated 35 03 31, Vossius wondered why Junius had still not sent any pictures, cf. Colomesius 1.249.

f I believe you know that the greatest gentleman Claudius Salmasius has lived in Leiden for three years now; he was invited at the same honorary stipend as Joseph Scaliger used to be. This has occasioned great envy towards him with the one and other professor, especially the one from Ghent. But for me, who am pleased that such a great gentleman is staying in this country, there has been intimate friendship with him, and not only through letters, but also in such a way that we repeatedly enjoy one another's company. Two months ago he even stayed with me together with his wife for three whole days. On that occasion he asked of me to ask from you a picture of a cloaked statue from the Arundel marbles on my and his behalf. He has in hand a great book on clothing, in which the shapes of a *toga*, *pallium*, *sagum*, *paludamentum* and the like are to be depicted accurately. He promised to be willing to refund what you will spend on the draughtsman as soon as possible. Bayfius has attempted something on this subject, but he merely attempted it; indeed, it is nothing compared to what Salmasius will achieve. So you should let your diligence all the less be wanting here. You know what size the small illustrations which are printed in books usually are, although in whatever size you like to send them, he, or rather the engraver, will easily copy them in accordance with the format of the book, in the size in which Salmasius' works are printed.

g Your excellent work on painting cannot be printed before the Kalends of May [1 May]. This is principally owing to the fact that the printer Blaeu has married a woman from Gouda, who could not

¹⁷ Salmasius did not publish the work, but "Commentarii de re vestiarum et coloribus" [Commentaries on clothing and colours], is listed among his unfinished work in Clemens (1656:lxviii). Dress in antiquity, such as the *toga*, the Roman gown, *pallium*, the Greek cloak, *sagum*, a coarse woollen mantle and *paludamentum*, a military cloak, formed a topic of humanist philological debate. Cf. Bresson (1992:131n, 144n), Ellenius (1960:50), Bresson (1992, s.v. Vêtement civil and Vêtement militaire).

¹⁸ Lazarus Bayfius, *Annotationum in libro vestis . . . seu de re vestiarum liber . . .* (Basle, 1526), and later editions, a philological study on clothing in antiquity, cf. Ellenius (1960:50).

¹⁹ Junius had presumably proposed to have *De pictura* (1637) printed by Joan Blaeu, cf. below, in an unretrieved letter written in December 1634, **95b**, **98a**. The process of printing can be traced in the correspondence. Junius made sure Blaeu had all material required to select the size of the edition and font type by May, **100l**. In June, Robert van der Voerst carried out Junius' directions for the edition with Vossius, **102d**. Then, Junius gave instructions to Willem Blaeu, for whose return from London Joan Blaeu was waiting in mid October, **103a**. Meanwhile, Vossius and his sons translated the Greek passages in it into Latin, **100f**, **106a**. In

uxorem duxerit Goudensem, quae non ante a parentibus poterit divelli, ut tribus hisce mensibus proximis τῷ νεογάμῳ ultro citroque sit com meatum, hinc Goudam, inde Amstelodamum.²⁰ Quod non exiguo fiet τυπογραφείου incommodo. Ipse autem editioni praeesse malit, et quod tam multa alioqui | peccare soleant typhotetae, et alii.

h De caeteris scribam, cum exercitationes meas °grammaticas transmittam. Id fore arbitror post tres hebdomadas.²¹ Nam et aliquid temporis absumetur in exemplaribus compingendis, praesertim bellulo aliquo, quod celsissimo Principi Karolo offeratur.²²

Amstelodami, °MDCXXXV, nonis Ianuarii, stylo vetere.

°Tuus, G.I. Vossius.

⁹⁹ 100₁₀₁ 35 04 11 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]¹

A Praestantissimo viro Domino Gerardo Iohanni Vossio, affini coniunctissimo.

a Coniunctissime adfinis,

Vides hic auctarium non poenitendum (nisi me fallunt amici, quorum hac in parte iudicium desideravi) opusculi illius, quod olim ad te transmisi, quodque propediem typis committendum, ultimis tuis literis indicasti.² Amicos dico, non Seldenum, Pettaeum, Oughtredum, qui priora approbaverant, sed fratres Wrenni, quorum alter nunc est Episcopus Herefordiensis, in magna apud Regem gratia, alter vero

h grammaticas: *p* – | MDCXXXV: *p* MDCXXXIV | Tuus: *p* Tuus omni officio

late April 1636 fourteen quires had been printed, **106b**. One month later Junius sent the dedicatory letter, **107b**, **108**. Early July Vossius assured him the printing would be finished within a week or two, but in February 1637 the book had not yet come out, **109a**, **111a**. Finally, by mid April 1637 the book had been published, **112a**. Although Vossius did not submit the book to the press of his own accord, which Nativel (1996:94; 1998:22) implies, there is neither evidence that Junius requested Vossius to see the book through the press, which *Literature* 1.xxxixn39 suggests. Cf. Nativel (1996:87–111; 1998).

²⁰ Joan Blaeu (1596–1673), publisher and cartographer, who worked in the publishing house of his father Willem Jansz (1571–1638), where the grand project *Theatrum orbis terrarum* (Amsterdam, 1635), a world atlas in two volumes, was just printing in Latin, Dutch, French and German. The Blaeus were especially known for cartography and lavishly illustrated books. At his father's death, Joan took over the business and succeeded him as cartographer to the East India Company. The world atlas project eventually resulted in the famous eleven volume *Atlas maior* (1662),

be torn from her parents any sooner, so that for the next three months *the newly wed* must go to and fro, from here to Gouda, from there to Amsterdam, which is quite inconvenient for the *printing house*. But he prefers to supervise the edition himself, also because the compositors and others usually make so many mistakes otherwise.

h I will write about the rest when I send my grammatical exercises. I think this will happen in three weeks time, for some time is also taken for binding the copies, especially a showpiece which must be presented to the right serene Prince Charles.

Amsterdam, 1635, on the Nones of January old style [15 Jan.].

Yours, G.J. Vossius.

100 35 04 11 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]

A To the most distinguished gentleman, Mr. Gerardus Joannes Vossius, dearest Brother.

a Dearest Brother,

Here you see a not displeasing addition (unless my friends, whose opinion I have asked in this respect, deceive me) to that little work I sent to you before and of which you indicated in your latest letter that it must soon be entrusted to the press. I say my friends, not Selden, Petty or Oughtred, who approved of the previous work, but the Wren brothers, of whom the one is now bishop of Hereford, in great favour with the king, and the other Dean of Windsor. Both have truly shown in everything how well they wish you and me. I

including some six hundred maps. King Gustav Adolf of Sweden engaged him as his printer. From the 1650s, he held several positions in the Amsterdam magistracy. His wife was Geertruid Vermeulen (d. 1676), from Gouda. Cf. *NBW* 10.68–73, Koeman (1970), Donkersloot-de Vrij (1992).

²¹ Vossius wrote about other matters and sent the *Aristarchus* only in April, **101**.

²² *p* continued with **101j-1**, “Dum in his scribendis sum . . . et ab uxore et liberis salve.” Goffe had suggested Vossius bind the copies, especially the presentation copy, in Holland, since the quality was so much better than in England, cf. Colomesius 2.194.

¹ *p1*: Colomesius 2.217. *p2*: *Epp. Vossius* 335; not collated.

² An addition to Junius’ *De pictura* (1637), **93a**, consisting of 3.8–11 and comprising about one-third of the total length of the work, cf. below. Original manuscript unretrieved. Junius did not include it in his English and Dutch translations. The printing of *De pictura* was planned for May, **1**, **99g**. Cf. *Literature* 1.332–33; for a summary and detailed commentary on the addition, cf. *Literature* 1.331–59.

Decanus Windsorensis.³ Ambo certe in omnibus ostendunt, quam bene tibi, mihi que velint.⁴ Tertii libri caput ultimum, quod rationem picturas diiudicandi pertractat, nonnihil reconcinnavi, ac porro quid in singulis corporis humani membris vere pulchrum olim iudicaverint adieci; quemadmodum et caput tuum de statuarum materia, quoniam ea res quoque ab hac recte iudicandi scientia non videtur aliena.⁵ Subdubitavi aliquamdiu, an septimum caput libri tertii cum hac, quam nunc vides, appendicula peculiari quodam titulo vindicem inscriberem, ac picturam veterem statim exciperet vindex, sive de ratione picturas diiudicandi.⁶ Tu facies quod consultius iudicabis, aut in duo opuscula dispesces, aut coniunges. Mihi certe, si Regi nostro inscribatur opusculum, omnia coniungi debere atque in unum volumen componi videntur debere.⁷

b Miraberis forte nimiam hanc levis tyrocinii fiduciam, nolisque me adeo temere periculum famae adire.⁸ Ego quoque ab hac arrogantioris ausi, ut mihi quidem videbatur, temeritate alienior eram, donec suasit, ac pene persuasit, reverendus Episcopus Herefordiensis, qui lecta hac, quam nunc transmitto, parte, multis asseveranter ursit dubium ac tergiversantem, constare sibi dicens, quam acceptum Regi, proceribus regni, omnibus denique futurum sit opusculum.

c “Dignabitur profecto Rex noster,” inquit, “hoc tuum scriptum inspicere, pro eo quo artes hasce prosequitur adfectu.⁹ Nunquam quicquam gratius ei obtingit, quam si post regni curas offeratur aliquid antiquae artis specimen, quo oculos, animumque pascat. Quinimo nuperrime adhuc, dum tuas schedas percurro,” inquit, “adfui Regi super antiquorum eximia arte nonnulla sciscitanti; atque ei spem feci, visurum brevi opusculum aliquod, suppresso tamen tuo nomine, cum cura elaboratum.”

³ John Selden, William Petty and William Oughtred must have seen the part of *De pictura* sent with letter 93. Matthew Wren had just been elected bishop of Hereford in December 1634, and was to be translated to the bishopric of Norwich several months after the present letter, in November, 57c, 105e. Christopher Wren had succeeded his brother as dean of Windsor, 57c.

⁴ Vossius had sent them copies of *De historicis Latinis* (1627) in 1627, 57c.

⁵ The final chapter had been *De pictura* 3.7. The additions were 3.8–9, on what used to be considered beautiful; 3.10, on what used to be considered ugly; and 3.11, on the material of statues. Vossius had probably suggested Junius to include such a chapter, for instance when he had seen the work in London, but not written it himself—which the phrase “caput tuum” might suggest. Cf. *Literature* 1.295–311, 332–57, Ellenius (1960:49), Nativel (1996:94–95).

⁶ “Picturam veterem” or “De pictura vetere” was Junius’ reference title for *De pictura*, 94b. He wrote on “Vindex” in *Painting* 1.5.5, “Vindex likewise, a most noble

have somewhat refashioned the final chapter of book three, which discusses the method of judging paintings, and furthermore, I added what they used to consider truly beautiful in each part of the human body, as well as your chapter about the material of statues, because this did not seem inconsistent with that skill of judging correctly either. I was a little undecided for some time whether I would call the seventh chapter of book three together with this little supplement which you see now *Champion* by a separate title, and whether *Champion*, or *About the Method of Judging Paintings* would immediately follow *Ancient Painting*. You must do what you consider best; you must either divide it into two small works, or combine them into one. If the little work is going to be dedicated to our king, I at least think that everything must be combined and put in a single volume.

b You may be amazed at this excessive self-confidence of a youthful exercise, and do not want me to approach the risk of a bad reputation so thoughtlessly. I was also rather averse to the heedlessness of quite such a shameless venture, as it appeared to me at least, until I was urged and almost persuaded by the reverend bishop of Hereford, who, upon reading this part which I am sending you now, urgently pressed me with many words, though I was undetermined and reluctant, and said that it was manifest to him how welcome the little work would be to the king, the dignitaries of the kingdom and, in short, to everybody.

c “Our king,” he said, “will certainly deem it worthwhile to examine your treatise in accordance with the affection which he confers on these arts; nothing more welcome ever happens to him than if some example of ancient art on which to feast the eyes and mind is presented to him after his dealing with the affairs of state. Only recently, when I was looking over your sheets,” he said, “I was with the king when he asked several questions about the extraordinary art of the ancients; holding back your name, of course, I raised his hopes that he will soon see a little book which has been worked out carefully.”

Romane, is highly commended by *Statius Papinius* for his rare judgement in all kind of Art,” followed by the quotation from Statius, *Silvae* 4.6.22. Cf. *Literature* 1.69n.

⁷ It was actually retained as a single work and dedicated to King Charles, **108**.

⁸ Livy, *Ab urbe condita* 3.44.12.3–4, “neu patiat virginitatem adultam famae prius quam libertatis periculum adire.”

⁹ Junius may have written this passage in direct speech in order to convince Vossius that it had really been Wren’s idea to dedicate *De pictura* to King Charles, not his own. On Charles’ love of the arts, cf. **108c**.

- d** Respondi non tanti mihi videri tumultuarium hoc opusculum, quod inexpectato fere excidit maius opus, Catalogum nempe Artificum, molienti; daturum operam, ut maius hoc opus tanti patrocinii gloriam magis mereatur.¹⁰
- e** Ad haec *reverendus* vir, “Tanto magis hac in re consilio meo obsequeris; quandoquidem spero fore, ut serenissimus Rex pro navata strenue opera animos tibi addat ad reliqua pari industria prosequenda.¹¹ Unum tantum in hisce tuis lucubrationibus requiritur,” inquit; “Rex noster,” inquit, “ac proceres regni, multique alii ingenuarum artium amantes, Latine quidem intelligunt, Graece non item. Minus gratum hoc nomine futurum erit opusculum, nisi Graecam passim interpretationem adiicias.” Multis super ea re mecum egit. Non repetam singula.
- f** Video certe typographo, mihi, publico, non inutilem fore hanc operam.¹² Si quid ex hac re commodi obtigerit, amicis qui hanc mihi operam non denegabunt, deberi putabo.¹³ Quaedam talia sunt, ut a filiolis tuis, Isaaco atque Gerardo, forte ad probandum Graecae linguae tyrocinium transferri possint; ubi maior aliqua emphasis latet, nemo melius exprimere ea posset quam adfinis noster Naeranus, sed is gravioribus forte curis distinetur; pertentabis animum, si impetrari posse putabis.¹⁴ Utcumque tamen, vel precibus, vel pretio invenendus erit aliquis, qui id praestet. Refundam quicquid impenderit; nolim enim nostras has qualescumque curas minus gratas esse ob leves aliquas impensas. Typographus quoque, si quid ea res editionem differat, moram hanc aequo animo feret, quoniam sic denique fiet, ut exemplaria magis distrahantur. Ad quod etiam conducet, si quam minima ac portabili (ut loquuntur) forma, minimeque sumptuose excudatur, ne quem pretium ab emendo deterreat.¹⁵

¹⁰ *De pictura* had grown from an introduction to Junius' future *Catalogus artificum* (1694), **93a**. Junius was evidently willing to dedicate *Catalogus artificum* to Charles, **108m**.

¹¹ Junius could presumably expect to receive a reward for the dedication; no details on such a reward found.

¹² Joan Blaeu, the publisher.

¹³ On why Junius could not do the translations himself, cf. **1**. He may have meant to share a reward for the dedication with the translators.

¹⁴ Isaac and Gerardus Vossius, who were being educated at home. No indication that Vossius asked of Samuel Naeranus to provide translations was found. Junius probably listed the latter as one of the due recipients of the book in **107d** just because they were brothers-in-law. *Literature 1* has not sufficiently been aware that the translations of Greek passages in *De pictura* are not Junius' and consequently

- d I answered that this hurried little book, which almost unexpectedly slipped from me when I was working on a more important book, that is, the *Catalogue of Artists*, does not seem of so much value to me; that I will take pains that this larger book better deserve the glory of such a great patron.
- e Upon this, the reverend lord said, "You must all the more follow my advice in this respect, because I hope that the right serene king will give you courage to pursue the rest with similar diligence in accordance with a work so zealously accomplished. There is just one matter required in your nocturnal studies," he said. "Our king," he said, "and the dignitaries of the kingdom and many other lovers of the noble arts actually do understand Latin, but not Greek. For this reason the little work will be less welcome, unless you add translations of the Greek everywhere." He spoke about this with me at great length. I will not repeat every single point.
- f I clearly see that this service will be useful to the printer, to me and to the public weal; if I gain any profit because of this, I will believe it is owed to the friends who will not deny me this service. Some passages are such that they can perhaps be translated by your little sons Isaac and Gerardus to do this first exercise in the Greek language; where greater depth is hidden, no one can better express them than our brother Naeranus, but he may be engaged in more serious matters; you must sound him out, if you think he can be procured. Yet in one way or another, by prayers or by a price, someone will have to be found to do this. I will refund whatever you will pay, for I do not want our humble concerns to be less welcome because of some slight expenses. If this delays printing, the printer should also bear this delay with an even mind, for in this way more copies will be sold in the end. To this end, it will also be useful if it is executed in a small and portable size (as they say) and the least expensively, so that the price will not dissuade anyone from buying it.

do not reveal his interpretations of the Greek. What they have taken care to note are accordingly not "significant differences between his reading of a passage and recent interpretations" (*Literature* 1.xv), but rather the readings of Vossius, Isaac and Gerardus and the translations they chose to use. Cf. 106a, *Literature* 1.xv–vi, xxxixn39, 332n3, but lvn75.

¹⁵ *De pictura* was published in quarto format, not in octavo or duodecimo as Junius probably meant.

g Cum primum has de pictura observationes congererem, quin etiam cum eas ad vos transmitterem, nihil minus quam de editione cogitabam; unde etiam evenit, ut de interpretandis Graecorum authorum locis minime laboraverim.¹⁶ Putaverim maiori operi reservanda esse haec, quasi prolegomena, sed quoniam praeter opinionem in iusti operis formam excreverunt, est nescio quid, quod mihi suadet famam hoc opusculo praetentare, donec reliqua prodeant.¹⁷ Sunt multa loca ex authoribus Graecis, quae nudam tantum rei gestae historiam, aut apophthegma aliquod, aut aliquid simile continent, ea Latine tantum imprimi velim, ne in nimiam molem excrescat opus.¹⁸ Reliqua loca Graeca, quae emphasin quamdam habent, ac in ipsa phrasi praecepta quaedam continent artis, integra servari velim, adiuncta interpretatione; aut si Latine tantum videantur imprimenda, optem nihilominus, ut Graeca verba, quae vim aliquam habent, ad oram adiiciantur, quo peritis pariter atque imperitis Graecae linguae satisfiat. Dabis veniam pluribus praeter amorem meum verbis; non leviter animum meum tangit haec cura. Quicquid posthac, Deo volente, adornabo, ipse semper hac cura defungar; neque amicis meis negotium amplius facessam.¹⁹

h Certiorem quoque fecisti me clarissimum Claudium Salmasium unice optare specimen aliquod statucae palliatae, chlamydatae, habitus epheborum, et similium.²⁰ Iam ante per *Dominum* Boswellum ipse Salmasius tale quid petierat; quin etiam Gallicum aliquod ipsius Salmasii scriptum penes me est, quo a Boswello petit, ut hoc a Comite Arundelliae impetraret.²¹ Placet Comiti propositum, ac mecum re communicata, desiderio clarissimi viri quamprimum satisfieri volebat. Negabam partem illam antiquae eruditionis, quae versatur circa rem vestiariam, ita mihi perspectam, ut pictori quod exemplar potissimum exscribere debeat praemonstrare ausim; compellaturum interim

¹⁶ When Vossius had approved of the manuscript in **94b**, Junius did consider its publication, **95b**.

¹⁷ For the phrase “in iusti operis formam,” cf. **93a**.

¹⁸ In *De pictura* (1637), “[w]ith a few exceptions,” most Greek quotations have been retained and provided with Latin translations, cf. *Literature* 1.xxxixn.

¹⁹ *Catalogus artificum* also contains many Greek quotations provided with Latin translations.

²⁰ Claudius Salmasius had asked for drawings of clothes from the Arundel marbles, **99f**. Junius described *chlamys* as “the painted cassocks of souldiers and the riding coates of horsemen,” *Painting* 2.8.9. Salmasius and Junius seem not to have

g At first, when I was compiling these observations on painting and even when I sent them to you, I was thinking of everything but of publication; due to this it also happened that I did not at all work on translating the passages of Greek authors; I thought that these observations had to be reserved for the larger work, as if they were the introduction, but because they grew to the shape of a real book beyond all expectation, there is something which presses me to search fame beforehand with this little book until the rest appears. There are many passages from Greek authors which only contain the simple narrative of an event or a saying, or something similar. I want these to be printed in Latin only, so that the book does not grow to an excessive bulk. I wish to retain the remaining Greek passages, which carry some depth and contain art terminology in the formulation itself, in full with a translation added, or if it seems that they must only be printed in Latin, I nevertheless want the Greek words which have some weight to be added in the margin in order to satisfy those experienced in Greek and those inexperienced alike. Please excuse the many words, against my inclination. This issue is of great concern to me. For whatever I will produce in the future, God willing, I will always take care of this myself and no more burden my friends with this duty.

h You have also informed me that the most illustrious Claudius Salmasius especially wishes an example of a statue *palliata*, of one *chlamydata*, of one in the dress of young men and the like. Salmasius himself had made a similar request through Mr. Boswell already before. I even have with me a letter in French of Salmasius himself, in which he asks of Boswell to acquire this from the earl of Arundel. The proposal pleased the earl, and having talked about it to me, he desired the wish of the most illustrious gentleman to be granted as soon as possible. I denied having examined that field of ancient knowledge which concerns clothing in such a way that I dared point out to a draughtsman which example he had best copy, but that I would address Mr. Selden and Patrick Young on this, for

corresponded with each other directly, but Salmasius did correspond with Franciscus Junius F.N., **113c**, who has evidently been confused with Junius in *CEN* (s.v.).

²¹ Salmasius' letter to William Boswell with the request to the earl of Arundel is not mentioned in the relevant literature, yet it may have been preserved among their papers.

Dominum Seldenum ac Patricium Iunium, eos enim in hac re magis forte versatos, pictori commodius statuas delineandas assignare posse.²²

i Placuit illustrissimo Comiti ratio consilii mei. Confestim itaque ad Iunium advolavi, ostensaque *clari* Salmasii manu, quam non iniqua vir magnus postulare docui. Rogavi ut conveniret *Dominum* Seldenum, atque ad aedes Arundellianas, comitante Seldeno accederet; gratisimum id fore Comiti, si inspectis monumentis antiquioribus, artifice quid delineandum videretur ostenderent. Recepit facturum Iunius; nec tamen venit. Acceptis deinde tuis literis, iterum interpellavi, atque illam tuarum literarum partem, quae id urget, praelegi.²³ Respondit se non immemorem fuisse promissi, sed nunquam in *Dominum* Seldenum, variis negotiis civilibus distentum, eoque raro se domi continentem, incidere potuisse; daturum operam, ut ubi primum compellere datum erit, una cum ipso advolet. Quatuor aut quinque sunt hebdomadae, ex quo venturum recepit, et nihil interim fit; neque possum adsequi coniectura, quid tantulam rem moretur. Non desinam tamen eniti, ut tandem aliquid fiat. Nisi forte inveniatur amicum aliquem *clarus* Salmasius, qui in Britanniam forte excurrans, ex ipsius sententia quae delineanda sint ostendat. Si quis talis offeratur, et me, et artificem non imperitum, ad omnia officia paratissimos experietur.²⁴ Imo si forte dum in agris sum, talem aliquem appulisse intellexero, Londinium statim excurram, neque operam meam requiri in re tantula patiar.²⁵

j Iamdudum ad te literas dedi, quibus te Cantabrigia reversus de rebus Ioannis nostri certiore feci.²⁶ Responsum expecto, quod postremae literae tuae brevi promittere videntur.²⁷ Etenim ex quo literas ad te Cantabrigia reversus dedi, tuas quoque, cum literis Ioannis nostri accepi.²⁸ Sed is parce admodum, atque obscure res

²² Junius' knowledge of ancient dress was presumably entirely bookish, for he did discuss various clothes in *De pictura* 2.8.9. Selden and Patrick Young had examined the Arundel marbles, **58b**.

²³ Cf. **99f**.

²⁴ Artist unidentified; he was presumably one of the artists attracted by Arundel's patronage and collections, who had a "Rome for Designs" at their disposal at Arundel House for the drawing of copies and engravings of the collections. Cf. *Literature* 1.xxxiin20, xxxvin29, 239n100.

²⁵ No indication that the drawings were made has been found. On receipt of the present letter, Vossius sent a copy of **h-i**, unretrieved, to Salmasius. Junius may have listed Salmasius as one of the due recipients of *De pictura* in **107d** because of their indirect and possibly unsuccessful contacts for the purpose of the drawings. Cf. Colomesius 1.260, 35 05 25.

they are perhaps more experienced in this and can more conveniently mark out to the draughtsman the statues to be drawn.

i The sense of my suggestion pleased the most illustrious earl. So I immediately hurried to Young, and showing the renowned Salmasius' letter, told him what reasonable questions the great gentleman had asked. I asked him to meet Mr. Selden and hasten to Arundel House in the company of Selden; that it would be most welcome to the earl if they showed an artist what seemed to need being drawn, upon having examining the ancient monuments. Young promised to do so, yet he did not come; then, upon receiving your letter, I addressed him on it again and read out that part of your letter which pressed for it. He answered that he had not forgotten the promise, but that he had never been able to meet with Mr. Selden, who was engaged in various civil affairs and therefore rarely stayed home; that he will take pains to hasten to us together with him as soon as he is granted to meet with him. It is four or five weeks ago that he promised to come, but nothing has happened in the meantime, and I can find no reasonable explanation for the delay in such a trifle matter. Yet I will keep trying, so that something will finally happen. Unless the renowned Salmasius would perhaps find a friend who may go to England and show what must be drawn in his opinion. If such a person presents himself, he will find both a highly skilled artist and myself willing to render all possible services. Even if I am perhaps in the country and learn that such a person has landed, I will hasten to London immediately and will not let my assistance be wanting in such a trifle matter.

j A long time ago I wrote to you a letter in which I informed you of our Joannes' affairs on my return from Cambridge. I am expecting an answer, which your latest letter seems to promise soon. For, after I had written you the letter on my return from Cambridge, I also received your letter, together with one by our Joannes. But he touches on his affairs quite scantily and unintelligibly, so much so that I can hardly follow by guessing what he wants for himself. There

²⁶ Junius' letter to Vossius, unretrieved, **98a**. Junius had been in Cambridge to arrange the affairs of Joannes Vossius, who was at present sailing to the Indies, **96a**, **102e**.

²⁷ Cf. **94c**, **98a**.

²⁸ Letter **99**, enclosing letter **96**.

suas tangit, adeo ut vix coniectura quid sibi velit adsequi possim. Varii hic atque incerti de matrimonio eius rumores.²⁹ Ille nihil super ea re aperte; aliquid tamen videtur innuere voluisse, dedita tamen rursus opera praeterisse. Sunt adhuc penes me literae eius ad quamdam Prudentiam Greene; hanc illam esse putant.³⁰ Nolui compellere eam cum essem Cantabrigiae, nisi prius exploratum haberem animum tuum. Hoc illud est, quod ultimis meis literis sedulo a te petii, ne me patereris ignorare, quo loco illa mihi esset habenda. *Reverendus* Episcopus Herefordiensis facile agnoscendam non putat, nisi prius plenius quid constiterit.³¹ Aliquantulum igitur adhuc differo Cantabrigiense iter, sperans fore, ut ad priores literas meas respondeas, et ad me transmittas schedulam, in qua *Iohannes* propria manu perscripsit quaenam sint illa, quae dilectae tribui velit.³² Ego utar in omnibus consilio reverendi Episcopi Herefordiensis, quem academicarum artium callentissimum, vestrique amantissimum quotidie experior.

k Haec sunt potissima, quae raptim ad te scribenda putavi. Interim hunc animi mei dubium, etiamnum motum de instituenda dedicatione alios celabis, nisi forte et ipse putaveris, non inconsulte me facturum, si consilium Herefordiensis Episcopi amplectar.³³ A quo consilio si non abhorrebis, cura sciam te me meaque unico tantum verbo Archiepiscopo commendasse; quod magnum addet animum timide alioquin tantam rem aggressuro.³⁴ Scis quantum apud Regem nos-

²⁹ The marriage of Joannes Vossius and Prudence Greene was a confused affair. After the example of other fellows who had concealed their marriage in order not to lose their Cambridge fellowship, Joannes had persuaded Prudence to marry in secret by asserting that his father would consent to anyone he had chosen and that he would soon come to his money, **105c-e**. They had probably obtained a licence to marry in a church next to London Bridge in Cambridge on 13 February 1632, or 33 02 23 n.s., **101g, 105c**. But since the church had burnt down the night before the ceremony, they had married in a different church and had been registered in a different matrimonial register than expected on the basis of their licence, **105c**. Furthermore, in order to conceal his identity, Joannes had feigned their names as “Fox” and “Bridges” for inscription in the register, **104b**. Yet, Cambridge rumours spread the news of the wedding, **101g**, and the fellows of Jesus College considered to elect a new fellow in Joannes’ place; besides, Bishop White threatened Joannes with a suit for having married contrary to the College statutes, **101e, g**. Archbishop Laud then had the matrimonial register inspected to see if the marriage was legitimate, **101g**, but, having received the old details from White, he evidently did not find anything and concluded Joannes had not married officially, **105c, 101g**. Consequently, White did not sue Joannes and the fellows did not proclaim his place vacant, **101g**. Since Joannes had left for the Indies anyway, Vossius did not raise the point of the legitimacy of the marriage with Laud again, but he did wish Junius to check it, **101g**. After Prudence had intimated the full facts to John Francius,

are manifold and indefinite rumours here about his marriage; he wrote nothing openly concerning this, yet he seems to have wished to hint at something, but then again to have passed it by on purpose. I still have with me his letter to a Prudence Greene; they think she is the woman concerned. I did not want to address her when I was in Cambridge until I had first ascertained your opinion. This is what I urgently asked of you in my latest letter, that you inform me of how I should regard her. The reverend bishop of Hereford believes she cannot easily be identified, if there is not more certainty first. For this reason I have still somewhat delayed a trip to Cambridge, in the hope that you will answer my previous letter and send me the sheet on which Joannes wrote in his own hand what he wishes to be given to his love. In everything I will make use of the advice of the reverend bishop of Hereford, whose great skill in academic arts and devotion to you I daily notice.

k These are the most important topics which I thought had to be written to you in haste. Meanwhile, you must conceal to others this doubt in my heart, which is still very much occupied by writing the dedication, unless you yourself perhaps also believe that I will not act inconsiderately if I embrace the bishop of Hereford's advice. If you agree with that advice, please let me know that you have commended me and my book to the archbishop in just a single word, which will give great courage to someone otherwise timidly undertaking such a great matter. You know how much the deservedly most eminent lord is esteemed by our king. Meanwhile, I pray Allgood and

Junius consulted the correct register and probably still inquired after the names, to conclude that the marriage was legitimate, **104b**, **105c**. However, when she tried to claim her part of the inheritance at Joannes' death, Junius indicated to Vossius there was no official proof of the legitimacy of the marriage, no doubt due to Joannes' having feigned their names in the register, so that her claim was invalid, **115d**, **129b**, **130a-b**.

³⁰ Unretrieved, **96b**.

³¹ Matthew Wren had been master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, for ten years, until January 1635, **57c**.

³² Unretrieved, **99b**.

³³ Junius' dedication is letter **108**.

³⁴ It was probably specially relevant that *De pictura* would be commended to Archbishop Laud, because he had risen to be King Charles' principal adviser, and because he had made church censure so strict that he had to license every new book, also imported ones. Books published in the Low Countries were given particularly close attention, for English separatists in exile printed their controversial material there to spread it in England. Furthermore, possibly coincidentally, the

trum valeat vir merito eminentissimus. Precor interim Deum Optimum Maximum, ut te tuosque publico, mihi incolumes servet. Vale.

Raptim; in aedibus Arundelianis, anno Domini 1635, *calendis Aprilis* stylo vetere.³⁵

Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

- 1 Continuata[m] hanc opusculo meo appendicem ita raptim exscripsi ac properanter misi, ut ne quidem eam potuerim perlegere, antequam reverendo Episcopo legendam praeberem; imo ne quidem otium fuit percurrendi, postquam reverendus vir eam restituit, propterea quod statim videbatur ad te mittenda. Maluissem alioqui Graecam interpretationem locis suis ex consilio Episcopi passim adiicere, ac primo quidem consilium erat, quamprimum hoc facere; sed subibat animum cogitatio, posse typographum falli, in voluminis forma ac typorum modo eligendo, nisi ante *Calendas Maias* totius operis conspectus certio[m] consilii rationem suggeret.³⁶ Nunc aliqua ex parte animo meo satisfecisse mihi prorsus videbantur addenda, ita nunc verbum non amplius addam. Unum hoc iterum rogo, ne patiaris propter leves aliquas impensas spem meam imminui. Inveniendus est aliquis, aut precibus, aut pretio, etc. Grati animi testimonium nunquam requires, sat scio. Etenim ut ut non accesserit, officii huius gratia tibi tamen obstrictum me esse semper agnoscam. Iterum vale, et me amare perge.

¹⁰⁰ 101₁₀₂ 35 04 [22]–30 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

- a *Salutem plurimam.* Iohannes meus, advocati fiscalis dignitate ornatus, Indias petiit.² Ac spero, non intra hanc fortunam consistet, si is

subject matter of *De pictura* linked up with Laud's programme of the "beauty of holiness," with which he sought to embellish the visual appearance of the Church of England. No indication that Vossius commended *De pictura* to Laud was found. At its actual appearance, Junius once again asked of Vossius to do so, 111c. Cf. Trevor Roper (1940:151–59, 244–57), Sprunger (1994:22–45), Nativel (1996:425), 108k.

³⁵ The date might possibly be incorrect, 101e.

³⁶ The printing of *De pictura* was planned for May, a, 99g.

¹ o: UBA, M 99k; date in f probably incorrect. c: BLO, Rawl. 84c, ff. 52–57, with heading and corrections in Vossius' hand; heading, "Francisco Iunio Francisci F. Londinum." p: paragraphs j to l, "Dum in his scribendis . . . ab uxore et liberis salve," were erroneously printed as a continuation of 99 in Colomesius 1.244. Sent to London, as indicated in the heading in c. Composed during the greater part of April.

Almighty God to keep you and your family safe for the public weal and for me. Farewell.

In haste. At Arundel House in the year of the Lord 1635 on the Kalends of April old style [11 Apr.].

Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

- 1 I wrote out this supplement to my little book in such haste and sent it so hurriedly, that I could not even read it through before I gave it to the reverend bishop to read; well, there was not even time to look it through after the reverend lord had returned it, because it seemed to need being sent to you at once; otherwise, I would have preferred to add a translation of the Greek to the respective passages here and there after the bishop's advice; actually, at first it was my intention to do so as soon as possible, but the thought occurred to me that the printer could be mistaken about choosing the format of the volume and the size of the fonts, unless the appearance of the whole book will suggest a definite mode of approach before the Kalends of May [1 May]. Now the additions seem to have wholly satisfied my intention in some respect, so I will make no further addition now. I only ask of you again not to let my hope be diminished on account of some slight expenses. Someone must be found either by prayers or by a price, etc. I know well that you will never find evidence of a grateful heart lacking, for although this may not come about, I will still always acknowledge to be obliged to you because of this favour. Farewell again and continue to love me.

101 35 04 [22]–30 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

- a Warmest regards. My Joannes, honoured with the dignity of chief public prosecutor, is on his way to the Indies and will not remain below this position, I hope, if he is whom he promises to be. This is truly an important position I have acquired for him, although with

² Having spent nearly two years at home upon bungling his studies at Cambridge, Joannes Vossius had just sailed off to the East Indies as chief public prosecutor, 96a. Sections a–g present Vossius' version of Joannes' situation, 99a–c. Joannes had asked that "*Charus Parens sal gelieven avunculo Iunio door mijn broeder Mattheo altijd mijn gezondheid, en schrijven bekend te laeten sijn*" [*Dear Father must please always let my good health and letters be known to Uncle Junius through my brother Matthaëus*], [35] 02 07, BL, HI. 7013, f. 205.

erit, quem promittit. Sane non leve est, quod pro eo, aliqua tamen cum difficultate ob competitors, obtinui. Maiusque erit, si fortuna uti sciet, perque angusta ad augusta contendet. Neque enim alia est ratio aequae commoda ^orem honeste faciendi. Sed magna opus est industria ac fide. Absque istis, sordescet facile illis, penes quos est Indicarum rerum cura apud nos. Summates viri quos hic habemus, ita in locum summum ascenderunt, quales nominarem complures, si tibi notos existimarem.³

b Nec obstare aliquid arbitror, quo minus eius rei gnara sit illa, ad quam scripserat filius, et cui in hoc discessu suo inopino aliquid a te solatii praestari exoptabat.⁴ Graviter quidem peccatum, quod illas me ignaro, tam bene merito parente, contraxerit nuptias.⁵ Sed, quod factum est, infectum fieri nequit.⁶ Macerat, fateor, et non leviter coquit haec res animum meum.⁷ Sed ut res dant sese, ita animum sumamus. Quando non possumus ut volumus, velimus ut possumus. Saltem literae ad eam scriptae a filio omnino ei, si non per te, per alium tradi debent. Quamquam vero non alteri dixerim, nedum scripserim, quid mihi in omni hac re animi sit, apud te unum non dissimulabo. Si intellexero deinceps sic se gerere filium, ut domum nostram decet, facile hanc culpam remisero, etsi admodum gravem. Adolescens est, et multi tyranno Amori succubuerunt.⁸

c Tamen valde animum meum urit, quod non multum infra bis mille florenos insumsi, quo abire hinc possit, partim exsolvendo aeri ^oeius alieno, partim procurandis armis, vestibus, aliis, quibus in itinere et in India illi opus erit. Nec id sororis tuae liberis tam noxium erit, quam putares.⁹ Omne enim hoc de haereditate ei decedet, ut aequum

a rem: [- est] rem | **c** eius: \eius/

³ Vossius evidently knew that Junius' knowledge of Dutch dignitaries was no longer up to date.

⁴ Letter **96** enclosed Joannes' letter to Prudence Greene, which Junius had with him, **96b**, **100j**.

⁵ Joannes and Prudence had married in Cambridge in February 1633, **100j**. Usually parents of well-to-do families negotiated for the best partner for their offspring in order to safeguard the family interests. If children were allowed their own choice, as Joannes had claimed towards Prudence to have been granted him, **105d**, they were nevertheless expected to choose their prospective partner from a family of equal rank and financial status as their own. The Vossius family was troubled by Joannes' marriage not only because it had been contracted contrary to the College statutes, **e**, but also because Prudence did not bring a dowry and her family was not of equal rank, **d**, **105b**. Cf. Stone (1977:30–32, 180–89, 270–72), Kooijmans (1997, e.g. 30–35).

some difficulty because of the competition, and it will be more important, if he makes the most of things and works hard towards his success, for he has no other as convenient way to make a respectable living. But he needs great diligence and loyalty. Without those he will easily become dirt to the people with whom the management of the Indian Company rests in our country. The dignitaries whom we have here, several of whom I would name if I believed they were known to you, have risen to the highest rank in this way.

b I think there is nothing wrong with this becoming known to her whom my son had written and whom he deeply wished to be given some support by you on his unexpected departure. He has done seriously wrong indeed by contracting this marriage while I, a father so deserving, did not know about this. But what has been done cannot be undone. I admit that this deeply troubles and torments my heart. But let us take courage according to how the events present themselves. Whenever we cannot do as we wish, let us wish that we can. In any case, the letter my son wrote to her should certainly be given to her, through someone else if not through you. But, although I would neither tell nor write anyone else what is in my mind concerning all this, only from you will I not hide it. As soon as I hear that my son is behaving himself from now on in such a way as fits our house, I will easily forgive this fault, although it is quite serious. He is a young man, and many people have been overcome by the tyrant Love.

c Yet, it deeply troubles my heart that I have spent almost two thousand guilders so that he could leave from here, partly to pay his debts, partly to buy weapons, clothes and other things which he will need on his journey and in the Indies. But this will not be as injurious to your sister's children as you may think, for it will all be subtracted from his part of the inheritance, as is fair. And if something

⁶ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 6.3.42.4–5, “quae facta sunt, infecta fieri non possunt;” Plautus, *Aulularia* 741, “factum est illud: fieri infectum non potest.”

⁷ Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 12.10.77.4–5, “macerat et coquit;” Plautus, *Trinummus* 225, “me coquo et macero.”

⁸ *Argumenta Aeneidis et Tetrasticha in cunctis libris Vergilii, Argumenta Aeneidis; Decasticha* 4.2, “placet succumbere amori.” Since it was considered a disturbed mental condition, romantic love was generally believed to be an undesirable ground for marriage. It was, however, increasingly gaining acceptance in the course of the seventeenth century. Cf. Stone (1977:180–89).

⁹ Joannes Vossius was the only child of Vossius and Elizabeth van den Corput, but cf. 59c.

est. Ac si fortasse aliquid mihi humanitus contigerit, priusquam tabulis id ἀξιόπιστοις signatum a me erit, huius meae sententiae ac voluntatis indicium luculentum erunt literae, quas mitto.¹⁰ Pro fortuna mea, quod ignorare non potes, plus aequo in eo sumtum feci. Quod Varro aiebat, “Est modus matulae.”¹¹

d | Ut ad Prudentiam redeam, scire ex te desidero, quomodo nata, quis moribus et fortunis.¹² Si non plane indigna me nurus, et filius se praestabit qualem optamus et speramus, non deerunt illis ulla amoris officia vel a me, vel a domo universa. Nempe lenis ille patris animus poterit oblivisci anteaactorum, quae nunc familiam omnem tam male habent; tantum igitur istud postfactis delendum ex animo meo, quod peccatum. Scripsi hesternam die ad filium literas bene longas, quibus eum officii commoneo.¹³ Atque intra menses duos vel tres ab eo ex Indiis literas exspecto, nec ab eo solum, sed etiam praefectis, quibus edocear de cunctis.¹⁴ Non committam, quin de omnibus te certiolem reddam.

e Addenda suis locis egregio operi tuo De Pictura accepi nudiusquartus a Colino.¹⁵ Addebat ille, se cognovisse ex te, reverendissimum *Dominum* Eliensem filio meo litem intentare amissae societatis, quia uxorem duxerit contra Collegii statuta; at reverendissimum *Dominum* Archiepiscopum id pernegare; nempe, ut credo, quia sciat eo a me in Bataviam vocatum, ne duceret.¹⁶ Sane anno integro et aliquot mensibus fuerat mecum, antequam aliquid de clandestino connubio olfocissem. Obieci, quod de amoribus vera esse pernegasset quae cognovissem. Respondit, et reverendissimo *Domino* Archiepiscopo, et tibi,

¹⁰ The present letter.

¹¹ Terentius Varro, *Menippeae* fragment 111, title.

¹² Junius tried to fish this out via John Francius and others, and went to Cambridge in December to meet Prudence himself, **104**, **105b**, **e–g**.

¹³ Vossius’ letter to Joannes seems not to have been retrieved, unless it is the one identified as “34 00 00 JOA 1,” not seen, in *ICVossius* (1993:189).

¹⁴ Only two letters have been retrieved, one written “at sea” and dated [35] 02 07, and the other written from Table Bay in present-day South Africa and dated 35 04 16, **a**. Cf. *ICVossius* (1993:205, 208).

¹⁵ Junius had sent an addition for *De pictura* (1637) with letter **100**, which must have been delivered to Vossius at one and the same time, **100a**. This suggests that the date of this letter in **f** is incorrect, because four days before 12 April n.s. would be two days before Junius sent letter **100**, cf. **100k**. Colinus unidentified; he was probably not Samuel Collins from Cambridge, **113e**, since Vossius would not have given details on him in **113e** then; besides, no indications that he travelled to the Low Countries at the time has been found.

¹⁶ Francis White (1564?–1638), bishop of Ely from 1631 until his death, when

human happens to me before I have written it in an *authentic* deed, the letter I am sending will be a manifest sign of this intention and wish of mine. In proportion to my possessions, as you will surely know, I have incurred more expenses for him than reasonable. As Varro used to say, "There is a limit to the pot."

d Returning to Prudence, I would like to know from you about her family, her manners and her wealth. If she is not wholly an unworthy daughter-in-law for me and if my son shows himself such as we wish and hope, they will not be lacking in any token of love either from me or from the whole family. To be sure, this gentle father's heart can forget what has happened before, which all the family now so regrets. Therefore, what he has done wrong just has to be erased from my heart by his future achievements. Yesterday I wrote quite a long letter to my son, in which I reminded him of his duty. I expect a letter from him from the Indies within two or three months, and not only from him, but also from his superiors, in which I will learn about everything. I will certainly inform you about everything.

e I received what must be added in the appropriate passages in your excellent work on painting from Colinus four days ago. He added he had heard from you that the right reverend lord Ely is threatening my son with a charge for loss of the fellowship because he had married against the statutes of the college, but that the right reverend lord archbishop altogether denied this; no doubt, as I suppose, because he knows I summoned him to Holland for the very purpose of him not marrying. He had stayed with me for truly a whole year and several months before I suspected anything about a secret marriage. I reproached him that he had wholly denied that what I had heard about the love affairs was true. He answered that both with the right reverend lord archbishop and with you there had been talk of another girl, which he had most truthfully denied; that the one whom he had married was a completely different person, and that he had not denied anything, but concealed it; that there were also examples of other fellows who had married secretly in order not to lose the benefits of

Matthew Wren succeeded him. Graduated D.D. from Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, in 1618, he had been senior dean of Sion College, London, bishop of Carlisle and bishop of Norwich. A supporter of Laud's church policies, he agitated against sabbatarianism and dedicated his *Treatise of Sabbath-Day* (1635) to Archbishop Laud, by King Charles' order. By Royal Warrant, dated 4 March 1629, a fellow who married lost his fellowship, **87b**. Cf. *DNB* 61.34-35 Rademaker (1981:334).

de alia fuisse sermonem, de qua verissime negarit; hanc, quam duxit, longe aliam esse;¹⁷ nec de ea se negasse, sed dissimulasse; habere se aliorum etiam sociorum exempla, qui clam uxorem duxerint, ne excidant Collegii emolumentis; ac tam sibi, quam suae, decretum fuisse tamdiu hoc totum occultare, usque dum vel hic vel in Anglia aliud vitae genus obtigisset; paratum interea se alteri, qui promissionem habeat societatis primo vacaturae, cedere quamprimum, dummodo pro cessione maturata pretium annumeretur. Hoc °usitatum pervulgatumque esse addebat. Et ne plane hac parte decipere me voluisse videatur, facit, quod scio Anglum non levi honore fungentem, et qui in Collegiis ipse vixerit, filio, nomine alterius, florenos mille promississe.¹⁸ Eo autem scripseram, faceres, quantum honestas sinit, quia nolim te in ullius gratiam agere quicquam, quod hominibus honestis non probaretur. Tu qui istic es, melius cognoscis quid fas sit. Ego nec pro carissimis pedem moverim in negotio legibus interdicto, nec alterum id meorum caussa facere velim. Cariora mihi °conscientia, et nominis honestas.

f Necdum cognovi ex te, an libri et utensilia filii adhuc in Collegio sint. Volebat inde libros, chartam, picturam meam, transmitti ad me, imo et utensilia, uti mensam, lintea, et id genus, conditione tamen ea, ut ex | istis nihil negetur Prudentiae, siquid delegerit.¹⁹ Videmus hinc eius amorem erga illam—quamquam fortasse et aliud in caussa esse potest, ut si a socru pecunias acceperit.²⁰ Quod si est, nihil minus potest, quam hoc pacto vel satisfacere, vel debiti summam annuere. Vides, ut coniecturis indulgeam, quia naturam negotii non satis mihi filius detexit. Verum quid si et alii manus iniicere utensilibus, imo non his solum, sed libris etiam volent? Nam intellexi ex Iacobo, cognato cauponis Londinensis, ubi cum liberis divertebam, faenori accepisse florenos sexcentos, tantumque abesse, ut caput sive sortem restituat, ut nec usurae nomine quod debitum exsolvat.²¹ Huiusmodi

e usitatum: \usitatum/ | conscientia: [- ho] conscientia

¹⁷ Joannes had married Prudence Greene. The other girl is unidentified, **87b**.

¹⁸ Englishman unidentified.

¹⁹ The furniture had already been transferred to Prudence's place, **99b**, **102h**.

²⁰ Prudence Greene's mother, details unidentified, **105b**.

²¹ James, a relative of a London innkeeper, both of whom are unidentified. The innkeeper may have been "Wessel in fenchurchstreet at beilleter lane ende, In de Prins of Orange. een goede herberge" [... a good inn], with whom Joannes Vossius had stayed in 1628, cf. Rawl. 84b, ff. 117–18, **App3**. Vossius had been in London with Matthaeus and Dionysius Vossius in 1629, **66a**.

the college, and that both he and she had decided to hide it all for the time being until he would have entered a different kind of life either here or in England; that he was meanwhile prepared to give way as soon as possible to someone else to whom a fellowship was promised as soon as a vacancy occurred, provided that a price were paid for the premature leaving. He added that this is customary and common. And [the assertion] that an Englishman who holds a high position and who had stayed in colleges himself had promised my son a thousand guilders on behalf of someone else leads me to believe that he really did not wish to deceive me in this respect. I had therefore written to you to do as much as respectability permits, for I do not want you to do anything for anyone's sake that is not approved of by respectable people. You, who are there, will better understand what is allowed. I would not venture, not even for my near and dear, into an affair prohibited by law, nor would I wish anyone else to do so for my family. A clear conscience and a good reputation are too dear to me.

f I have not yet heard from you whether my son's books and furniture are still in the college. From them, he wanted the books, a map and a portrait of me to be sent to me; well, even the furniture, such as a table, linen and that kind of things, yet upon the condition that nothing of it is denied to Prudence if she wished to choose anything. In this we see his love for her, although perhaps something else can also be the case; for instance if he accepted money from his mother-in-law. If this is so, there is nothing for it but either to accept this agreement or pay the amount of the debt. You see how I am giving myself up to guesses, because my son has not sufficiently revealed the nature of the affair to me. But what if other people also wish to lay their hands on the furniture, and not only on that, but also on the books? For I gathered from James, a relative of the London innkeeper with whom I stayed with my children, that he had received six hundred guilders on interest, and has not returned the principal sum or capital bearing interest by any manner or means, nor even paid what was due on account of the interest. Such was what I had already heard from you when you were here in the company of the most illustrious earl of Arundel, and I urgently asked my son about it. He said he owed no more than 60 guilders. But after this James had hastened here and had given me evidence of this, he dared deny no further, but said in his defence that this had been groundless when he was said to owe

quid ex te cognoram iam tum, cum hic esses in comitatu illustrissimi Comitum Arundelii, atque ego sedulo de hoc exquisivi ex filio.²² Ille dicere non ultra florenos 60 debere. Sed postquam Iacobus ille hac excurrit, mihi que indicium eius rei fecit, non ausus ultra negare, sed eo se excusare, quod haec vana fuerint cum diceretur debere, sed multo postea cum uxorem clam duceret, a Iacobo tantam summam faenori sumsisse. Equidem multum metuo, ne aliter sit. Utcumque fuerit, debere tantum pecuniae extra controversiam est. Quare si Iacobo innotuerit, difficulter fortasse libros recipiemus. Et tamen nihil damni facturus Iacobus, dummodo paucis annis se filius in Indiis probarit. Inde enim persolvendum erit aes alienum, quemadmodum mihi significavit. Itaque ante discessum suum tabulas publicas fieri curavit, quibus potestatem mihi faceret pecuniae hic recipiendae, quae a praefectis Indicae negotiationis sibi, stipendii nomine vel aliter, singulis cederet mensibus. In hoc intricato negotio opus tibi erit consilio auxilioque hominis fidi, quique nos amet, et talium sit intelligens.²³ Ego gratus erga eum semper ero, ut potero. Et ante omnes erga te, qui quam molestam sumas operam, facile video. Sed dispice, an non possis te exonerare, nullo incommodo meo, aut sane minimo. Nihil refert per te an alium exsequaris, dummodo fiat, quod opus. Vale, coniunctissime affinis.

Amstelodamo, MDCXXXV, *pridie idus Aprilis stilo novo*.²⁴

Tuus omni officio, Ger. Io. Vossius.

g Verte.

| Post superiores literas a me scriptas accepi epistolam a reverendissimo Domino Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, sane perhumanam. In ea mihi de negotio filii Ioannis sic scribit,²⁵

De Iohanne tuo doleo, quod nequeas in eo illum studiorum amorem, quem desideras, excitare. Sed quum res ita se habeant, alia aggrediendum est via, et sapienter meo iudicio facis, si alia animo tuo agitare

f vana fuerint: \vana fuerint/

²² Junius had been in Holland with the earl of Arundel early in 1633, **87a**.

²³ John Francius was asked for this, **104**.

²⁴ The date should probably be old style, **e**.

²⁵ Laud's letter to Vossius is dated 35 03 09. The quotation is in an unidentified

them, but that he had received such a great sum in interest from James much later when he had secretly married. Indeed, I much fear that it is otherwise. But whatever has happened, it is beyond dispute that he owes so much money. For this reason, if it becomes known to James, we will perhaps recover the books with difficulty. And still, James will suffer no loss, provided that my son makes himself acceptable in the Indies for a couple of years, for from this his debt will have to be paid, just as he pointed out to me. Before his departure he had official deeds drafted for this purpose, in which he granted me authorization here to collect the money which would fall to him on the title of salary or otherwise from the superiors of the Indian Company each month. In this tricky affair you will need the advice and assistance of a trustworthy person, who loves us and understands such matters. I will always be grateful to him as much as I can, and before all to you, who are assuming a duty of which I clearly see how troublesome it is. But see whether you can disburden yourself without any, or indeed little inconvenience for me. It does not matter at all whether you accomplish it yourself or through someone else, as long as what is necessary happens.

Farewell, dearest Brother.

At Amsterdam, 1635, on the day before the Ides of April, [new] style [12 Apr.].

Obligingly Yours, Ger.Jo. Vossius.

g Please turn over.

After having written the above letter, I received a truly most obliging letter from the right reverend lord archbishop of Canterbury; in it he writes about my son Joannes' affair as follows:

As for your Joannes, I am sorry that you cannot rouse in him that love for studies which you would have wished. But such being the case, one must break new ground, and you will do wisely, in my opinion, if you begin to deliberate upon other possibilities in your mind. But do not think of his return to England. For hardly a month has passed since a common rumour spread in Cambridge that he had not only promised engagement to that woman about whom I wrote before, but also publicly celebrated the wedding ceremony with her in the presence of the church. The place and time were mentioned; the

hand. This passage gives Laud's details on the marriage of Joannes and Prudence, **100j**. Cf. *ICVossius* (1993:206).

incipias. De reditu autem eius in Angliam noli cogitare. Nam mensis vix praeteriit, quo publica fama Cantabrigiae increbuit, illum non solum fidem dedisse mulieri illi, de qua antea scripsi, sed cum ea solennia matrimonii publice in facie ecclesiae celebrasse.²⁶ Nominatur locus tempusque.²⁷ Praepositus et socii Collegii Iesu consilia ineunt de alio in eius locum, utpote sic vacantem, surrogando.²⁸ Fama etiam in aures meas volat. Ego ad ecclesiam parochialem nominatam mitto, registrum matrimoniale (quo in singulis parochiis utimur) inspiciendum curo; nihil ibi reperitur de solennizatione matrimonii.²⁹ Desistunt ergo ab intentione sua socii, nec alium eligunt. Sed vides quae sit opinio, quae expectatio; et si redierit filius, certo certius aliquid eveniet, quod nolis. Et ut finis sit huic malo, optime opinor consules et famae, et saluti filii tui, si ibi eum retineas, disponasque ut ei magis congruum esse inveneris. Resignatio autem societatis in Collegio Iesu, in forma iuris manu propria °[*Vossius i.m.*: qui possim, cum tam longe absit? Si opus, excusabis me, ut qui nesciam, quid facto sit opus.] subscripta, si ad me mittatur, ut in manus Praepositi istius Collegii tradatur, quamprimum curabo, ut sic honeste a Collegio discedat. Aliter probabile est, illos tam diu absentem ulterius non expectaturos, sed locum eius vacuum pronuntiaturus, quod nollem factum.³⁰ °[*Vossius i.m.*: Quid remedii? Si opus resignatione, et ego vel tu nomine filii id praestare valeamus, sane fiat.]

Hactenus reverendissimus Dominus. Ex his literis colligo, siquae nuptiae inter filium et Prudentiam initae, clandestinas esse, ac fortasse eiusmodi, ut in Anglia non magis habeantur legitimae, quam apud nos.³¹ Tanto magis silendum de connubio videtur. Itaque in literis meis ad reverendissimum *Dominum* Archiepiscopum super eo taceo. °Tu arte corriges. Tantum enim rescripsi in hunc modum,³²

g [*Vossius i.m.*: qui . . . opus]: c (*i.m. in Vossius's hand*) Qui possit, tam longe absens? | [*Vossius i.m.*: Quid . . . fiat]: c (*i.m. in Vossius's hand*) Quid remedii? | Tu [arte] corriges: \Tu [arte] corriges/; c –

²⁶ According to Joannes, Laud only knew of another girl, e. Seventeenth-century English and Dutch law stipulated that the spousals, the formal exchange of promises between spouses before witnesses, could be either a contract *per verba de futuro*, a promise to marry in the future, which could be broken if unconsummated, or a contract *per verba de praesenti*, which was immediately and irrevocably binding, even without the need of a church wedding or a minister's attendance. Although a church wedding was not legally required, people usually did celebrate it in order to receive a formal blessing. The Cambridge rumour meant that the contract between Joannes and his spouse had been not just *per verba de futuro*, but had been celebrated in church as well, and was accordingly binding. Cf. Stone (1977:31–32), van Deursen (1978:22–25).

²⁷ Joannes and Prudence must have obtained the usual licence to marry in church

president and fellows of Jesus College started to deliberate over choosing someone else in his place, since it was vacant in this way. This rumour has also come to my attention. I sent [someone] to the parish church mentioned and had the matrimonial register (which we use in each parish) examined; nothing could be found there about the solemnization of the marriage [*Vossius' comment*: Is it clandestine? Is there none?]. So the fellows gave up their resolution and did not choose anyone else. But you see what the opinion is and what the expectation, and if your son returns, something you do not want is certain to happen. For there to be an end to this misfortune, you will, I think, best care for both your son's reputation and welfare, if you keep him there and try to find something more suitable for him. But if the termination of the fellowship in Jesus College, signed in his own hand in accordance with the regulations [*Vossius' comment*: How could I, because he is so far away? If necessary, you will apologise for me because I do not know what must be done.] is sent to me to be handed to the president of that college, I will see to it that he leaves the college thus in a respectable way as soon as possible. Otherwise, it is probable that they will no longer wait for someone absent for so long, but proclaim his place vacant, which I would not want to happen. [*Vossius' comment*: What remedy? If there is need of a termination and I or you can do this on my son's behalf, it will surely happen.]

Thus far the right reverend lord. From this letter I gather that if a marriage has been contracted between my son and Prudence, it is clandestine and perhaps of such kind, that it is considered as illegal in England as in our country. It seems one must all the more be silent about the marriage. So I have been silent about it in my letter to the right reverend lord archbishop. You must firmly correct it, for I only wrote back as follows:

in order to avoid the public proclamation of banns in church thrice before their wedding. The place and time indicated on the licence were a church next to London bridge in Cambridge and 13 February 1632, English style, **105c**. Cf. Stone (1977:31–32).

²⁸ Stephen Hall, president of Jesus College.

²⁹ *c* (*i.m.* in *Vossius' hand*) An clandestinae? An nullae? [Is (the wedding) clandestine? Is there none?]. Laud was misled because they had actually married in a different parish than intended, **105c**.

³⁰ The College might otherwise be assigned a fellow they would never have chosen themselves, **102e**.

³¹ Contrary to *Vossius' suggestion*, also clandestine marriages were legitimate, as long as the spouses had exchanged promises before witnesses and followed this by consummation, cf. below, **105c**.

³² *Vossius' letter to Laud* is dated 35 04 16. The quotation is written in the same unidentified hand as the previous quotation. Cf. *ICVossius* (1993:208).

Filius Ioannes operam suam addixit praefectis Indicae °negotiationis. Fisci iis fuerit advocatus. Spero idoneum magis fore seculi rebus, quam eum expertus sum in humanitatis studiis, vel sacris. Nihil igitur superest, quam ut honeste alteri loco cedat in Collegio.³³ Interea multum me regiae beneficentiae tuaeque sollicitudini debere profiteor, quod hactenus ei bene in Anglia fuerit, saltem bene esse potuerit, nisi per ipsum stetisset.³⁴ Quicquid superest, spero exequetur coniunctissimus affinis meus Franciscus Iunius, ad quem fuse scripsi. Siqua in re opus ei fuerit consilio, vel auctoritate tua, confido illam non defore.

| Putavi haec tibi constare oportere, ut facilius certiusque dirigas universa. Sed quomodo facto opus apud Praefectum Collegii Iesu ut honeste filius dimittatur, nec °excidamus pecunia, quae ex dividendis debetur, vel libris, quos a me ex mea, parentis, et avi sui habet bibliotheca?³⁵ Equidem literas, quas ad eum mitto, apertas reliqui, ne ignorare possis quae scripserim.³⁵ Si nihil iis insit, quod negotium disturbet, trades, sin secus, ages, prout consilium in arena ceperis, vel amici suggerent.³⁶ Molestus tibi sum, sed spero postremum fore. Negotium enim non facessere amicis, sed expedire magis soleo, ac prope id iam in naturam vertit.

h Exemplaria aliquot mitto librorum meorum de arte grammatica.³⁸ Unum tibi debetur.³⁹ Duo Cantabrigiam, ac totidem °Cantuariam transmittenda. °Inauratum extimis paginis °futurum bibliothecae °Cantabrigiensi. Duo °alia °danda Praeposito Collegii Iesu, et bibliothecario Bodleano, Rouse.⁴⁰ Addidi et secundum inauratum, quod, si voles, vel adolescenti nobilissimo, cuius studiis praees, illustrissimo dico Comitum Arondelii filio donabis (non inconueniens est illi aetati argumentum), vel si secus tibi videbitur, tuo meo nomine offeres

g negotiationis: neg\oti/ationis (*Insertion in Vossius' hand*) | excidamus... vel: \excidamus... vel/ | **h** Cantuariam: [*Oxonium* > Cantuariam] | Inauratum: *c* Inaurat\orum unum/ | futurum: \[- *duas*]/ [*cess*... > futurum] | Cantabrigiensi: Cantabrigiensi [- *et Oxoniensi*] | alia: *c* alia \non inaurata/ | danda: \danda/

³³ Junius resigned Joannes' fellowship in May, **102e**.

³⁴ Laud had concerned himself with arranging a fellowship for Joannes at Cambridge in 1628, **59b**.

³⁵ Richard Sterne, master of Jesus College. Presumably Joannes had books from Vossius' father, the predicant Joannes Vossius (1549–1585), or his father-in-law, the Dordrecht predicant Hendrik van den Corput (1536–1601). Cf. Rademaker (1981:6–12, 68, 441, 443).

³⁶ Vossius' letter to Sterne unretrieved, cf. *ICVossius* (1993, s.v.).

My son Joannes has committed his service to the superiors of the Indian Company. He will be their chief public prosecutor. I hope he will be more suitable for worldly matters than I have found him to be for either the study of arts or theology. So there remains nothing for him but to give up his place in the college to someone else in a respectable way. Meanwhile, I acknowledge that I owe much to the king's beneficence and to your care, because it has been good for him in England so far; at least, it could have been good, if it had not come to a standstill through him. Whatever remains will be arranged, I hope, by my dearest brother-in-law Francis Junius, whom I have written at length. If he needs either advice or your authority in any respect, I trust he will not lack it.

I thought this should be plain to you in order to arrange everything more easily and definitely. But how should it be arranged with the master of Jesus College, so that my son is sent down in a respectable manner and we do not lose the money which is due from the share or the books he has from my—his father's—and his grandfather's library? I actually left the letter I am sending to him open so that you could know what I have written. If there is nothing in it which may thwart the affair, you must deliver it, but if otherwise, you must do just as you would take counsel in the arena, or just as friends suggest. I am troublesome to you, but I hope it will be the last time, for I usually do not burden friends with business, but rather take care of it myself, and this has almost become second nature by now.

h I am sending several copies of my book *On the Art of Grammar*. One is for you. Two must be sent to Cambridge and as many to Canterbury. One with gilt-edged pages will be for the Cambridge library. Two others must be given to the president of Jesus College and the librarian of the Bodleian, Rous. I have also added a second gilt-edged one, which you must present—if you wish—either to the most noble young man whose studies you superintend, I mean the most illustrious son of the earl of Arundel (the subject is not unsuitable at that age), or, if you think otherwise, you must present it on your or my behalf to whomever is devoted to me. Yet I think as follows, that what has been dedicated to the great king's first-born, the most eminent Prince of Wales, will not be unwelcome to the offspring of such a great nobleman. I

³⁷ Seneca the Younger, *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* 22.1.5–6, “Vetus proverbium est gladiatorem in arena capere consilium.”

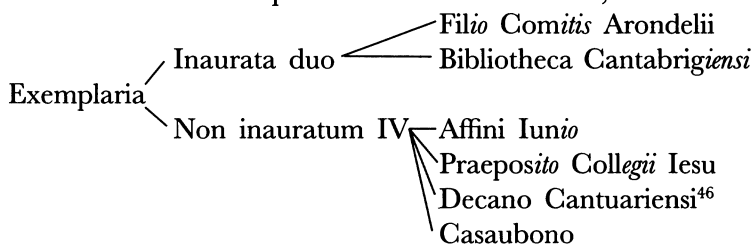
³⁸ Vossius, *Aristarchus* (1635), 86f.

³⁹ Junius' copy of *Aristarchus* not identified in UBL.

⁴⁰ Stephen Hall.

cuicumque amanti mei.⁴¹ Mihi tamen sic videtur, non ingratum fore tanti herois suboli quod magni Regis primogenito, celsissimo Walliae Principi, est dicatum.⁴² Utinam modo affectum et devotionem meam erga eam domum, quae in excelso posita, et tam tibi bene vult, quam ipsi semper te cupere intellexi, uberiori argumento testari °possim. Spero aliquando id erit. Attamen spissius paullo, quam si Dionysium meum haberem, in quem iam aetate illa non exigua domus meae cura recumbebat.⁴³ Viveret ille, aliquibus curis aliis liber, iam in sacris nonnulla publici iuris fecissem, quae parturio, sed tam tardo molimine, ut mei me ipsius pene fastidium capiat. Et nulla tamen hic mea culpa. Ita a mane ad vesperum nullus est interpellandi finis, non homullis dico, quibus negare poteram mihi integrum esse horas perdere, sed genere | doctrinaque ac meritis de publico egregiis viris, aliis urbis huius, aliis e vicinis urbibus, nec paucioribus e regnis propinquis, vel longe etiam dissitis, quos etsi maximi facio ob egregias virtutes et affectum erga me suum tamen non possum non dolere, quod °per eos stet, quo minus quae multorum annorum spatio observavi, et vel confecta iam, vel saltem affecta habeo, publico bono mihi liceat divulgare.⁴⁴

°Ignosces lituris in iis occupationibus.⁴⁵ Res sic habet,



- i De septingentorum reditu annuo statutum uxori propediem ad te scribere.⁴⁷ Utinam valetudo eiusmodi foret, ut non in his et similibus tardior esset, quam vellemus.

^h possim: affectum meum possim | per . . . minus: \per . . . minus/ | Ignosces . . . Casaubono: \Ignosces . . . Casaubono/; c -

⁴¹ Either Vossius is imprecise here, or Junius had never informed his family he was tutor no longer to William Howard, but to the earl of Arundel's grandchildren, of whom the eldest, Thomas, was only seven years old, **86a**, **102a**.

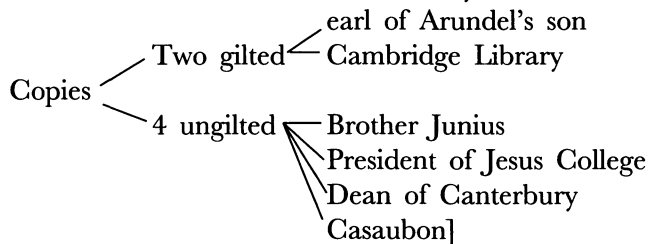
⁴² Charles, Prince of Wales.

⁴³ Dionysius Vossius had died in 1633, **92c**.

⁴⁴ The "homulli" were presumably Vossius' students or boarders. In his Amsterdam

wish I could testify my affection and devotion for that house, which is placed at a great height and wishes you so well as I learnt that you always desire for them, with a more copious subject. I hope this will happen one day, but still somewhat more slowly than if I had had my Dionysius, on whom, even at that age, a quite substantial care for my house rested. Had he lived, I would be free from some other cares and would already have produced several publications on theology over which I am brooding, but with such a slow exertion that I almost take aversion to myself. Still, nothing here is my fault. From morning until night there is no end to the interruptions, not by little men, I mean, whom I could deny it to be fitting for me to spend hours with them, but by men excellent in descent, learning and merits in public, some of this town, some of neighbouring towns and no fewer from neighbouring kingdoms or even distant ones, whom I highly esteem, though, for their excellent virtues and their affection for me. And yet, I cannot fail to regret that it is their fault that I cannot publish for the public weal what I have observed during the space of many years and have either already finished or at least already begun.

[You must excuse the corrections due to the fuss. They are as follows:



- i My wife has decided to write you soon about the yearly annuity of seven hundred [guilders]. I wish that her health were such that she is not slower in this and similar affairs than we would wish.

years, Vossius kept in touch with scholars in Denmark, Sweden, Germany, Italy, France and England, cf. Rademaker (1981:254–91).

⁴⁵ “Ignosces . . . Casaubono” occurs in the margin.

⁴⁶ Isaac Bargrave, dean of Canterbury.

⁴⁷ Elizabeth Junius’ letter to Junius, if it was written, is unretrieved. The remark concerns the annuity Junius enjoyed from Dordrecht, 7f; presumably the same

j Dum in his scribendis sum, ecce mihi literae ab illustrissimo Suecici regni legato Hugone Grotio,⁴⁸ tui, nostrique amantissimo. In iis haec de te leguntur,⁴⁹

Quaerenti mihi aliquem, vir praestantissime, qui me in epistolis scribendis aut describendis adiuvet, et quicum de literis praesertim illis sanctoribus sermones conferre possim, cuiusque opera simul usui esse possit in paranda editione eorum, quae ad Evangelia notavimus, ante omnes mihi in mentem venit Francisci nostri Iunii;⁵⁰ sed primum abs te scire cupiam, quae commoda apud Comitem Arundelium habeat, ne quid ei offeram, quo conditio eius deterior fiat; deinde an putes eum et velle et—sine quo non est, ut velit—honeste posse mutare Britannicam Gallica sedem.

Ego ad ista quod respondeam non habeo, priusquam °te consulero.⁵¹ Is quicum viveres, est magnus plane vir, doctrinarum facile princeps. Si idem °nunc tibi ardor esset arcana studiorum penetrandi, °qui adolescenti fuit, aliquanto alia ratio foret. Nunc venationes, et alia aulae studia, fortasse invitum etiam paulum diversis moribus imbuere.⁵² Adde, quod rei Suecicae fortuna in Germania quidem admodum

j te consulero: \te consulero/ | nunc tibi ardor: \nunc tibi ardor/ | qui: quae

payment of the income about which Vossius wrote to Jacob de Witt, “Chartam mitto, testem beneficii ab urbis vestrae proceribus collati Francisco Fr. Iunio. Spero hoc viduae dabit Quaestor, ut tanto nunc promptior sit in exsolvendo, quanto ego tardior fui in negotio urgendo” [I am sending you a document, proof of the favour bestowed on Francis Fr. Junius by your town. The treasurer will give it to the widow, I hope, so that he will be the quicker now in paying, as I was the slower in urging the matter], 35 04 05, Rawl. 84c, f. 103. One year earlier, Vossius had also exacted payment of Junius’ annuity from de Witt, “[n]unc ad te apocham mitto, ut consequar a te vitales redditus affinis mei Iunii in illustrissimi Arundelii aula agentis. Salvum etiam et sospitem esse adscripsi; quod potui, quia ante pauculas hebdomadas ab eo litteras accepi. Quaestor Ecclesiasticus tardum est nomen, et metuo ne Indies peius fiat. Si molestum est nunc solvere universum, quid si dividuum faciat, nunc partim, partim postmodo solvendo? Omnino satius erit posthac pro Iuniolo singulis semestribus poscere” [I am now sending you a document in order to get from you the annuity of my brother-in-law Junius, who is staying at the court of the most illustrious (earl of) Arundel. I have also added that he is safe and sound; which I could do, because I received a letter from him very few weeks ago. The church treasurer is a tardy payer, and I fear it is getting worse from day to day. If it is troublesome to pay the total now, what if he divides it into two to pay it partly now, (and) partly later? In the future it will absolutely be better for little Junius(!) to ask for it every six months], 34 06 04, Rawl. 84c, f. 95.

⁴⁸ Colomesius silently included **j** to **1**, “Dum in his scribendis sum . . . et ab uxore et liberis salve,” at the end of letter **99**, thus antedating all information in them

j While I am writing this, look, a letter for me from the most illustrious ambassador of the king of Sweden, Hugo Grotius, deeply devoted to you and me. In it, this can be read about you:

Since I am looking for someone, most distinguished sir, to assist me in writing or copying letters, and with whom I can have discussions especially on holy Scripture and whose assistance can at the same time be of use for preparing an edition of what I annotated to the Gospels, our Francis Junius has come to mind before others. But I first want to know from you which commodities he is enjoying with the earl of Arundel, in order not to offer him something with which his position would deteriorate; and next, whether you think that he both wishes to—and without that there is no reason for him to be willing—and is able honourably to exchange a dwelling-place in England for one in France.

I have nothing to answer to this before having consulted you. The one you would stay with is surely a great man, easily the chief of erudition. If you had the same desire of penetrating the secrets of studies now as you had as a young man, it would be somewhat different. Now hunting and other courtly exercises have gradually imbued you, perhaps also against your will, with different habits. Add that the chances of the Swedish cause are quite wavering, at least in Germany, and that your condition would depend upon Grotius' and his upon Sweden's. If that goes wrong, it would perhaps

by three months. Grotius' letter to Vossius unretrieved; the following quotation is its only known passage. Grotius had become ambassador of Sweden in Paris early March 1635. After his unsuccessful attempt at rehabilitation in the Low Countries, **86c**, he had moved to Hamburg, Germany, in the fruitless hope that England would invite him to come and settle. When England, and in particular William Laud, failed to take his fate to heart, Grotius finally accepted Sweden's offer. Cf. *BWGrotius* 5.ix–x, 17.2060A, Nellen (1985:59–62), Trevor-Roper (1992:62–65).

⁴⁹ The quotation is in an unidentified hand other than the one in **g**.

⁵⁰ To be published in 1641 as Grotius, *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum* (1641), **152g**.

⁵¹ Before receiving Junius' reply in **102c**, Vossius wrote back to Grotius, “de affine Iunio multum gaudeo, quod tanti eum facias, ut operam eius potissimum exoptes; scio quantum hoc ei incrementum in sacris et civilibus studiis afferre possit. Sed qua conditione apud illustrissimum Arundelium vivat, dicere non habeo, uti nec illud, an ad certum annorum spatium se familiae illi obstrinxerit” [concerning Brother-in-law Junius I am very pleased that you think so much of him to desire especially his assistance; I know how great increase in sacred and public studies this could bring to him. But I cannot say on which condition he is staying with the most illustrious (earl of) Arundel, nor this, whether he has connected himself to that family for a fixed number of years], 35 05 15, *BWGrotius* 5.2101.

⁵² Cf. Junius' reply in **102c**.

fluctuat; tuaque condicio a Grotiana, illa a Suecica dependeret.⁵³ Ea °excussa, fortasse operosum esset Arundelianae similem invenire. Spero etiam tam luculentum tibi esse | nunc annum stipendium,⁵⁴ ut Domino legato difficile fuerit cum illustris adeo Comitum familia certare liberalitate. Verum quid ego tam operose de eo ad te? Qui in rebus tuis (in quibus ego prorsus caecutio, quia de iis tam parci esse sermonis soleas)⁵⁵ decuplo et amplius videre possis quid facto sit opus, me etiam tacent. Attamen rogo, quamprimum mihi perscribas, quid rescribere debeam. Iniquum enim sit, si mora nostra impediamus, quo minus tempori sibi consulat vir et amicus summus. Edidit is his hebdomadis Sophompaneam, quod Iosepho Israelis filio nomen in Aegypto.⁵⁶ Tragoedia est, magna arte scripta, quae eo tibi gratior erit, quia nomini illam inscripsit meo. °Propediam eam ad te et amicos transmittam.⁵⁷

k Memini ante exemplarium de re grammatica, quae ad te misi.⁵⁸ Praeter ista misi reverendissimi et illustrissimi Domini Archiepiscopi secretario duo holoserico vestita; unum spero ab ipso Domino Archiepiscopo tradetur de manu in manum illustrissimo Walliae Principi, alterum ipsi Domino Archiepiscopo cedit.⁵⁹ Nisi aliter ipsi videatur. Addidi enim et aliud solum °inauratum, quod cui videbitur procerum tradere possit. Secretarius vero habet exemplar unum

j excussa: excusso; *c* excusso | Propediam . . . transmittam: \Propediam . . . transmittam/ | **k** inauratum: *c* (in *Vossius-s hand*) inauratum \et hoc chartae regiae/; *p* inauratum et hoc chartae regiae

⁵³ Following Gustav Adolph of Sweden's successful involvement in the Thirty Years' War in Germany from 1630, the Swedish-*cum*-Protestant cause had been greatly weakened at his death in 1632. Christina being still a minor, the councillor Axel Oxenstierna (1583–1654) had concluded the League of Heilbronn with Protestant princes in April 1633, yet lacked the necessary support of Saxony and Brandenburg. Due to Sweden's crushing defeat at Nördlingen in September 1634, the League had crumbled and the Peace of Prague was being negotiated with Habsburg, without concessions to Sweden, to be signed several weeks after the present letter, in May. Currently, on 28 April, Oxenstierna—who had come to France because Grotius, the Swedish ambassador there, did not manage to change French terms—signed the Treaty of Compiègne with France, which bound them to keep fighting for the Protestant cause. Sweden was to participate in the war until 1648. Cf. Parker (1984:121–48).

⁵⁴ Junius enjoyed an annuity of £50, **86a**.

⁵⁵ Junius had probably last informed Vossius of his position when he was in Holland in 1633, **87a**.

⁵⁶ Grotius, *Tragoedia Sophompaneas* . . . (Amsterdam: W. Blaeu, 1635), a tragedy on Joseph as viceroy of Egypt, dedicated to Vossius, who had seen it through the press,

be difficult to find one similar to Arundel's. I also expect you now to enjoy such a considerable yearly stipend, that it would be hard for Mr. ambassador to compete in generosity with the family of the so illustrious earl. But why am I so elaborate about this to you, who can see tenfold and more what must be done in your situation (about which I clearly grope in the dark, because you are usually so incommunicative about it), even when I am silent about it? But I still ask you to write me as soon as possible what I must write back, for it were unfair if we prevented this greatest gentleman and friend from deciding in time by our delay. These weeks he has published *Sophompaneas*, which was the name of Joseph, son of Israel, in Egypt. It is a tragedy, written with great skill, which will be all the more welcome to you, because he has dedicated it to me. I will soon send it to you and our friends.

k I have earlier mentioned the copies of my book *On Grammar* which I sent to you. Besides those, I sent two copies covered in silk to the secretary of the right reverend and illustrious lord archbishop; one copy must be given by the lord archbishop himself to the most illustrious Prince of Wales in person, I hope; the other one is for the lord archbishop himself. Unless he thinks otherwise. I have also added another copy, which is only gilded, [and this one on Regal Paper], which he can give to any dignitary he likes. The secretary has one gilded copy which must be given to the right reverend lord bishop of London. A similar one must likewise be presented to the Bodleian

with a letter dated 34 07 15. The tragedy was later included in editions of Grotius' *Poemata*. The book included *Baptizatorum puerorum institutio*, Grotius' translation of his "T'samensprake," which Junius had offered to translate into Latin in 1622, **45d**. Junius' copy not identified in UBL. Cf. *BGGrotius*, nos. 3–6, 78, 157–197, *BWGrotius* 5.1936, Eyffinger (1992).

⁵⁷ After several delays at Blaeu's press—with which Junius was to cope as well, **99g**, the book appeared in mid May. Due to Colomesius' inclusion of **j–l** in letter **99**, Eyffinger has been led to believe that in letter **99**, Vossius too optimistically indicated that *Sophompaneas* had already been printed. Cf. Eyffinger (1992:82–83).

⁵⁸ Vossius had probably sent the parcel with copies of the *Aristarchus* separately from the present letter, before having finished or written the postscript, **h**.

⁵⁹ William Dell (d. 1664), secretary to Laud from 1631, until moving to Laud's political and ecclesiastical enemies, and serving as minister of lord Thomas Fairfax's army, **169e**. In 1649 he was to become master of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. In his letter to Dell, dated 35 04 17, Vossius listed the copies and their recipients as repeated in the present letter, and indicated he was about to send copies—but had obviously not yet done so—to Cambridge University, Isaac Bargrave and Meric Casaubon, via Junius. Cf. *DNB* 14.323–25, **102a–b**, Colomesius 1.253.

inauratum tradendum reverendissimo domino Episcopo Londinensi; simile item offerendum bibliothecae Bodleanae apud Oxonienses.⁶⁰ Tria non inaurata addidi, unum ephoro illustrissimi Domini Principis, alterum bibliothecario apud Oxonienses Rouse, tertium ipsi secretario.⁶¹ Plura non misi, sed si mitti satius videatur, significa. Nolo illiberalius agendo gratiam deperdere. Sane si sacri fuisset argumenti, non hic munificentia mea stetisset. Sed scio materiem eius operis non facere ad omnium palatum, praesertim in magna Britannia, cui Theologica magis, °et fortasse sola arident.⁶²

- 1 Literas ad Praepositum Collegii Iesu relinquere apertas visum fuit, quo, ubi legeris, sub sigillo cerae aliquid subdas, atque inde, si sic videntur, tradas.⁶³ Sin existimes iis de filio contineri, quae | satius sit ignorare, retineri a te poterunt. Omnino enim, qui istic es, facilius me dispicies, quid facto sit opus. °Nec nomen scio, sed spatium reliqui, ubi scribas. Tandem tempus abrumpendae epistolae, ne loquacitate obtundam. Vale, charissime adfinis, et ab uxore et liberis salve.

Amstelodami, MDCXXXV, pridie kalendas Maias stylo novo.

Tuus omni officio, Ger. Io. Vossius.

¹⁰¹ 102 ₁₀₃ 35 06 01 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]¹

A Spectatissimo viro Gerardo Ioanni Vossio, affini coniunctissimo.

a Coniunctissime Domine affinis,

Litterae tuae in quibus librorum a te missorum mentio fiebat non nisi decimo postquam allatae essent die ad me perlatae sunt.²

k et fortasse sola: [*arident* > et fortasse sola] | Nec . . . scribas: \Nec . . . scribas/; c, p -

⁶⁰ William Juxon (1582-1663), bishop of London from 1633 and an intimate of Laud, whom he had succeeded. He was to be lord High Treasurer of England and privy councillor from March 1636 until 1641, and attended King Charles on the scaffold. Being deprived of his see during the Commonwealth as a consequence, he was nominated archbishop of Canterbury at the Restoration in 1660. Cf. *DNB* 30.233-37.

⁶¹ Brian Duppa; William Dell.

⁶² The almost exclusive interest in theological matters in England was owing to the growing tensions between supporters of Archbishop Laud's church policies, which promoted episcopacy and ceremonial observance of church rites, on the one side

Library in Oxford. I added three ungilted ones, one for the tutor of the most illustrious prince, the second for the librarian in Oxford, Rous, the third for the secretary himself. I have not sent more, but please let me know if it seems better to send more. I do not want to lose favour by acting too ingenerously. Truly, if the book had had a theological subject, my generosity would not have halted here. But I know that the subject of the work is not to everyone's palate, especially in Great Britain, where they smile more, and perhaps exclusively, on theology.

- 1 I have decided to leave open the letter to the president of Jesus College, so that you can put some wax under the seal after having read it and then deliver it, if it seems good in that way. But if you think it contains matters about my son that had better remain unknown, you could keep it back, for you, who are there, will perceive altogether more easily than I what must be done. And I do not know the name, but I have left room for you to write it. It is finally time to finish the letter, in order not to deafen you with my chatter. Farewell, dearest Brother, and my wife and children wish you well. At Amsterdam, 1635, on the day before the Kalends of May new style [30 Apr.].

Obligingly Yours, Ger.Jo. Vossius.

102 35 06 01 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]

A To the most excellent gentleman Gerardus Joannes Vossius, dearest Brother.

a Dearest Brother,

Your letter, in which mention was made of the books you had sent, was delivered to me only ten days after it had been brought here. I could not find any parcel of books marked with such a sign as the

and the Puritans on the other, which were to play an important role in the Civil War. At the same time, Vossius' observation may express his regret at still not feeling free to devote himself to the study of theology, **84c**. Cf. Fritze and Robison (1996:89–92, 284–85).

⁶³ Unretrieved, **g**. Vossius mixed up the “*praepositus*” Stephen Hall and the “*praefectus*” Sterne.

¹ *p*: Colomesius 2.219. The letter BL, Hl. 7011, f. 111, mentioned in Bremmer (1998b:221), is letter **91**.

² Letter **101**, mentioning copies of Vossius, *Aristarchus* (1635), **101h, k**.

Fasciculum librarium tali nota insignitum, qualem inscriptio literarum tuarum fasciculo °tributam testebatur, nullum invenire potui. Aliquoties ad portum advolans et cum inquisitoribus illis, qui in °portibus regia vectigalia curant, prece et pretio contendit, ut talem mihi fasciculum demonstrarent, omnes pernegabant, quicquam sibi de tali aliquo fasciculo constare.³ Subit tamen moestum animum cogitatio, adeundum mihi esse Dominum Dell, qui Archiepiscopo a secretis est; sperans fore, ut ex ipso intellegerem, an et qua ratione fasciculum sibi inscriptum nactus esset.⁴ Narrat ille miserum utriusque fasciculi casum, ac casu fere libros a se recuperatos, atque ex orci faucibus ereptos.⁵ Ipse forte super ea re ad te °perscripserit.⁶ Utcumque tamen tres tantum adhuc ab ipso libros recepi.⁷ Unum inauratum, quod tuo nomine tradidi primogenito Comitum nepoti; duo reliqua exemplaria Cantuarium misi, ut postulabas.⁸ Spem tamen facit Dellius, duo adhuc recuperare posse, quae Cantabrigiam, te monente, mitti debent.⁹ Quumque ostensa ea literarum tuarum parte, inauratum unum, quod Bibliothecae Cantabrigiensi deberetur, quacumque ratione inveniendum esse urgerem, etiam hoc spondit; scire enim se affirmabat, ubi Londini in *the High Commission-Court*, ut vocant, duo exemplaria delitescant, quae forte inter deripientium manus ad aliquem ibi pervenerunt, quorum unum inauratum esse arbitratur.¹⁰ Plura se invenire non posse contendebat.

b Biduum tamen nunc est, ex quo nihil etiamnum de exemplaribus istis desciscere potui. Misi heri vesperi ad ipsum; respondit peregre profectum hominem istum, intra biduum aut triduum rediturum.¹¹ Et mihi hoc ipso die rus abeundum; mensem unum atque alterum in Surria loco quodam 22 millia ab urbe hac transigemus.¹² Literas itaque tuas, una cum meis, ad Doctorem Richardum Sterne,

a tributam: ꝑ tributum | portibus: ꝑ portubus | perscripserit: ꝑ prescripsit

³ The king levied customs on all goods imported or exported from England; they were exceptionally high during these years. Cf. Smith (1997:282–83, 398–99).

⁴ Vossius had also sent copies of *Aristarchus* to William Dell, Archbishop Laud's secretary, **101k**.

⁵ "Faucibus orci," **56b**.

⁶ Dell's letter to Vossius is dated 35 05 23 (not seen), cf. *ICVossius* (1993:210).

⁷ Junius distributed the copies in accordance with Vossius' requests in **101h**.

⁸ Junius' pupil Thomas Howard—Junius silently corrected Vossius, who had referred to William Howard—Isaac Bargrave, dean of Canterbury, and Meric Casaubon, **101h**.

address on your letter indicated had been given to the parcel. Several times I hastened to the harbour and when I requested by prayer and price from those inspectors who are in charge of the royal impost in harbours to show me such a parcel, they all denied knowing anything about any such parcel. The thought suggested itself to my sad heart that I must go to Mr. Dell, who is the secretary to the archbishop, in the hope that I may hear from him whether and how he had acquired the parcel addressed to him. He related the tragic fate of both parcels, and that he had recovered the books almost by chance and had snatched them from the mouth of the Underworld. He may have written about it to you. Anyhow, I have received only three books from him yet. A gilt-edged one, which I presented to the earl's first-born grandchild on your behalf; the other two copies I sent to Canterbury, as you had asked. Dell roused hopes to be still able to recover two copies, which must be sent to Cambridge after your instruction. And when, by showing him that part of your letter, I pressed him that a gilt-edged one which was due to Cambridge Library must be found in whatever manner, he also promised to do so, for he testified to knowing where in London in the *High Commission-Court*, as it is called, two copies, one of which he believes to be gilt-edged, lie hidden, which may have come to someone there through the hands of thieves. He insisted he could not find any more.

b Yet, for two days now I have not been able to find out anything about those copies. Yesterday night I sent [someone] to him; he answered that that gentleman had gone out of town and will return within two or three days. And I must leave for the country this very day; we will spend a month or two at a place in Surrey twenty-two miles from this town. So I shall entrust your letter, as well as mine, for Dr. Richard Sterne, master of Jesus College, to a trustworthy friend to send them to Cambridge with the books (if it is possible

⁹ To Cambridge University Library and to Stephen Hall, president of Jesus College, **101h**.

¹⁰ The Court of High Commission, originally an ecclesiastic institution, had grown under Archbishop Laud into a comprehensive court for various lay offences, including political ones, and had developed inquisitorial traits. For this reason it was much detested, and abolished in 1641. The copies may have been brought there to be examined for their orthodoxy, but they were evidently not supposed to be kept there, **100k^a**. Cf. Fritze and Robison (1996:173–75, 414–16).

¹¹ Person unidentified.

¹² Presumably Albury, even though it was not exactly twenty-two miles from town, **95a**.

Praefectum Collegii Iesu, amico fideli committo, qui eas cum libris (si forte restituantur) Cantabrigiam mittat.¹³ Alioqui literas ad Praefectum dare nondum statui. Quod si libros recuperare non potuisse intellexero, literis hisce meis, tuisque, quas fido amico tradidi, alias addam, quibus eum de iactura librorum certiolem faciam. Sed spero non fore opus. Utcumque tamen nullum mihi exemplar relictum fuit, et si fuisset, Episcopo Herefordiensi tuo, meoque nomine lubens tradidissem. Spero acceperis prolixas literas meas, in quibus Herefordiensis Episcopi memini; dolerem sane si literae istae una cum auctario non poenitendo, calci opusculi nostri de pictura adiiciendo, ad manus tuas non pervenissent.¹⁴

- c Non tanto me dignor honore, quam habuit mihi clarissimus Grotius.¹⁵ Olim avide amplexus fuisset optatam conditionem; nunc operam meam addixi familiae Arundelianae, cui iam dudum, ut scis, adsuevi, et in qua, ut forte omnia non placeant, plura tamen placent; vitae genus, quod varias interdum recreationes severioribus curis interponit, satis indoli meae congruens experior.¹⁶ Totus iam sum in persequendis iis, quae de pictura coepi. Primo per otium in vernaculam nostram linguam ea, quae Latine dedi, transfero; quin etiam hortatu multorum in hoc regno Britannice idem conabor.¹⁷ Nolim enim alium quemquam, mentis meae non usque adeo gnarum, opus hoc interpolare; meae industriae hac in parte magis fido. Urgent admodum artifices, et quotquot artes illas delicatas amant, imminet deinde cura maioris operis; spondeo, ut scis, Catalogum Artificum.¹⁸ Non patiar quantum in me erit, fidem meam requiri. Horum nihil amplius possum, si novum vitae genus amplectar. Plura sunt quae afferre possem, sed haec praecipua; excusabis itaque non sine debita gratiarum

¹³ Neither Vossius' nor Junius' letter to Richard Sterne has been retrieved, **101g**, 1. Friend unidentified.

¹⁴ Letter **100**, which referred to Bishop Wren in **a-e**, and with which Junius had sent an addition for *De pictura* (1637), **100a**. Vossius had already attested to having received it in **101e**, and as Junius replied to letter **101** in the present letter, he must have forgotten Vossius' mention of the receipt.

¹⁵ Grotius had proposed Junius to become his secretary, **101j**.

¹⁶ Junius was at present engaged as tutor to the earl of Arundel's grandchildren, **86a**, but in 1631 he had temporarily left the Arundel family out of discontent with their slow payment for his previous service, **76b**, **83**. The phrase "operam meam addixi familiae Arundelianae" presumably led Ellenius (1960:49n) to suggest that Junius had originally intended to dedicate *De pictura* to the Arundel family, before being urged to dedicate it to King Charles—for which, cf. **100a-g**.

¹⁷ With the phrase "vernaculam nostram linguam" [our vernacular tongue], Junius meant Dutch, the language of the country in which he had been educated and

to recover them). Otherwise, I have not yet decided to send a letter to the master. But if I hear he could not recover the books, I will add another letter to mine and yours, which I have given to the trustworthy friend, in which I inform him of the loss of books. But I hope it will not be necessary. Anyhow, there was no copy left for me, and if there had been, I would gladly have presented it to the bishop of Hereford on your and my behalf. I hope you received my long letter in which I referred to the bishop of Hereford; I would truly be sorry if that letter, with the indespicable addition that must be appended to the end of our little work on painting, had not come to your hands.

- c I do not deem myself worthy of such a great honour as the widely renowned Grotius has for me. Once I would eagerly have welcomed the desirable position; now I have devoted my service to the family of Arundel, to whom I have already been accustomed for a long time, as you know, and, although perhaps not everything in them pleases me, most does; I have noticed that a way of life which alternates various pastimes with more serious concerns from time to time as quite agreeing with my character. I am wholly applying myself now to continuing what I have begun on painting. First, I will translate what I have written in Latin into our vernacular tongue in my leisure time and will also try the same in English at the instigation of many people in this kingdom. For I do not want anyone else, who does not fully understand my intentions, to corrupt this work. I better trust my own commitment in this respect. Artists and all those who love those delightful arts are pressing me. Next, the concern for a greater work is at hand; I have promised, as you know, a catalogue of artists. As best I can, I will not let my faithfulness be wanting. I would no longer be able to do any of this, if I enter a new way of life. There are many more arguments which I could adduce, but these are the most important ones. So, you must excuse me with due display of gratitude. We must mount our horses within

which was to form the principal stimulus of his future Germanic studies, **164c**, **169d**. He actually worked on a Dutch version of *De pictura* after having prepared an English one, **129e**, **116b**. The observation in *Literature* l.xxxixn that Junius called his English (and Dutch) translation “an occupation of his leisure time” puts too much emphasis on this phrase, which was used for studies of the arts and literature in general.

¹⁸ Junius’ *Catalogus artificum* (1694), **58b**.

actione; nunc intra horam unam atque alteram conscendendi nobis equi.¹⁹ Ad ipsum clarissimum *Dominum* Legatum scribere non possum.

- d Menses circiter tres sunt, ex quo literas ad sororem amicissimo mihi *Domino* Roberto van Voerst, sculptori eximio, iter ad vos instituenti, traditurus eram; impedit Rex tum temporis iter eius, et stipendio annuo mille florenorum detinet eum, additis insuper quadringentis florenis conducendae domui.²⁰ Adolescens est optimus, biduum modo aut triduum apud vos diversetur.²¹ Experiemini non indignum amicitia vestra hospitem, atque abunde gratum. Quid ab eo expectem, ut apud vos meo rogatu faciat, in iis ad sororem literis perscripsi, quas ipse adferet. Ubi venerit, de omnibus, quae opusculum illud meum spectant, certiozem ipsum facies; horulam unam, atque alteram lucraberis, quoniam ipse ad me perscribet illa, quae tibi alioqui perscribenda forte essent.²²
- e Cantabrigiam intra festum Nativitatis Christi ac praesens hoc tempus bis excurri.²³ Quumque post extremum reditum deprehendissem,

¹⁹ Vossius excused Junius to Grotius, "Quo tempore . . . literae meae affini Junio reddebantur, iam itineri cum *Domino* Comite accinctus vix pauca ad me unum potuit exarare. Profitetur multum se tibi debere pro tanto affectu nec, si ante annos aliquos ea conditio esset oblata, alteram fuisse praelaturum. Nunc ita se Arundelianae domui obstructum, ut bona cum gratia nequeat discedere. Praeterea iam isti se vitae generi adsuevisse; fore etiam, ut interrumpatur utile propositum de picturis veterum sepulchrisque explicandis, quod in gratiam serenissimi Regis et illustrissimi Comitis sui iamdiu suscepit. Iam tres ad me libros transmisit eruditos sane plurimaeque lectionis, quos Blauwius noster edere cogitat. Sequentur postea alii, non tam de arte quam artificibus ipsis. Credo pictorum sculptorumque illustrium ab omni aevo indicem velle texere, sed eum ad modum, quo actum mihi de historicis Graecis ac Latinis, Giraldo de poetis. In hoc opere adhuc distinetur" [at the time when my letter was rendered to him, Brother-in-law Junius was already ready for a journey with the earl of Arundel so that he could hardly write a few words to me alone. He attested to owe much to you for such a great affection and that he would not have preferred another condition if this one had been offered several years ago. (But) that he has now engaged himself to the Arundel family in such a way that he cannot leave with good grace. Besides the fact that he has accustomed himself to this way of life now, it would also interrupt the useful intention to explain the paintings and sepulchres of the ancients, which he undertook to do on behalf of the most serene king and his most illustrious earl already long ago. He has already sent to me three truly learned books of extensive reading, which our Blaeu considers to publish. Others, not on art but on the artists themselves, will follow later. I believe that he wishes to compile a catalogue of the illustrious painters and sculptors of every age, but in the method which I have used for the Greek and Latin historians and (Giovanni Battista) Giraldi for poets. He is still engaged in that work], 35 07 01, *BWGrotius* 6.2166. Grotius approved of Junius' decision, cf. *BWGrotius* 6.2225.

²⁰ Junius' letter to his sister, presumably Elizabeth Junius, unretrieved. It must have been written early March 1635, that is, between letter **99** and letter **100**.

an hour or two; I cannot write to the widely renowned Mr. ambassador himself.

- d** Some three months ago I was about to hand a letter for Sister to Mr. Robert van Voerst, an excellent sculptor, to whom I am deeply devoted, and who intended to make a trip to you. The king prevented his journey at that time and is engaging him at a yearly grant of a thousand guilders, adding four hundred guilders for renting a house. He is an excellent young man; he will stay with you for only two or three days. You will find him a guest worthy of your friendship and quite cheerful. What I expect him to do by my order at your place I have written in that letter for Sister which he will bring himself. When he comes, you must inform him of everything that pertains to my booklet, and you will save a small hour or two, because he will write to me what otherwise would perhaps have to be written by you.
- e** I hastened to Cambridge twice between Christmas and now. When I had understood after my latest return that the rumours were increasing daily and that many who were eagerly gaping at the fellowship were aiming at it by vile methods, and that the right reverend

Robert van Voerst (1596–1636), a Dutch engraver who had moved to England in 1628, having studied under the engraver Crispijn van de Passe the Elder (c. 1565–1637) in Utrecht, and become King Charles' engraver. Among other things, he engraved portraits for Anthony van Dyck's *Iconography*, such as the one of Sir Kenelm Digby, **110c**. Van Voerst must have been with the earl of Arundel and met Junius then. Cf. *DNB* 58.147–48, Nativel (1996:56).

²¹ Junius' use of "adolescens" [young man], to refer to someone in his forties is curious and may even reflect how Junius, also in his forties, looked upon himself.

²² *De pictura* was seen through the press by Vossius, **99g**. Van Voerst's letter to Junius, if it was written, is unretreived.

²³ Junius had to arrange the Cambridge affairs of Joannes Vossius, who had bungled his studies there and was at present sailing as chief public prosecutor to the East Indies, **96a**. Sections **e–h** give Junius' report. Although Joannes had wanted him to sell the Cambridge fellowship in order to pay off his debts, Vossius insisted that he do nothing improper, and informed Archbishop Laud they wished to resign the fellowship, **97b–e**, **99a**, **101e**, **g**. In the present section, Junius described how he did so, without any indication of his trying to sell it. He also had to collect and personally sign for the receipt of Joannes' due shares from Jesus College, **f–g**. With this money he could pay Joannes' debts, **f–g**, **105b**, **d**. Furthermore, Joannes' books had to be recovered from his creditors and sent to Holland, and his furniture was intended for Prudence, **f**, **h**. Besides, Junius had to verify the legitimacy of the marriage between Joannes and Prudence and find out what she was like, **100j**, **96b**, **104b**, **105b–g**. In all, between his receipt of letter **97**, which gave first notice of Joannes' new sphere of life, and the end of 1635, when the affair was finally settled, Junius made at least four trips to Cambridge; two in spring, one at Michaelmas and one in December, **100j**, **g**, **104b**, **105b**.

increscere quotidie rumores, multosque qui avide societati inhiabant malis eam artibus petere; reverendissimum quoque Archiepiscopum multum laborasse, ut inhiaret duo tria mandata regia, quae obtendebantur ab iis, qui aulicorum quorundam favore tale quid a Rege obtinuerant, dum impudenter satis affirmabant vacare iam locum, quum denique instaret Praefectus Collegii totius societatis nomine, ut societatem resignarem et liberam iis electionem relinquerem, priusquam indignus aliquis obtruderetur—geminas Praefecti super ea re literas habeo—nolui Collegio iniurius esse diutius tergiversando; sed ex consilio reverendi Episcopi Herefordiensis, Magistri Hall, qui tum temporis hic Londinii erat, ante dies decem quam literas tuas acceperam, Collegio ius feci subrogandi quem vellent in locum filii tui.²⁴ Grate id acceptum. Nescio quid nunc moliantur. Neque mea porro interest.

f Multa tamen sunt, de quibus filius longe aliter apud te, quam hic rem se habere deprehendo. Longum esset singula perscribere. Georgius Stearne, cui librorum curam reliquerat, negat se ita subito negotium hoc de libris conficere posse, quoniam plures libros aliqui, quibus pecunias debebat, utendos sumpserant; nescio, an in pignus.²⁵ Et eorum aliqui Cantabrigiae nunc non sunt; expectandum itaque aiebat, usque dum reversi essent. Spondet Praefectus Collegii operam suam; et in meis ad ipsum literis postulavi, ut me absente mitteret eos ad Ionam Peysterum, qui eos recepit ad vos transmissurum.²⁶ Ex dividendis eius receperam, cum ultimo Cantabrigiae essem, 35 libras, 18 *solidos* 6 *denarios*, quam totam summam, gnaris Praefecto ac sociis, expendi in eos, qui certam pecuniae sibi debitae rationem reddere poterant, aut ostensa manu filii, qua se iis obstrinxerat, aut testibus fide dignis adhibitis.²⁷ Si unquam revertatur filius, videbit quid sit actum, neque improbare poterit. Praefectus ac reliqui socii authores erant atque ipse etiam eo inclinabam, ne quam in academia sinistri rumoris occasionem cuiquam praeberem. Non suffecit tamen haec summa.

²⁴ Sterne's two letters to Junius are unretrieved; Matthew Wren, as former master of Peterhouse, had concerned himself with the affair, **100j**; Stephen Hall, president of Jesus College; letter **101**. A new fellow was chosen on 25 May, cf. Rademaker (1981:334).

²⁵ George Stearne had a list of Joannes' books. Vossius had already feared they were with Joannes' creditors, and indeed still missed many copies when they were returned, **97f**, **101f-g**, **118c**.

²⁶ The books were finally sent through Jonas de Peyster in October, **103d**.

²⁷ Jesus College owed Joannes his due shares from the moment of his return

archbishop was greatly exerting himself to keep back two [or] three royal mandates, with which those who had obtained such a thing from the king by some courtiers' favour were parading, because they had quite shamelessly affirmed that the place was already vacant, and, finally, when the master of the college on behalf of the whole fellowship urged me to cancel the fellowship and leave them a free election before somebody unworthy would be forced upon them (I have two letters by the master on this), I did not want to be unfair to the college by hesitating any longer and, after the advice of the reverend bishop of Hereford and Master Hall—who was here in London at that time, I granted the college permission to choose whom they wished in your son's place, ten days before I received your letter. It was gratefully accepted. I do not know what they are up to now, and it no longer concerns me.

f There is much about which your son has reported very differently to you than I here understand the affairs to be. It would be too long to write out every single point. George Stearne, to whom he had left the care for the books, denies being able to accomplish that business about the books so quickly, because some people whom he owed money took several books for their use, I do not know whether as a pawn. Some of them are not in Cambridge now, so he said he must wait until they have returned. The master of the college has promised his assistance, and in my letter to him I have requested him to send them, in my absence, to Jonas de Peyster, who has promised to send them to you. I received £35.18.6 from his share when I was in Cambridge the last time, which whole sum—the master and fellows know about this—I paid out to people who could render a genuine account that money was owed to them, either by showing your son's handwriting with which he had obliged himself to them, or by summoning trustworthy witnesses. If your son ever returns, he will see what has been done and he will not be able to disapprove of it. The master and the other fellows advised this to me and I myself was also inclined to it, in order not to grant anyone at the university any occasion for unfavourable rumour. This sum did not suffice, however.

home until the resignation, **97f**. Junius had to collect these and personally sign for the receipt—£35.18.6 in Spring 1635, some £5 or £6 at Michaelmas, and still more in December 1635, in total £46.1.2½, **g**, **105b**, **d**. He used £41.2.4 of it to pay Joannes' debts, and then gave the remainder to Prudence Greene, **f-g**, **105d**.

g Circa festum Michaelis Cantabrigiam iterum excurrendum mihi erit, ut porro quinque aut sex libras recipiam, quae porro dividendis accesserunt.²⁸ Praesentiam meam requirunt, quia annumerari pecunia ista non potest, nisi in libro, qui acta Collegii continet, propria manu pecuniam a me receptam esse subsignem.²⁹ Accessione ista ad dividendas facta, spero fore, ut bonum nomen existimetur filius tuus. Non intermittam, quin videas, si libet, Praefecti ac societatis testimonium, haec sic gesta. Utcumque mihi sic prospiciam, ut filio tuo, faxit modo Deus, ut reducem videre liceat, in omnibus possim satisfacere. Vale, et me amare perge.
Londini, in aedibus Arundellianis, anno 1635, 22 Maii stylo vetere.
Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

h Excidit de utensilibus, quod primo adventu Cantabrigiam deprehendi, omnia iam a matre Prudentiae in domum suam translata; forte ne debitores in ea involarent, ut commodissime interpreter.³⁰ Non putavi inquirendum, quoniam significaveris, voluisse filium, ut auferret quidquid ei in supellectile placeret, libris et pictura exceptis; quin etiam libri periclitabantur, nisi persolutum ex dividendis fuisset iis, qui litem ei intentaverant, ut iam olim ad te perscripsi, quibus cum persolutum esset quod debebatur, etiam aliis, qui modestius egerant et minus importuni fuerant, quod iustum erat videbatur tribuendum.³¹

¹⁰² **103** ₁₀₅ 35 10 15 VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

a *Salutem plurimam.* Non facile dixero, coniunctissime affinis, quam aegre mihi sit, quod typographus usque adeo nos moretur in edendo egregio opere tuo.² Nec tamen magnopere culpandus. Nihil enim potest, nisi advenerit frater ex Anglia, quem quotidie exspectat.³ Eadem caussa est, cur necdum lucem viderit Dionysii mei τοῦ μακαρίτου Maimonides.⁴

²⁸ Michaelmas is 29 September.

²⁹ College account book not consulted for Junius' signatures.

³⁰ Prudence Greene's mother, **105b**.

³¹ Cf. **99b**, **101f**.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 99l. *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 60, lacking the text on the verso of *o*; with heading, "Francisco Iunio F.F." Received ca. 10 December 1635, **105a**.

² Joan Blaeu had intended to print Junius' *De pictura* (1637) from May on, **99g**, **100a**, **1**.

g I will have to hasten to Cambridge again around Michaelmas in order to receive another five or six pounds which have further been added to the share. They require my presence, because that money cannot be paid out unless I sign in my own hand that I have received the money in the book which contains the acts of the college. When this addition has been made to the share, I hope your son will be considered worthy of credit. I will not fail to show you, if you like, the testimony of the master and the fellowship that it has been done in this way. Anyway, I will provide for myself in such a way that I may satisfy your son in everything—provided that God grants me to be able to see him return. Farewell, and continue to love me. London, at Arundel House in the year 1635, 22 May old style [1 Jun.].
Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

h I forgot about the furniture; on my first going to Cambridge I gathered that everything had already been transferred by Prudence's mother to her house, perhaps so that debtors would not seize it, as I may easily interpret; I thought it need not be questioned, because you had indicated that your son wished her to take whatever pleased her among the furniture—except for books and the painting, and even the books were in danger if those who threatened with a charge, as I wrote you before, had not been paid from the share. Since they were paid what was owed, it also seemed right to grant what was just to others who had acted more modestly and have been less shameless.

103 35 10 15 VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

a Warmest regards. I cannot easily say, dearest Brother, how it annoys me that the printer is delaying us so much in the printing of your excellent work. But he is not to be blamed much, for he cannot do anything until his brother, whom he is expecting daily, has returned from England. This is the same reason why *Maimonides* of my Dionysius of blessed memory has not been brought out yet.

³ Willem Blaeu, brother of Joan Blaeu, had travelled from Italy to England to return from there to Holland, cf. Colomesius 1.261, **105a**.

⁴ Dionysius Vossius, *Maimonides* (1641) was to be published only in 1641, **94a**.

- b** Miseram ad te nuper tria exemplaria operis mei de arte grammatica; unum tibi, duo aliis, quibus expedire maxime iudicabis.⁵ Cogitabam de uno dando nobilissimo Carletono, ei, cuius patruus Vicecomes Dorcestrensis, et antea diu in faederata hac Belgica serenissimi Britanniarum Regis Iacobi Legatus fuit.⁶ Sed ubi °is degat nunc, iuxta scio ac ignarissimus. Alioqui scripsissem, ne immemorem me sui existimet, qui bene et voluit mihi, et fecit.⁷ Interea tui rem omnem arbitrii facio et de hoc exemplari, et tertio. Tantum benevolentia detur, vel cuius in posterum benevolentia hoc pacto conciliari possit. Quid enim attinet *perdere* exemplaria, quorum singula, incompacta etiam, his terris vendantur florenis septem? Absque eo esset, plura mitterem.
- c** Tandem prodiit filii mei Matthaei volumen primum de antiquitatibus Hollandiae et Zelandiae.⁸ Scio non industriam modo, sed iudicium etiam ac dictionem probabis. Ordinibus nostris longe fuit gratissimum.⁹ Tantum opus, ut eodem *pergat* pede; quod facturum confido. Mitto duplex exemplar, quorum dabis alterum ei, cui voles. Si unum alterum praeterea desideres, °videbis illud prima occasione. Puto Anglis etiam gratum fore argumentum, quia hactenus ista exteris ignorantur, imo vix Batavis sciuntur.¹⁰
- d** Gratias ago pro opera bona in rebus Ioannis praestita, et ut porro expedias, siquid superest, rogo.¹¹ Expectabo de hoc literas tuas.¹² Significavit mihi Peisterus se libros eius habere, et velle ad me transmittere.¹³ *Super* hoc nunc ad illum scripsi. Tantum ut minimo id

b is: *c* – | **c** videbis: [*fecit* > videbis]

⁵ Vossius, *Aristarchus* (1635), the missing copies of which were evidently really lost, **86f**, **101h**, **k**, **102a–b**.

⁶ Dudley Carleton, nephew of the former ambassador Dudley Carleton, viscount Dorchester.

⁷ Probably because viscount Dorchester had acted as an intermediary for a Cambridge professorship for Vossius and for Vossius' Canterbury canonry, **57c**, **66a**.

⁸ Matthaeus Vossius, *Annalium Hollandiae Zelandiaeque libri quinque* (Amsterdam, 1635), a history of Holland for the years 859 until 1299, dedicated to the States of Holland and Zeeland. Matthaeus' achievements earned him the title of Historiographer to the States of Holland and Zeeland in 1641–42, **152c**. The second part, treating the years 1300 until 1350, appeared in 1641, **152c**; the third part, treating the years 1354 until 1417, in 1644; and the final part, treating the years until 1436, was finished and published by Isaac Vossius after Matthaeus' death in 1646. Junius' copy of *Annalium* (1635) not identified in UBL. Cf. **99d**, **152c**, *Repertorium*, no. 502.

⁹ The States of Holland honoured Matthaeus with 450 guilders for the dedication, cf. de Wind (1833:422).

- b** I recently sent you three copies of my work *On Grammar*, one for you, two for others to whom you consider it to be most useful. I thought of giving one to the most noble Carleton, he, whose paternal uncle was viscount Dorchester, who was long before ambassador of the right serene King James of England in the United Provinces. But I really do not know where he lives now. Otherwise, I would have written him, so that he does not believe I have forgotten him who both wished and did me well. But I leave it all to your judgement, both concerning this copy and about the third one. Let it just be given to someone benevolent, or to someone whose future benevolence can be gained in this way. For what use is it to squander copies, each of which, even unbound, is sold for seven guilders in this country. Had this not been the case, I would have sent more copies.
- c** My son Matthaëus' first volume *On the Antiquities of Holland and Zeeland* has finally appeared. You will approve not only of his diligence, but also of his critical judgement and style, I am sure. It was most welcome to our States. He must just continue on the same footing, which I trust he will do. I am sending two copies, of which you may give the second one to whom you wish. If you want yet another one, you will see it at the first possible opportunity. I think the subject will also be welcome to Englishmen, because it is still unknown to foreigners; well, it is even hardly known to Hollanders.
- d** I thank you for the good service you have done in Joannes' affairs and beg you further to arrange it, if anything is remaining. I will expect your letter about it. De Peyster indicated to me that he has his books and wants to send them to me. I have written about it to him now. Care must only be taken that it is done with the least

¹⁰ Matthaëus' *Annales* were related to the contemporary discussion on the justification of the independence of the Dutch Republic and its organization. They strove to demonstrate the antiquity of the liberty of Holland by means of historical source material, thus elaborating on the idea of Batavian freedom developed by Grotius in *De antiquitate reipublicae Batavae* (1610). Cf. Kampinga (1917:128–29, 152–57), Langereis (2001:204–09); for contemporary Dutch antiquarians, cf. Langereis (2001).

¹¹ Junius was arranging the Cambridge affairs of Joannes Vossius, who had bungled his studies there and was at present sailing as chief public prosecutor to the East Indies, **102e–h**.

¹² Letter **105**.

¹³ Both Jonas de Peyster's letter to Vossius, and Vossius' to him, are unretrieved, **102f**.

periculo fiat, providendum. | °Vale, affinis coniunctissime, et plurimum salve ab uxore et liberis meis, atque etiam °cognato tuo Ioanne Brunaeo,¹⁴ qui ab aliquot iam mensibus in meo est convictu, ac Iuris studio operam navat.

MDCXXXV, *idibus Octobris*.

Tuus totus, Ger. Io. Vossius.

° 104 35 12 03 JOHN FRANCIUS (CAMBRIDGE) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A *To his right worthy freind Mr Franciscus Junius, at Arundel house, with speede these.*

a Generosissime clarissimeque vir,
Bis in Iesue fui Collegio, ut *Magistrum* Stearne alloquerer, sed frustra ipsum quaesivi.² Operam tamen dabo ut ipsum inveniam. Quod ubi factum fuerit, *responsum* eius significabo. Et schedulam et litteras tibi malo remittere, °quam Vulcano committerem, ut hac ratione sis certus, nihil emanare de rebus mihi commissis posse.³ Etiam atque etiam rogo, ne molestum sit, aurum quod nomine meo habes tecum adservare, donec *Dominus* Hooft illud opportune repetat.⁴

b Quamprimum tuae mihi fuerunt redditae, quod volebas negotium expedivi.⁵ Nomina *ecclesiae* syllabo inserta exquisivi. Persona, quam nosti, modestia suffundebatur.⁶ Addebam te apud templi aedituum nomina inquirentem nihil tale invenisse.⁷ Multo magis perplexa erat. Respondebat *ecclesiae* pastorem qui ritum *peregisset* actu finito ipsis adfuisse, qui ipsius dum modo in conspectu eius esset, non posset non meminisse.⁸ Adfuisse alium *ecclesiae* pastorem, qui pro sua parte

d Vale . . . navat: *c* – | cognato tuo: cognatuo

104a quam Vulcano committerem: \quam Vulcano committerem/

¹⁴ Jan de Brune was studying with Vossius at the Athenaeum Illustre, 69c.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 86a. Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**.

² Richard Sterne, master of Jesus College.

³ The sheet and Junius' letter to Francius are unretrieved; perhaps Junius burnt them. Vulcan was the Roman fire-god.

⁴ Willem Willemsz Hooft (b. <1593), a member of the influential Amsterdam merchant family Hooft, who resided in London. A relative of Vossius' friend Pieter Cornelisz Hooft (1581–1647), he saw to Vossius' financial affairs in England. No information on the business or money mentioned has been found. Cf. *ICVossius* (1993:153), Alberdinck Thijm and Vorsterman van Oyen (1881:7), Dudok van Heel (1981:108–09), Rademaker (1981:263–64).

danger. Farewell, dearest Brother, and my wife and children and also your nephew Jan de Brune, who has been boarding with me for several months now and is applying himself to the study of law, wish you very well.

1635, on the Ides of October [15 Oct.].

Yours Truly, Ger. Jo. Vossius.

104 35 12 03 JOHN FRANCIUS (CAMBRIDGE) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A [*See the original address.*]

- a** Most generous and renowned sir,
I have been in Jesus College twice to speak to Master Sterne, but I looked for him in vain. Yet I will take pains to find him. When this has happened, I will intimate his answer. I prefer to send back both the sheet and letter[s] to you instead of sacrificing them to Vulcan, in order for you to be certain in that way that nothing of the affairs entrusted to me can come out. Again and again I ask of you that it may not be troublesome for you to keep the money you have on my behalf with you, until Mr. Hooft will ask it back at a convenient occasion.
- b** I arranged the business you wanted as soon as your letter was delivered to me. I inquired after the names enrolled in the church register. The person whom you know blushed for shame. I added that you had found no such matter when you had asked the sexton of the church for the names. She was more than perplexed. She answered that the minister of the church who had performed the ceremony had been with them after the ceremony had been finished; that he could not fail to remember her, if only she were before his eyes; that another minister of the church, who had obtained dispensation for her part, had been present, and could take an oath that it had been done in this way, if only he was asked to do so; that the names had been enrolled in the church register without her knowledge. So I gave her your letter to read, and as soon as she had set eyes

⁵ Junius had presumably asked him to verify the legitimacy of the marriage between Joannes Vossius and Prudence Greene, **100j**.

⁶ Since the affair was so delicate, Francius used circumlocutions to refer to Prudence and Joannes.

⁷ Junius may have checked this at Michaelmas, **102g**.

⁸ Attendant ministers unidentified.

dispensationem impetrasset, qui dum modo requireretur, iuramentum deponere posset, rem ita esse actam. Nomina ecclesiae syllabo se ignorante fuisse inserta. Itaque tuas ipsi legendas dedi litteras, quas simul ac oculis usurparet, exacte omnes referebat circumstantias ita, ut omnem mihi scrupulum exemerit.⁹ Summa responsi haec erat. Post ceremonias in templo celebratas, de nominum mutatione sub seram vesperam sibi demum constitisse. Referebat illum, qui nunc apud Indos agit, Foxum se *nominasse*, quod cognomentum eius ex interpretatione quam dedisset, ita sonaret.¹⁰ Quid vero Bridges sit, quod nomen sibi ab adfines suo impositum fuisset sibi, quamvis igno|ranti, se prorsus ignorare.¹¹ Caeterum mutationem nominum institutam fuisse, ne socii locus *perderetur*, °et quia *nomina, quae* solemnitates istas obeunt, annuatim Archiepiscopo offeruntur.¹² Puto vero, quod ex personae, quam allocutus sum, litteris plenius intelliges caetera.¹³ Prosperrime vale, generosissime vir, et salve a tibi obligatissimo Ioh. Francio.

Cursim; Cantabrigiae, IX kalendas Decembris, MDCXXXV.

- c Quo nomine nuper illam, de qua loquor, *personam* commendavi, quod nempe vitam agat penitus solitariam; laude ea porro commendare cogor.¹⁴ °Persona cum qua nobis res, nunc rogat, responsum.¹⁵

¹⁰³ 105 36 01 10 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]¹

- a Coniunctissime affinis,
Litteras tuas idibus Octobris datas recepi pridie Kalendas Decembris, atque ex iis intellexi nondum perlatas tum temporis fuisse litteras

b et . . . offeruntur: \et . . . offeruntur/ | Persona . . . responsum: \Persona . . . responsum/

⁹ Junius' letter to Prudence, probably in English, unretrieved, 105c.

¹⁰ Joannes had evidently registered as "Fox," the English translation of his Dutch surname "Vos."

¹¹ The relative may have been Roger Bendich. Prudence had evidently been registered as "Bridges."

¹² As Archbishop Laud had indicated, fellows who married lost their fellowship, 87b.

¹³ Prudence's letter to Junius unretrieved.

on it, she accurately related all circumstances in such a way that she removed any doubt from me. The point of the answer was as follows: that after the ceremonies had been celebrated in the church, the fact of a change of names had only been apparent to her late in the evening. She said that he who now lives with the Indians had called himself Fox, because his surname sounded like that on the basis of a translation he had given, but that she truly did not know what “Bridges” is, which name had been given to her by her relative without her knowledge. And that the change of names had been decided upon so that the fellow’s place would not be lost, and because the names which take part in these ceremonies are presented to the archbishop each year. But I think you will understand the rest better from the letter of the person I spoke to. Farewell in a most prosperous way, most generous sir, and you are wished well by your most obliging John Francius.

With speed. At Cambridge on the 9th Kalends of December 1635 [3 Dec.].

- c I am compelled to commend this person about whom I am speaking again by the praise on the basis of which I recently commended her, that is, that she is leading an absolutely solitary life. The person with whom we are dealing is begging for an answer now.

105 36 01 10 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]

- a Dearest Brother,

I received your letter written on the Ides of October [15 Oct.] on the day before the Kalends of December [30 Nov.] and understood from it that the letter which I had given to Mr. Blaeu had not yet been delivered to you at that time. His arrival, I hope, will expedite the publication of my booklet on painting, which I would not

¹⁴ Francius had commended her to Junius in person, 105g.

¹⁵ Junius went to see Prudence in person in the first half of December, 105b, d.

¹ *d*: UBA, M 78b. On the basis of its contents, it must have been written on 31 December old style 1635 (36 01 10 new style), not 35 01 10, which *ICVossius* (1993:204) suggests. In the top margin, “1483 [+] 152 [=] 1635.”

quas °Domino Blawio °tradideram.² Adventus ipsius maturabit, spero, editionem °opusculi de pictura, quod non urgerem, nisi multorum expectationi in hoc regno satisfaciendum putarem.³ Intra septem aut octo hebdomadas, °Deo iuvante, translationem Anglicam a me elaboratam, quoniam aequae desideratur, praelo °subiiciam; °tentaturus per otium an °in vernacula nostra lingua idem possim.⁴ Movet me quod alii forte, qui mentem meam in quibusdam non satis assequuntur, huic °operi manum admovebunt; quod fieri nolim.

b °Litteris tuis acceptis, °quatruiduo tantum interposito, Cantabrigiam excurri.⁵ °Iam olim scripserat ad me °praefectus Collegii Iesu restare Ioanni nostro ex dividendis 10 libras sterlingas 16 solidos 8 denarios.⁶ Opus itaque erat praesentia mea, ut in libro rationum Collegii summam istam a me receptam esse manu propria, quod fieri solet, testarer.⁷ Quamquam non haec sola ratio °suaserit iter, sed ut viderem illam Iohannis nostri °familia non inhonesta prognatam, opibus tamen nullis et mediocri modo forma.⁸ Subiit itaque mirari quid °in ea deprehenderit adolescens iste, ut animum suum tam importuno amori manciparet, nisi forte magnas quasdam insignis animi dotes in ea suspexit, quas ego horulae unius spatio pervidere non potui. Moverunt interim animum meum uberes, quas profundeabat, lachrimae atque ex imis praecordiis ducta suspiria.⁹ Matrem asperioribus quandoque verbis irae suae plusculum indulgentem, vix ullo dignabar responso; °decuerat enim provectiorem aetate filiae suae melius consulere.¹⁰ °Filiam °per imprudentiam lapsam ac lenius longe querentem, de constantia °absentis mariti dubitare vetui. Aegre admodum ab ea

a Domino: \Domino/ | tradideram: [- ad vos] tradideram | opusculi: [- scripti mei] opusculi | Deo iuvante: \Deo [- volente] iuvante/ | subiiciam: [- forte] subiiciam | tentaturus: [- nisi] tentaturus | in: [- ed] in | operi: oper[e > i] | **b** Litteris: [- Caeterum de his] Litteris | quatruiduo tantum interposito: [sine mora > quatruiduo tantum interposito] | Iam olim: \Iam olim/ | praefectus: \[- nondum dudum]/ praefectus | suaserit: [- uti suasit iter] suaserit | familia: [- \ut/ familia non inhonesta prognatam, ita familia, ut] familia | in: [- sit illud] in | decuerat: [- decuerat enim] decuerat | Filiam: [- Leniores filiae queri] Filiam | per: [- lenius longe querentem] per | absentis: [- absent] absentis

² Junius had presumably received letter **103** around 10 December 1635, if one assumes that he calculated in old style in England. His letter to Vossius is unretrieved, but it must have been written after letter **102** and been delivered by Willem Blaeu.

³ Junius' *De pictura* (1637), to be printed by Blaeu in Amsterdam, **99g**.

⁴ Junius' *Painting* (1638), his English translation of *De pictura*, was licensed to be committed to type only in 1638, although he expected to be able to put it in press

press on, if I did not believe I must fulfil the expectation of many people in this kingdom. Within seven or eight weeks, God assisting, I will submit to the press the English translation I prepared, because it is wished for in equal manner, and I will attempt in my leisure time whether I can do the same in our vernacular tongue. It troubles me that others who do not sufficiently follow my intention in some respects will perhaps put their hand to this work, which I would not want to happen.

- b** Upon receiving your letter, I hastened to Cambridge after just four days delay. The master of Jesus College had already written to me before that £10.16.8 remained from our Joannes' share. So my presence was needed, in order for me to testify in my own hand, as is practice, in the college account book that I had received that sum. Although not only that reason induced the trip, but also in order for me to see that our Joannes' girl has come from a quite honourable family, yet without money and only of modest beauty. So it occurred to me to wonder what that young man saw in her, to sell his heart to such an unsuitable love, unless he may have admired in her great gifts of an extraordinary mind, which I could not detect within the space of a single small hour. But the profuse tears she shed and the sighs drawn from the bottom of her heart moved my heart. I deemed her mother, who rather more yielded to her anger with sharp words sometimes, hardly worthy of any response, for it had suited someone advanced in age to care better for her daughter. I forbade the girl, who had fallen through inconsiderateness and who was gently whining for a long time, to doubt her absent husband's constancy. I confirmed that he could only be separated from her with considerable difficulty and had only late complied with his parents and friends who made useful suggestions;

by early March 1636, **116b**. In **102c**, six months earlier, Junius had still meant to prepare a Dutch translation of *De pictura* before an English one, **129e**.

⁵ Junius had to arrange the Cambridge affairs of Joannes Vossius, **102e**. Sections **b-g** give Junius' report of his trip to Cambridge in December 1635.

⁶ Richard Sterne, master of Jesus College, whose letter to Junius was probably one of the unretrieved letters mentioned in **102e**. The money was part of the shares still due to Joannes, **d**, **102f**.

⁷ College account book not consulted for Junius' signatures, **102g**.

⁸ Junius had been asked to find out what Prudence Greene was like, **96b**, **100j**, **101b^a**.

⁹ Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 19.15.11, **65b**.

¹⁰ Prudence Greene's mother, **101f**, **102h**.

divelli potuisse affirmavi, et non nisi sero cessisse parentibus atque amicis utilia suadentibus; adfuturum, Deo dante, aucta re. Non desitit illa iterum atque iterum testari se quamvis inopem vitam praesente marito facilius toleraturam, quam speraturam opes tam longinqui itineris discrimine ac tam diuturna mariti absentia °quaesitas.

c °Eliensi °Episcopo iam dudum °imposuerat nomen ecclesiae in qua matrimonium dicebatur contractum, atque ex eo factum est ut ne quidem *reverendus* Archiepiscopus tale quid in matrimoniali °ecclesiae °illius syllabo deprehendere potuerit.¹¹ Ripae fluminis in ipso ponte Londiniensi °imminet ecclesia in qua matrimonium contracturus erat Iohannes noster 13 *Februarii* anno 1632.¹² Sed pridie ante quam destinata dies affulgeret gravi incendio magna Londiniensis pontis pars absumpta est; aedes quoque parietibus templi istius °contiguae conflagrarunt; unde factum est ut postridie in alio aliquo templo °connubiales ceremoniae peractae sint. Latuit hoc Eliensem, ut pote qui secutus erat syllabum sive registrum istorum penes quos est matrimonium contracturis licentiam (quam vocant) dare.¹³ Nam quum °ex hoc syllabo matrimonium in ista ecclesia °contrahendum didicisset, non venit ei in mentem aliud quid suspicari. °Ego omnem rei gestae seriem ex ipsa intellexi, adii quoque °alteram illam ecclesiam in qua solenni more nuptam se dicebat; quod res erat deprehendi. Quum tamen scrupulus aliquis iniectus esset animo meo, °per litteras ab ipsa petii ut etiam hac in parte satisfaceret; respondit ipsa, ac plenissime desiderio meo satisfecit.¹⁴ Longum esset singula, quae nunc leviter attingo, accurate perscribere. Quin legitime contractum sit matrimonium dubitare ultra non possum.

d Ipsa °interim nihil magis metuit quam ne tibi displiceant quae gesta sunt; °diu quidem sollicitatam a filio tuo, nunquam consen-

b quaesitas: [- *partas*] quaesitas | **c** Eliensi: Eliensi[- *s*] | Episcopo: Episcopo[- *s*] | imposuerat nomen: [*fallebatur tantum in nomine* > imposuerat nomen] | ecclesiae: [- *Eccles*] ecclesiae | illius: \illius/ | imminet: [*sata est* > imminet] | contiguae: \contiguae/ | connubiales: connu[- *biliale bil*]biales | ex hoc: [*in illo* > ex hoc] | contrahendum: [- *contract*] contrahendum | Ego: [- *praesertim quum non facile in alia Ecclesia ceremonias*;] Ego | alteram illam: [. . . > alteram illam] | per: [- *plenius hac in parte*] per | **d** interim: [*unice se tibi probari vult ne* > interim] | diu: [- *abiturum filium*] diu

¹¹ Bishop White had threatened Joannes Vossius with an appeal because of marrying against the College statues, **101e**. Archbishop Laud had had the matrimonial register checked, **101g**.

¹² That is, 23 February 1633 new, Continental, style; **89a**.

that he will be with her, God granting, after having made money. She did not cease to testify again and again that she would more easily bear a life, albeit poor, in her husband's presence, than hope for riches procured during the hazard of such a far journey and such a long absence from her husband.

c He had already long before deceived the bishop of Ely with the name of the church in which the wedding was said to have been contracted and due to this it had happened that not even the reverend archbishop could find such a matter in the matrimonial register of that church. The church in which our Joannes would contract his marriage on 13 February in the year 1632 borders on the bank of the river at London Bridge itself. But the day before the intended day had dawned, a large part of London Bridge was consumed by a heavy fire; also the buildings neighbouring to the walls of this church burnt down; so it happened that the wedding ceremony was performed in a different church the next day. This was not known to Ely, since he had followed the register or list of those who have power to give a licence (as they call it) to people who will contract a marriage. It did not come to his mind to suspect anything else, because he had learnt from that register that the marriage was to be contracted in that church. I heard the whole course of events from her; I also went to this other church in which she said she had married with solemn ritual; I perceived what had actually happened, but because some doubt had been cast into my heart, I asked from her in a letter to satisfy me also in that respect; she answered, and most fully satisfied my wish. It were too long to write down accurately every single point, which I now lightly touch upon. I can no longer doubt that the marriage was contracted legitimately.

d Meanwhile, she feared nothing more than that what had happened was displeasing you; that she had never agreed, although she had long been urged by your son; that she had finally been overcome by his insolence when he was about to hasten to you and promised to return all the more quickly when he was bound by this pledge of faith; when she was still shuffling and wishing to make delays until something certain were established about your wish after

¹³ A licence to marry in church avoided the public proclamation of banns, **101g**.

¹⁴ Presumably because the marriage was registered as having been concluded between a Mr. Fox and a Miss Bridges, **104b**. Junius' and Prudence's correspondence unretrieved, **104b**.

sisse; °victam tandem importunitate ad vos excursuri °ac promittentis se hoc fidei pignore obstrictum celerius reversurum; tergiversanti adhuc et moras nectere volenti usque dum de tua voluntate °post reditum certi quid °constaret, respondit Iohannes, °te iam olim totam hanc rem arbitrii sui fecisse, non displicituram tibi quaecunque ipsi placuisset.¹⁵ °Videtur adhaec, quo facilius ei consensum extorqueret, °iactantius quaedam addidisse de non contemnendo patrimonio quo se atque illam, dum meliora affulgerent, sustentare posset.¹⁶ Tam attonito stupore perculsa stetit, quum ad rem faciendam profectum dicerem, ut facile appareret °Iohannem nostrum specie maioris census °nutantem animum porro impulsisse. Ibi tum ego leviter incusata, quod nimia credulitate peccasset, bono tamen animo esse iussi °absentem quidem maritum, °inquebam, amor, pudor ipsa denique conscientia datae fidei commonefacient; praeterquam quod °perhumana interim °familia nulla non veri amoris officia dignae exhibebit. Neve inanibus tantum promissis rem geri arbitrareretur, °dedi ei quinque libras sterlingas quae reliquae °erant ex dividendis Iohannis nostri postquam omne aes eius alienum quod Cantabrigiae contraxerat persolvissem. °Cesserunt ei ex dividendis ab ipso discessus tempore usque ad resignationem librae quadraginta sex, solidus unus, denarii duo cum semisse.¹⁷ Paratus sum ipsi Iohanni nostro reduci, aut cuicumque opus erit, ostendere exsolvendo aeri alieno impensas 41 libras, 2 solidos, 4 denarios; reliquum dedi Prudentiae, °plus ei de meo, ubi res feret, tributurus. Hanc quidem, spero, sua virtus, multas alias in hac nostra Britannia solidum aliquod amicae mentis beneficium continet; quod tamen nequidem in hac cordatiores negligendum putant. °καὶ τὰ πάντα μὲν δὴ τὰ ἅδδην τῶν τοιοῦτων.¹⁸

- e Herefordiensem Episcopum Rex noster Nordeviciensis episcopatus dignitate nuperrime ornavit; quumque ex eo exquirerem, numquid

d victam: [- donec ad vos excursurus augere non destitit. donec per ur] victam | ac: [- quoniam hoc ab ea impetratum volebat in] ac | post reditum: \post reditum/ | constaret: const[- r]aret | te iam olim: [te iam dudum coram > te iam olim] | Videtur: [- nimia quaecunque de] Videtur | iactantius: [- nonnulla] iactantius | Iohannem: [- aliter sensisse ipse] Iohannem | nutantem: [- nutatem] nutantem | absentem: [- adfuturum tandem, \absentem quidem maritum, imprimum/ Deo dante, maritum immodum amor, pudor, \ipsa denique conferential/ conscientia denique absentem maritum datae fidei commonefacient] absentem | inquebam: [- amo] inquebam | perhumana: [familia > perhumana] | familia: fami[- perhumana]lia | dedi: dedi[- e] | erant: \erant/ | Cesserunt: [Debebantur > Cesserunt] | plus: [- cui] plus | καὶ . . . τοιοῦτων: \καὶ τὰ πάντα μὲν δὴ τὰ ἅδδην τῶν τοιοῦτων

his return, Joannes had answered her that you had already before left the whole matter to his opinion, that whichever girl pleased him would not displease you; besides, in order to force out her consent all the more easily, he seems to have rather boastfully added something about an indespicable inheritance with which he could support himself and her, until better times would dawn. She was so upset with amazed astonishment when I said he had left to make money, that it easily appeared that our Joannes had further persuaded her hesitating heart under the guise of large possessions. Then, when I told her to be of good cheer, slightly blaming her for having done wrong by too much credulity, I said that actually love, shame and the knowledge of the given pledge itself would admonish her absent husband; besides, that the friendly family would meanwhile show only favours of true love to a girl deserving them. And so that she would not think the affair to be dealt with by just empty promises, I gave her five pounds sterling which were left from our Joannes' share after I had paid all his debts which he had contracted in Cambridge. To his share have fallen forty-six pounds, one shilling and two and a half pence from the share from the very moment of his departure until his resignation. I am prepared to show to our Joannes on his return, or to whomever need be, that 41 pounds, 2 shillings and 4 pence were paid to solve his debts; I gave the rest to Prudence and will grant her more of my money when the circumstances permit so. She indeed is kept together by her virtue, I hope; many other [girls] in our England are so by the solid favour of a friendly heart, which wise people believe must not even be neglected towards her. *And as to that, well, as to that, enough of it.*

e Our king recently honoured the bishop of Hereford with the dignity of the bishopric of Norwich, and when I inquired of him whether he knew Prudence, he denied knowing anything of her, because she had still been a girl when he had lived in Cambridge; that he had

¹⁵ Such practice was not uncommon, but only on the—implied—condition that the child would choose their partner from a family of equal rank, **101b**°.

¹⁶ Presumably his share of the family inheritance, and Joannes may have made it appear even more rosy, for although in the Low Countries all children had equal rights, in England the eldest son inherited all family fortunes. In reality, Vossius had even had to subtract Joannes' debts from his share, **101c**. Cf. Kooijmans (1997:56), Stone (1977:87–89).

¹⁷ Junius had resigned Joannes' fellowship around 23 February 1635, **102e**. For the shares still due, cf. **b**, **102f**.

¹⁸ Cf. Plato, *Euthyphro* 11e, “καὶ τούτων μὲν ἄδην.”

nosset Prudentiam, negavit sibi quidquam de ea constare, tanquam quae puella °adhuc esset quum ipse Cantabrigiae degeret; matrem saepius vidisse, honestissima et satis locuplete familia ortam, sed alterius mariti, quem priori superinduxerat, luxu pauperatam.¹⁹ | °Suadebat interim *reverendus* Nordoviensis, Cantabrigiam excursuro, ut Doctorem Beale, praefectum Collegii Iohannis compellarem, posse enim et velle eum quae vera essent expromere.²⁰ °Sed °has itineris suscepti rationes non nihil turbavit absentia Doctoris Beale, °tanto magis, °quoniam ne quidem intra biduum (quod tempus Cantabrigiensibus negotiis conficiendis destinaveram) adfuturum appareret. Compellato itaque Doctore Stearne, Praefecto Collegii Iesu, per occasionem sciscitari coepi °numquid certi °de genere, moribus, fama Prudentiae referre posset; sed is frigido prorsus °obtentu sermones hosce declinabat. Non destiti tamen in itinere atque in hospitiiis °ubi subinde diversabar, levem apud ignotos iniicere mentionem °Iohannis nostri, °et varia variorum iudicia explorare.

f Incidi inter alios in virum non tam aetate quam seria morum gravitate venerandum; vixerat is aliquando Cantabrigiae, nunc autem ecclesiasticam obit functionem non longe ab ipsa Cantabrigia.²¹ Quumque multis hinc inde petitis sermonibus candorem animi approbasset ac ingenue admodum visus esset agere cum nomine peregrino, post °quorundam popularium qui aliquando Cantabrigiensem academiam lustraverant mentionem, °etiam Iohannis nostri mentionem feci memoria °institutos semel sermones veluti prosequente; sciscitanti mihi numquid vera essent quae de Prudentia atque ipso referuntur, negavit se pro certo quidquam posse affirmare, multis tamen ab hinc annis perspectam sibi fuisse indolem Prudentiae caste pudiceque semper eductae, neque moveri sinisteris °atque ab incerto authore profectis rumoribus; hanc esse conditionem omnium quae

e adhuc: [- *tantum esset*] adhuc | Suadebat: [- *autem*] Suadebat | Sed: [- *sed is aberat*] Sed | has: [*hac* > has] | tanto: [- *quumque appareret intra bid*] tanto | quoniam: [*quod* > quoniam] | numquid: [- *numdem*] numquid | de: [- *haberet*] de | obtentu: [- *detrahebat declinabat*] obtentu | ubi subinde diversabar: [*Iohannis nostri* > ubi subinde diversabar] | Iohannis nostri: \Iohannis nostri/ | et: [- *si forte*] et | **f** quorundam: [- *iniectam*] quorundam | etiam: [- *veluti memoria*] etiam | institutos: [- *prop*] institutos | atque: [- *rumoribus*] atque

¹⁹ Matthew Wren had been translated from Hereford to the see of Norwich by

rather often seen her mother, who had come from a honourable and quite wealthy family, but had been impoverished by the extravagance of her second husband, whom she had married after the first. Meanwhile, when I was about to hasten to Cambridge, the reverend Norwich urged me to address Dr. Beale, master of Joannes' college, because he could and would tell what was true. But Dr. Beale's absence somewhat thwarted these reasons for undertaking the journey, all the more so, because it appeared he would not even be there within two days (which time I had allotted for completing the affairs in Cambridge). So, upon addressing Dr. Sterne, master of Jesus College, on an occasion, I began to inquire whether he could tell anything certain about Prudence's family, manners and reputation, but he refused these discussions with an absolutely chilled expression. Yet, I did not cease to make casual mention of our Joannes to strangers on the way and in the lodgings where I had often stayed and to examine various opinions of various people.

- f Among others, I met a gentleman venerable not so much for his age as for the serious severity of his manners; he had lived in Cambridge once, but now holds an ecclesiastical office not far from Cambridge. When he had made the candour of his heart acceptable and had appeared to deal quite unrestrainedly with a foreigner during many conversations I had sought with him again and again, after having mentioned fellow countrymen who had once visited Cambridge University, I also mentioned our Joannes, as if my memory pursued the conversation just entered; when I inquired whether what was said about Prudence and him be true, he denied being able to confirm anything for certain, but that many years ago the character of Prudence, who had always been raised chastely and virtuously, had been well known to him and that he had not been impressed by injurious rumours stemming from uncertain sources; that this is the case for all girls who are forced to live in Cambridge

King Charles in November. He presumably meant the time he had been a Cambridge student himself rather than when he was master of Peterhouse, 57c. Family of Prudence's mother, her first and second husbands unidentified.

²⁰ William Beale, master of Jesus College at the time Joannes had studied there, currently master of St. John's, 88b.

²¹ Person unidentified.

°Cantabrigiae aut in aliis academicis urbibus vivere coguntur; vix ullam esse quae tam inculcate vitam instituere possit, ut non ei labem aliquam adspargant male feriata procacium adolescentium quorundam ingenia. Addidit et alia plura, quae longum esset perscribere.

g Fidelissimam in plerisque Iohannis Francii operam expertus sum; socius is est Collegii Divi Petri, minus tamen Iohanni nostro probatus, tanquam qui sanioribus eum consiliis ad meliora °traducere semper studuerit.²² Exasperavit hoc adolescentis animum, sat scio. Suspocabatur adhaec Dominum °Francium nihil me celare; hinc illae lachrymae.²³ Sed haec tanti non sunt, ut iis diu putem immorandum. Redeo itaque ad Prudentiam. Negat quidem Francius constare sibi qualiter vitam olim instituerit Prudentia; potuisse °in tanta Britannarum licentia incidere quaedam, quae severis moribus minus conveniant, quamquam nihil tale sibi compertum esse sancte asseveret. Caeterum, ut nunquam sua interesse duxit sedulo inquirere in vitam atque mores virginis Prudentiae, ita observatam sibi fatetur ex quo dicta est nupsisse °Iohanni. Praeclare interim de ea sentit et loquitur vir cuius ego integritati °ac diligentiae hac in parte plurimum tribuo; neque coram tantum sed per litteras etiam significavit mihi eam °constanter admodum sectari solitarium vitae genus; °quinimo statuisset eam ineunte vere in agrum Lincolnensem una cum matre transmigrare, quandoquidem minores ibi sumptus factura est si cum germana °vivat, quae verbi divini ministro in istis tractibus nupsit, quam si in animum inducat vivere cum avunculo suo Bendich quod suasisse videtur Iohannes noster.²⁴ Caeterum de his ipsa fortasse plura perscripserit ad Iohannem °nostrum.

h Libros ad te iam perlatos spero.²⁵ Dixerat mihi Iohannes te inter alios melioris notae libros dedisse ipsi °Vitruvium editionis perveustae, °quem ego auctorem cum duplici *manuscripto* prima quaque

f Cantabrigiae: [- *inter*] Cantabrigiae | **g** traducere: [- *semper*] traducere | Francium: \Francium/ | in: [- *quidem*] in | Iohanni: Iohanni [- *neque tantu*] | ac diligentiae: \ac diligentiae/ | constanter: [- *amplexam esse soli vitae genus solitarium*] constanter | quinimo: [- *atque ab omni consortia rem ob om*] quinimo | vivat: [- *ibi*] vivat | nostrum: nostrum. [- *.pl. dabis operam ut inclusae litterulae reliquum est ut*] | **h** Vitruvium: [- *vetustissi*] Vitruvium | quem: [- *et quoniam auctorem hunc cum gemino MS exemplari conferre*] quem

²² John Francius; **97f**.

or in other university towns; that there is hardly any girl who could lead a life so blamelessly that the malicious minds of some insolent young men do not stain her with a blemish. He also added many other points, which it were too long to write down.

g I have experienced John Francius' assistance to be most faithful in everything; he is a fellow of Peterhouse, but he was less appreciated by our Joannes, because he always endeavoured to bring him round to the better by sane advice; this irritated the young man's mind, I quite know. Besides, he suspected that Mr. Francius did not conceal anything to me; hence those lamentations. But this is not so important that I believe we must long tarry at them. So I return to Prudence. Francius actually denied knowing what kind of life Prudence used to lead; that given the English girls' great frankness, affairs could have happened which harmonise less with serious manners, although he solemnly confirmed that no such thing has become known to him. But, just as he had never considered it his concern diligently to inquire after Miss Prudence's way of life and manners, so he acknowledged to have observed her ever since she was said to have married Joannes. The gentleman whose integrity and diligence I make much of in this respect feels and speaks excellently of her and has indicated to me not only personally but also in letters that she is quite steadily leading a kind of solitary life, and even that she has decided to move with her mother to Lincolnshire at the beginning of spring, since she will incur fewer expenses there if she stays with her sister, who has married a minister of the Holy Word in that region, than if she brings her mind to living with her uncle Bendich, which our Joannes seems to have suggested to her. But she has perhaps written more about this to our Joannes.

h I hope the books have been delivered to you yet. Joannes had told me you had given him a Vitruvius in a very old edition, amongst other books of excellent quality, which author I have decided to colate with two manuscripts at the first possible opportunity. So, I

²³ Terence, *Andria* 126, "hinc illae lacrumae."

²⁴ Cf. **104c**. Prudence Greene's sister, her brother-in-law, a Lincolnshire minister, and uncle Bendich unidentified, **96b**.

²⁵ For the circumstances of Joannes Vossius' books, **102f**.

occasione conferre statui.²⁶ Postulaveram itaque a magistro Stearne, socio Collegii Iesu, cui res suas Iohannes commiserat, ut veterem illam editionem Vitruvianam ad me transmitteret. Facturum recepit; mihi tamen numquam datum fuit videre librum. Subest fraus aut ipsius Stearnii, aut illius cui librum ad me deferendum commiserat; sed is nunquam sibi visum tale aliquod exemplar °contendit.²⁷ Doleo sane quod exciderim hac spe potiundi exemplaris, °quantum auguror, optimi.

i Solito verbosior fui; res exegit. Dabis itaque veniam pluribus verbis. Vale, coniunctissime adfinis, et sororem cum universa prole vestra plurimum saluta. Exprimere verbis nequeo quanta cum voluptate Matthaei nostri Annales percurrerim.²⁸ Urgebit, spero, laudabile propositum.

Pridie kalendas Ianuarii °stilo vetere, anno 1635, in aedibus Arundelianis.

h contendit: [- *conten traditum*] contendit | quantum: [- *quod post qualemcumque usum ad vos remissurus fueram*] quantum | **i** stilo: [- *anno 1635*] stilo

²⁶ Joannes' Vitruvius was an old Florentine edition, and may have been the "Editio Florentina," *M. Vitruvius Pollio. De architectura libri X...* (Florence: Leonardo de Arigis, 1496), a reprint of Sulpicius Verulanus' *editio princeps* (Rome, 1487), which Vossius distinguished from the Florentine edition printed after Giocondo's edition, **118d**. Considering Vossius' reference to it in **118d**, the copy was really lost, cf. below. The two manuscripts were presumably the manuscript now BL, Arundel 122, a fifteenth-century version of the entire text without illustrations, which the earl of Arundel had bought in Siena in 1614, and the manuscript now BL, Cott. Cleop. D.i, a tenth/eleventh-century version of the entire text without illustrations from the Cotton library. No material of Junius towards an edition or commentary of Vitruvius has been retrieved. His extensive use of Vitruvius in *De pictura* and *Catalogus artificum* (1694), and Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* (London, 1624), which he also used, may have suggested the need for a replacement of the current Vitruvius edition by Philander, dating from 1552, **116b**, **118d**. Junius collated the text, but because he had initially been denied use of the Cotton manuscript and had only had it with him through Patrick Young's mediation, he had been able to collate it in part only before being interrupted, **164b**. He may not yet have had it at his disposal at the time of the present letter. Nevertheless, he seems to have abandoned the project again by the time Isaac Vossius came to England in 1641, **143a**, for the latter collated Vitruvius manuscripts there and considered preparing an edition because no scholars had achieved anything on that author yet—which

asked master Stearne, the fellow of Jesus College to whom Joannes had entrusted his possessions, to send this ancient edition of Vitruvius to me. He promised to do so, but it has never been granted to me to see the book. There is cheating somewhere, either by Stearne himself, or by the person to whom he had entrusted the book to hand it to me, but the latter insists he has never seen such a copy. I am truly sorry to lack this hope of obtaining this most excellent copy—which I assume it is.

- i I have been more verbose than usual. The subject required so, so please excuse the many words. Farewell, dearest Brother, and warmly greet Sister and all your children. I cannot express in words with how much delight I looked through our Matthaëus' *Annals*. He will pursue the praiseworthy project, I hope. On the day before the Kalends of January old style in the year 1635, at Arundel House [10 Jan. 1636].

he would hardly have suggested if his uncle was working on Vitruvius at the time. Thus, Junius presumably did not use the Vossius manuscripts of Vitruvius in Holland, contrary to what *Literature* 1.lvin77 suggests. His notes, on the other hand, may have been copied by Isaac and thus found their way to the edition of Vitruvius by the Leiden merchant, geographer and Anglo-Saxonist Johannes de Laet (1581–1649), *M. Vitruvii Pollionis de architectura libri decem* (Amsterdam, 1649). De Laet had seen the Arundel manuscript himself—and even had the Cotton manuscript with him in Holland from 1648, but also added readings from it from Isaac's notes, which he introduced as, “ita quoque annotatum ab Isaaco Vossio G. fil. ad marginem inveni” [thus I have also found it noted by Isaac Vossius, G.'s son, in the margin], (p. 22) or “ad marginem lib. Isaaci Vossii annotatum invenio . . .” [I find noted in the margin of Isaac Vossius' book . . .], (p. 35n), **164b**. Though they may have seen each other when de Laet consulted the Arundel manuscript, no indications that Junius and de Laet maintained contact were found. Vossius reacted to the project only two years and a half after the present letter, in **118d**. Cf. Ebert (1890, nos. 23823, 23824), Callebat *et al.* (1984:ix), Krinsky (1967:49–50), *Literature* 1.xxxvii, 1.lvin77, 1 and 2, s.vv., Nativel (1996:60n1), Ebert (1890, no. 23830), Ottenheym (1998:217), Blok (1999:87, 111), Bekkers (1970:xviii).

²⁷ Person unidentified.

²⁸ Matthaëus Vossius, *Annalium* (1635), **99d**, **103c**.

106₁₀₇ 36 04 23 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

A Ger.Io. Vossius Francisco Iunio F.F., affini carissimo.

a *Salutem plurimam.* Haud facile dixerim quam multis variisque ferueat hoc tempore Blauwii nostri praelum.² Cum itaque fieri non posset, ut eodem et mea excuderet, et tua, et filii Dionisii Maimonidem, malui, ut tua praeuenterent.³ Quamquam optassem, ut translationem ipse apposuisses.⁴ Est enim non facilis semper eam addere laboris, praesertim cum saepe totus sit evolendus liber, priusquam in locum incidamus, quem adducis. Multi etiam libri °interpretem necdum nacti, aut pessimum. Aliquando me in his subleuat Isaacus meus, sed multum amplius Gerardus, quem spero propediem editurum suas in Velleum castigationes.⁵

b Mitto ex iis, quae excusa in tuis, quaterniones 14; idque bis, ut, si lubeat, alterum exemplar cum amico communices, alterum remittas adscriptis, quae addi ad calcem vel corrigi velis, item e quibus placeat indicem concinnari.⁶ Spero et breui nos habituros praefationem operis, ne typographus caussari posset, temet esse in mora.⁷ Non adscripsi nomen initio libri primi, quia aliud significaras.⁸ Sed profecto nunquam patrem pudebit huius faetus. Itaque adscribam inscriptioni primoris paginae, nisi aliud rescriperis. Etiam praefationi opus erit apponi. Inscriptio erit,

a interpretem: *c* interpretum

¹ *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 61.

² Junius' *De pictura* (1637) was being printed by Joan Blaeu, **99g**. Printing had started before 1 April, cf. Vossius to Méric Casaubon, "excuduntur hic de veterum pictura libri tres affinis mei Francisci Iunii, eius qui in aedibus agit illustrissimi Comitis Arundelii" [The three books on the painting of the ancients by my brother-in-law Francis Junius, he who resides at the court of the most illustrious earl of Arundel, are being printed here], 36 04 01, Colomesius 1.279. No indication found that Vossius sent Junius "some price quotations for vellum, evidently for the presentation copy to the king" with this letter, as *Literature* 1.xxxixn suggests.

³ Vossius, *De theologia gentili* (1641), and Dionysius Vossius, *Maimonides* (1641), **94a**, **118i**.

⁴ Junius had asked his kinsmen in Holland to translate the Greek passages in *De pictura* into Latin to enable King Charles, to whom the book was dedicated, to understand them, **100e-f**.

⁵ Isaac and Gerardus Vossius, **100d**. Gerardus Vossius, *Velleius Paterculius [Historiae Romanae]* (Leiden, 1639), a brief history of Rome up to A.D. 29, of which most of

106 36 04 23 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

A Ger.Jo. Vossius to Francis Junius F.F., dearest Brother.

a Warmest regards. I could not easily tell with how many and how different books our Blaeu's press is running hot at the moment. So, since he could not print my book, and yours, and my son Dionysius' *Maimonides* on the same [press], I wanted yours to be given preference. However, I would have wished you to have added the translation yourself, for it is not always an easy job to add it, especially because a book must often be browsed completely before we find the place you have adduced. And many authors have not had a translator yet, or a very bad one. My Isaac sometimes assists me in this, but more often Gerardus, who will soon publish his commentary on Velleius, I hope.

b I am sending you 14 quires from what has been printed of your work, and I do so in duplicate, in order for you to share one copy with a friend, if you please, and return the other with additions which you want to be put at the end or to be corrected, and also those of which it seems good to prepare an index. I also hope that we will soon have the preface to the work, so that the printer cannot argue that you yourself are keeping him waiting. I did not add your name at the beginning of the first book, because you had indicated something else. But, by all means, the father will never be ashamed of this offspring. I will therefore add it to the title on the first page, unless you write otherwise. It must also be added to the preface. The title will be:

the part until 168 B.C. is lost. It includes descriptions of Roman wars with Germanic tribes. Gerardus' publication is one in a row of editions based on the 1520 *editio princeps* of Beatus Rhenanus, finder of the only manuscript, now lost. Junius' copy not identified in UBL. Cf. Woodman (1977).

⁶ The fourteen quires (up to and including p. 104) of *De pictura* comprise the text up to 2.8, and the first few lines of 2.9. Neither of these copies has been retrieved. It is unlikely the quires were galley proofs, which were usually corrected in the printing house. It may have been one of these copies which Junius lent to Anthony van Dyck, who showed and lent it to others, **110a–b**. Junius gave some corrections in **107a**, and sent more on a separate sheet, **111a**. *De pictura* does not have an index, **112b**. Cf. *Golden Compasses* 2.300.

⁷ The dedication to King Charles, letter **108**, sent with letter **107**, cf. **107b**.

⁸ Junius may have indicated on the manuscript itself that he preferred the book to be anonymous, **95b**.

FRANCISCI IUNII F.F.
DE PICTURA VETERUM
LIBRI TRES⁹

Si dissentis, fac quamprimum nos certiores. Certe typographus longe °praeferet si exprimatur nomen. °Liber eo futurus vendibilior. Tantum vero abest, ut tibi incommodetur, ut aliter si agas non satis honori consulas tuo. Sed tamen nihil fiet, nisi te probante.

- c** Uxor his diebus periclitari de vita est visa. Nunc convaluit. Cognatus tuus Ioa. Brunaeus hoc anno vixit nobiscum.¹⁰ Amo eum non modo ob affinem °meam, sororem tuam, sed etiam ob modestiam ipsius. Salutat te uxor plurimum, et liberi mei universi. Ab Ioanne *filio* propediem literas exspecto, ex quibus intelligam, salvum ac sospitem in Indiam appulisse.¹¹ Hactenus mihi non aliae redditae, quam in itinere scriptae. Vale.

Amstelodami, MDCXXXVI, XXIII Aprilis *stilo novo*.

¹⁰⁶ **107** 36 05 22 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]¹

A Clarissimo viro *Domino* Gerardo Ioanni Vossio, affini coniunctissimo.

- a** Coniunctissime affinis,
Mercator ille Gemmarius, cui tuas ad me literas commiseras, serius eas ad me detulit, eo quod metu contagionis vestrales naves hic aliquamdiu portum ingredi vetabantur, neque eas exonerare licebat, nisi post certum aliquod praestituti temporis spatium.² Utcumque tamen gratulor mihi, quod tandem aliquando expectatas diu schedas videre contigerit, quamquam doleam, quod ob hasce nugas tuis quae imprimenda erant scriptis mora aliqua sit iniecta.³ Nolim factum.

b praeferet: *c* praeferat | Liber: [- *eius*] Liber | **c** meam: *c* meum

⁹ “De pictura” or perhaps “De pictura vetere” had been Junius’ reference title, **94b**, **100a**.

¹⁰ Jan de Brune.

¹¹ Joannes Vossius was sailing to the East Indies. Only two letters written during the journey have survived, **101d**.

¹ *p*: Colomesius 2.231. The original may still be among William Boswell’s papers (not consulted), because Vossius had sent this letter to him, **e**^a.

² Merchant who brought letter **106** unidentified. The plague was severe in

FRANCIS JUNIUS F.F.'S
THREE BOOKS ON
THE PAINTING OF THE ANCIENTS

If you disagree, tell us as soon as possible. The printer, in any case, will much prefer the name to be explicitly mentioned. The book will be more marketable because of this. And this is so far from inconveniencing you, that you are not mindful enough of your reputation if you do otherwise. Nonetheless, nothing will be done without your approval.

- c My wife seemed to be in danger of her life these days. She has gained strength now. Your nephew Jan de Brune has been staying with us this year. I love him not only because of my sister-in-law, your sister, but also because of his own modesty. My wife and all my children give you warmest regards. I soon expect a letter from my son Joannes, from which I will learn that he has landed safe and sound in the Indies. As yet no other letter has been given to me than one written during the voyage. Farewell.
At Amsterdam, 1636, 23 April new style.

107 36 05 22 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]

A To the most illustrious gentleman Mr. Gerardus Joannes Vossius, dearest Brother.

a Dearest Brother,

That jeweller merchant to whom you had entrusted your letter to me delivered it to me rather late, because ships of your country were for some time prohibited to enter the harbour here for fear of the plague, and it was not allowed to unload them until after a certain prescribed period of time. Anyway, I congratulate myself that I have finally succeeded now in seeing the long expected sheets, although I regret that the printing of your books is delayed due to these trifles. I would wish it not to have happened. While hastily browsing it, I have only found a printer's error or two. On page 44 in Statius'

Holland in 1636; fourteen percent of the Amsterdammers, for instance, were killed. Likewise, 10,400 people died of the plague in London in that year. Cf. Noordegraaf and Valk (1988:227, 233), Fritze and Robison (1996:181).

³ Vossius had sent fourteen quires of Junius' *De pictura* (1637) with letter 106, cf. 106b. Vossius, *De theologia gentili* (1641), and Dionysius Vossius, *Maimonides* (1641), 106a.

Dum cursim lustrō, in unum atque alterum tantum incidi errorem typographicum. Pagina 44 in verbis Statii lege *Myroni*.⁴ Pagina 101 in verbis Plinii lege *Harpocratem*.⁵ Quamvis metuo, ne meus magis hic error, quam typographi fuerit; fieri enim potest, ut Harpocratonis nomen, cuius lexicon in hoc ipso capite toties citatur, pro Harpocrate exciderit.⁶ Gaudeo alioqui tam diligentibus tythetis rem commissam.

b Videris urgere epistolam dedicatōriam, quam nunc praecipiti festinatione qualitercumque elaboratam reverendo Episcopo Nordovicensi ostendi, qui lustratis schedis hisce suadere perstitit, ut Regi nostro opusculum inscriberem.⁷ Probavi, rogavi, ut Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem super ea re consuleret; etiam hac in parte desiderio meo plenissime satisfacit vir humanissimus, ac tui amantissimus; retulitque mihi hac ipsa vespera, Archiepiscopum non modo non improbare consilium, sed favere conatibus hisce meis, paratumque porro fore causam meam apud Regem agere.⁸ Expertus es quam prolixē vir magnus iis soleat indulgere, quibus bene vult.⁹ Caeterum de his alias uberius; nunc quod reliquum est persequar. Insolens est hoc mihi scribendi genus; nescio quo ore tale quid aggredi ausus fuerim.¹⁰ Adhibe, quaeso, iudicii tui limam, in iis quae non satis comode se videbuntur habere.¹¹

c Ingravescit hic quotidie contagio; quamprimum igitur cras summo mane secedendum nobis est, aestatem hanc in agris forte etiam magnam hyemis partem transacturi.¹² Iamdudum scripsi commodissime, ac minori cum periculo, ad me transmitti posse exemplaria, si Abrahamus van Barthem fascem librorum commendet mercatori Anglo, Roterodami hic agit, Mr Quarles.¹³ Is quoniam Comitibus negotia

⁴ P. Papinius Statius, *Silvae* 4.6.22–32 at 1.25, cf. *Literature* 1.69. The change was not made, for the excerpt from Statius in *De pictura* 1.5.5 (1637:44) still reads, “Hic tibi quae docto multum vigilata Myron/ Aera” instead of “Myroni.” Junius’ *Catalogus artificum* (1694) has a long entry on the Greek sculptor Myron, who flourished 420–17 b.c. Cf. *Literature* 2, no. 821.

⁵ Pliny, *Naturalis historiae* 33.41.2, cf. *Literature* 1.153, which reads “Pliny XXXIII.12.41.” The change was not made, for the excerpt from Pliny in *De pictura* 2.8.11 (1637:101) still reads, “Harpocratonem, statuasque Aegyptiorum numinum, in digitis viri quoque portare incipiunt” instead of “Harpocratem.” Harpocrates, or “Horus the child,” the child of the Egyptian gods Isis and Osiris, was a fertility god chiefly worshipped in Hellenistic and Roman times, cf. *OCD* (1996, s.v. Horus).

⁶ Valerius Harpocraton, *Lexicon in decem oratores Atticos*, an aid to reading the orators, which included quotations from almost all important Greek writers and explained words and phrases in alphabetical order. Considering his use of “toties,” Junius may have used Harpocraton for more entries in his list of examples of the use of art

words read *Myroni*; on page 101 in Pliny's words read *Harpocratem*, although I fear it was rather my error here than the printer's, for the name of Harpocraton, whose lexicon is quoted so often in this very chapter, may have slipped [from my pen] instead of Harpocrates. But I am pleased that the affair has been entrusted to such careful compositors.

- b** You seem to be pressing for the dedicatory letter, which—however hurriedly polished it may be—I showed to the reverend bishop of Norwich, who examined those sheets and kept urging me to dedicate the little work to our king; I consented and asked him to consult the archbishop of Canterbury on it; also in that respect the most kind lord, who is deeply devoted to you, fully satisfied my desire, and he told me this very night that the archbishop not only approved of the advice, but also favoured my efforts and would further be prepared to plead my case with the king. You have experienced how generously the great lord usually grants favours to whom he wishes well. But more extensively about this at another occasion. Now I will continue on what is left. This kind of writing is unusual to me; I do not know with what boldness I have ventured to undertake such a business; please, apply the file of your judgement to what seems to be not proper enough.
- c** The plague is growing worse here daily; we must therefore leave as soon as possible early tomorrow morning to spend this summer and perhaps also a large part of winter in the country. I had written already long ago that copies can be sent to me most conveniently and with less danger, if Abraham van Bartem entrusts the parcel of books to an English merchant—he lives in Rotterdam, Mr.

in *De pictura* 2.8 than the three instances noted in *Literature* 2.522. *De pictura* was being printed by Joan Blaeu, **99g**. Cf. *OCD* (1996, s.v. Harpocraton).

⁷ Junius' dedicatory letter to Charles is **108**. Cf. **100b–e**.

⁸ Cf. **100k**.

⁹ Laud had concerned himself with arranging a fellowship for Joannes Vossius at Cambridge in 1628, **59b**.

¹⁰ For Junius' hesitation on the dedication, cf. **100k**.

¹¹ Vossius considered the dedication much too long and tried to divide it in two, **112c**.

¹² Possibly to the favourite Arundel estate at Albury; they returned in February 1637, **95aⁿ**, **111a**.

¹³ John Quarles (1596–1647), English merchant of the Merchant Adventurers in Delft from the early 1620s and in Rotterdam from 1635, cf. Quarles van Ufford (1983).

in talibus curat, etiam hanc curam, quae familiam Arundellianam tangit, in se suscipiet.¹⁴

d Magnum est quod nunc peto, nulla tamen ratione tibi, tuisque fraudi futurum. Quidquid expenderis lubens refundam, simul ac de sumptuum summa certiore me feceris. Tam aliena est haec gens ab omni commercio cum iis locis, quae contagionis suspicione laborant, ut certus sim, me nunquam impetraturum ab ea, in qua vivo familia, ut liceat libros compingendos Londinium mittere; neque aude-rem Regi, aliisque proceribus regni libros ibi compactos exhibere, si vel minimum ingravescat lues. Apud vos iam deferbuit, spero, malum; et post quaecumque temporis intervallum tutius putant Britanni nostri libros alterius coeli ac soli tractari posse. Debitur Regi exemplar melioris notae, Carolo Principi, Principi Electori, fratrique eius, Comiti Arundelliae ac filiis, Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, Episcopo Londinensi, Nordovicensi, Lincolniensi, plerisque proceribus regni, et quibusdam aulicis.¹⁵ Longum esset enumerare singulos. Facile est coniiicere quam multorum gratia peregrino homini, aut captanda, aut tuenda sit. Pudet me certe tam importunae audaciae, neque ullo iure videor mihi hoc exigere, nisi quod prona benevolentis animi facilitate, quam semper paratissime mihi exhibuisti, in spem adducor; credere adhaec debes, me prima quaque occasione lubenti ac grato animo refusurum quidquid impenderis. Debebuntur adhaec exemplaria compacta tibi ac tuae familiae, affini Naerano, avunculo Gomaro, *claro* Grotio, Salmasio, Barlaeo, Doubletio, °Heemskerc, qui scripta ad vos detulit, et quibus consultum porro videbitur.¹⁶ Quam-

d Heemskerc: *p* Heemskere

¹⁴ No information on the earl of Arundel's contacts with Quarles found.

¹⁵ The presentation copy of *De pictura* for King Charles may be the copy now BL, 561*.c.4, stemming from the king's library, its margins not cut to size, and bound in an eighteenth-century cover. No annotations by Junius, which Nativel (1996:599) has noted, found in it. Charles, Prince of Wales; Charles Louis (c.1617–1680), the Prince Elector of the Palatinate, and his brother Rupert (1619–1682), who had seen Arundel and Junius aboard after the embassy in 1633, and who had recently been in London, **87a**ⁿ; the earl of Arundel, Henry Frederick, lord Maltravers, and Junius' former pupil, William Howard; Archbishop Laud; William Juxon, and John Williams. No indications of contact between Junius and Juxon or Williams found. Cf. Hervey (1921:325–37), *DNB* 61.414–20, Trevor-Roper (1940, s.v. Williams).

¹⁶ Franciscus Gomarus was professor of theology at Groningen at the time. Having taught at the Middelburg Collegium Theologicum from 1611, he had been professor at Saumur, France, from 1615 until the Groningen Academy, after several vain efforts, succeeded in contracting him in 1618. His second wife, Junius' mater-

Quarles. Since he manages the earl's affairs in such cases, he may also take this charge, which affects the Arundel family, upon himself.

d It is much I am asking now, yet it will on no account be a disadvantage to you and your family. I will gladly refund whatever you spend as soon as you inform me of the total of expenses. This people is so averse to all contact with those places which are afflicted by a suspicion of the plague, that I am certain I will never make this family with whom I live allow me to send the books to London to have them bound, and I would not dare present books bound there to the king and other dignitaries of the kingdom, even if the plague grows little worse. The disease has already ceased raging with you, I hope, and after some small period of time our Englishmen believe that books from another region and climate can be handled more safely. A copy of superior quality is due to the king, to Prince Charles, the prince elector, and his brother, to the earl of Arundel and his sons, to the archbishop of Canterbury, to the bishops of London, of Norwich, of Lincoln and to most dignitaries of the kingdom and to some courtiers. It would take long to enumerate them separately. It is easy to guess of how many people the favour for a foreigner must either be captured or protected. I am truly ashamed of such improper insolence and appear to myself to demand this without any right, except that I am encouraged in my hope by the easy accessibility of a benevolent heart, which you have always most readily shown to me; besides, you must believe that I will gladly and with a grateful heart refund whatever you have spent at the first possible opportunity. In addition, bound copies are due to you and your family, to Brother Naeranus, Uncle Gomarus, the renowned Grotius, Salmasius, Barlaeus, Doublet, Heemskerck, who brought the manuscript to you, and furthermore to whomever it seems good.

nal aunt Maria l'Hermite, had died in 1621, and he was currently married to Anna Maria de la Noye. **6a**. For his copy of *De pictura*, cf. **113c**. Grotius thanked Junius for the book with letter **117**; Claudius Salmasius thanked him for the book with a return gift, **118e**. Johan van Heemskerck (1597–1656), lawyer and distinguished Dutch poet and prose writer. He had probably already met Junius during his tour of England in 1621–22, when he had brought Christopher Wren's letter praising Junius to Grotius, **36aⁿ**, **44dⁿ**. From 1629 to 1634 he had been part of a delegation of the Dutch East India Company in London, and on his return delivered the manuscript of *De pictura* and letter **93** to Vossius, **93aⁿ**. Moving in the same circles as Vossius, he held several offices in the Amsterdam magistracy, until being chosen a councillor of the Supreme Court in The Hague in 1645. At the time, he was probably working on a Dutch pastoral, *Batawische Arcadia* (Amsterdam, 1637). Cf. **139**, in *NMBW* 7.483–86, esp. 485–86, Smit (1933, esp. 13–16), *BWN* 8.355–58.

quam ego lubens impolitum scriptum tantorum virorum oculis si fas esset subtraxerim.

- e Quod titulum spectat, omnem rem arbitrii vestri facio; bene factum iudicabo quicquid feceris, cum tibi, ac typographo talium rerum sit maior usus.¹⁷ Titulum quoque dedicatoriae epistolae praemittendum omisi, non quidem consulto, sed quum scriptionem hanc serius inchoatam in multam noctem produxissem; oculis in eam quam iamiam literis hisce involvere parabam dedicationem coniectis, titulum forte desideravi. Magni Monarchae tituli non sunt ambigui.¹⁸ Et haerenti per cognatum Franciscum succurret *Dominus* Boswellus.¹⁹ Quantum Gerardo, atque Isaaco, pro opera strenue navata debeam ipsi propediem, Deo *Optimo Maximo* nobis vitam atque animum largiente, experientur.²⁰ Vale, coniunctissime affinis, ac meis verbis sorori carissimae, atque omnibus tuis salutem plurimam dico. Raptim; in aedibus Arundellianis, anno 1636, 12 Maii. Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

108 36 05 24 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO CHARLES I [-]¹

- A Serenissimo, Potentissimo, Invictissimoque Monarchae Carolo, Dei Gratia Magnae Britanniae, Franciae, et Hiberniae Regi, Fidei Defensori, etc.²

¹⁷ Contrary to Junius' initial wishes, Vossius and Joan Blaeu, the publisher, preferred to have the author's name mentioned in the title, because it would make the book sell better, **106b**. The remark does not imply that the entire title was Vossius' or Blaeu's, as Navel (1996:97, 1998:24) suggests; rather, "De pictura" or "De pictura vetere" had already been Junius' working title, **94b**.

¹⁸ Cf. **108A**.

¹⁹ Vossius addressed William Boswell on the dedication in a letter dated 36 10 12, "Scripsit affinis meus Franciscus Iunius de pictura veterum libros tres sane eruditos et laboriosos. Eos probantibus illis quorum auctoritas merito apud eum plurimum valet, sacrare cogitat serenissimo Regi ac Domino nostro Carolo. Opere iam excuso, sola superest praefatio, quam, priusquam prelo committatur, communicari tecum voluit, ne in sermone ad tantum Monarchum forte verbo offenderit ignarus. Tuo stare et cadere iudicio est paratissimus. Scit enim te ut aliarum rerum multarum, ita earum, quae ad Regum aures pertin[ea]nt, longe utroque nostri intelligentiorem. Manum ipsam Iunii misi, eoque ubi legeris remitti opus erit. Quod si molestum erit perscribere quid potissimum mutandum existimes, saltem filio meo Francisco, qui Hagae est advocatus, indicium eorum facere ne refugas. Is facile ad me perscribet" [My brother-in-law Francis Junius has written three truly learned and laborious books on the painting of the ancients. Since those whose authority is deservedly highly valued by him have approved of them, he considers dedicating them to the king and our Lord Charles. The book has already been printed

Nevertheless, I would gladly have withdrawn the inelegant book from the eyes of such great men, if it had been proper to do so.

- e As regards the title, I leave it all to your judgement; I will consider whatever you do to be done well, because you and the printer have greater experience in such matters. I have also left out the heading which must precede the dedicatory letter, actually not on purpose, but because I had produced this text, which I had begun rather late, deep in the night; I accidentally missed the heading when turning my eyes on the dedication which I was about to enclose in this letter at this very time. The exalted monarch's titles are not ambiguous, and Mr. Boswell, through Nephew Franciscus, could assist if you hesitate. Gerardus and Isaac will soon find out how much I owe them for the promptly accomplished work, provided that Allgood and Almighty God grants us life and breath. Farewell, dearest Brother, and give warmest regards to Sister and all your family on my behalf.

In haste. At Arundel House in the year 1636, 12 May.

Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

108 36 05 24 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO CHARLES I [-]

- A To the Serene, Powerful and Invincible Monarch Charles, by the grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc.

and only the preface is wanting, which he desired to be communicated to you before it is entrusted to the press, so that he would not unknowingly perhaps offend with a word in a speech to such a great monarch. He is most prepared to let it fall down to your judgement, for he knows that, just as concerning many other matters, you know much more about what pertains to the king's ears than either of us. I have sent Junius' own handwriting, and it must therefore be sent back when you have read it. And if it is troublesome to write what you believe must especially be changed, please do not shun from indicating it to my son Franciscus, who is a lawyer in The Hague. He can easily write it to me], Colomesius 1.293. No answer from Boswell, nor from Franciscus has been retrieved; but cf. 112c.

²⁰ Isaac and Gerardus Vossius had helped translate the Greek in *De pictura* into Latin, 100f, 106a.

¹ p1: Junius, *De pictura* (1637:iii-xvi); text after the copy now UBL, 603 H 35. p2: Junius, *De pictura* (1694:††3v-†††); collation from the copy now UBL, 679 A 10. The original had been sent to Vossius together with letter 107, cf. 107b, 111a.

² This is the dedicatory letter of Junius' *De pictura* (1637), 93a, 100a-e, 107b, 112c. Junius had wanted Vossius to add the proper form of address after William Boswell's advice, 107e. An English translation of this letter has been excellently annotated in *Literature* 1.315-23.

- a** Serenissime Principum,
Annus nunc agitur sextus decimus, quod in calamitoso concussi orbis motu inclytum Britanniae vestrae regnum,³ veluti intimum quendam festae pacis recessum ac °sinum, ingressus, et in nobilissimam familiam °Arundelliam, commendantibus Lanceloto Wintoniensi olim episcopo, et Guilielmo tunc episcopo Menevensi, nunc archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, adscitus, ex voluntate illustrissimi Arundelliae et Surriae Comitum, omnibus fere probatissimorum auctorum scriniis excussis, non artificum modo historiam, sed et artium imitaticium naturam penitius inspicere atque annotare coepi.⁴
- b** Quamvis autem non tam me vinceret praestandi quod exigebatur fiducia, quam negandi verecundia, latius se tamen aperiente materia plus quam imponebatur oneris sponte suscepti, simul ut pleniori obsequio demererer tantum Heroem, qui | hunc minime ingratum laborem iniunxisse videbatur, simul ne vulgarem viam ingressus alienis demum vestigiis insisterem.⁵
- c** Dum in his sum, non potui non subinde grato erga Deum optimum maximum ac vestram Maiestatem animo recolere, quantum sit illud, quod Maiestate vestra publicae pacis gubernaculis admota, cuius detur altum ac pingue otium iucundissima quiete in literarum studiis collocare.⁶ Quamobrem etiam non annorum, sed saeculorum prorogatione Maiestatem vestram dignam iudicant quotquot idonea

a sinum: *p1* signum; *p2* sinum | Arundelliam: *p2* Arundellianam

³ Tacitus, *Historiae* 1.16.17, “in hoc concussi orbis motu.”

⁴ Junius had moved to England in 1621, and entered into the service of the earl of Arundel at the instigation of Bishop Andrewes, and apparently William Laud, **31a**, **39d**, **42d**. He had already been working on the commission in 1628, **58b**. The quotations on art from classical sources he thus collected he arranged in such a way that they came to support his own theory of art, **b**, **93a**.

⁵ **b** is an almost literal quotation from Quintilian, *Institutiones oratoriae* 1.pr.3.1–4.1, except that Junius changed Quintilian’s “amantissimos mei” to “tantum Heroem . . . videbatur,” “Quamvis autem non tam me vinceret praestandi quod exigebatur fiducia quam negandi verecundia, latius se tamen aperiente materia plus quam imponebatur oneris sponte suscepti, simul ut pleniore obsequio demererer amantissimos mei, simul, ne vulgarem viam ingressus alienis demum vestigiis insisterem.” The copies of *p1* and *p2* I consulted have “pleniori” instead of “pleniore.” Junius may have chosen this quotation to indicate that, whereas it had been Arundel’s commission for him “non artificum modo historiam, sed et artium imitaticium naturam penitius inspicere atque annotare,” he himself had decided to use them as often silent quotations to voice an art theory, emphasize the relevance of good instruction and defend the arts—the undertaking which resulted in *De pictura*, **93a**. This undertaking much resembles Sir Philip Sidney’s “Defense of Poesie,” **68c**.

a Most Serene Prince,

It is sixteen years ago now that in the destructive turmoil of an agitated world I came to the glorious kingdom of Your Britain, as if it were an innermost retreat and asylum of merry peace, and was received in the most noble family of Arundel on recommendation of Lancelot, the former bishop of Winchester, and William, then bishop of St. David's, now archbishop of Canterbury, and, at the request of the most illustrious earl of Arundel and Surrey, began thoroughly to examine and observe not only the history of artists, but also the nature of the imitative arts by scrutinizing almost all book-boxes of excellent authors.

b Yet, although confidence in accomplishing what was being requested did not convince me as much as embarrassment about refusing it, I nevertheless took upon myself a heavier duty of my own accord than had been given to me when the material unveiled itself more broadly, both in order to oblige such a great nobleman, who seemed to have commissioned this most welcome exertion, by fuller obedience, and in order not to follow in just somebody else's footsteps on entering the trodden path.

c While I was doing this, I could not refrain from frequently recalling to a mind grateful to Allgood and Almighty God and Your Majesty how important it is that one is granted to employ a deep and fruitful leisure for the study of letters in pleasant quiet, as Your Majesty is attending to the government of public peace. For this reason also, all people wishing for time suitable for further indulging in their studies deem Your Majesty worthy of continuing not years but centuries. There is no room now to enumerate all Your virtues, nor does Your Majesty willingly listen to brilliant eulogies. So, just

⁶ Pliny the Younger, *Panegyricus* 6.2.2–3, “publicae salutis gubernaculis admoveret;” *Epistolae* 5.6.45.3–4, “altius ibi otium et pinguius;” 9.3.2.1, “pingue illud altumque otium;” and cf. 9.6.1.1–2, “Omne hoc tempus inter pugillares ac libellos iucundissima quiete transmissi.” Junius used the topos that the arts have always flourished best in times of peace, as expressed, for instance, by Erasmus, *Epistolae* 205.41–42, “Nam in praesentia quidem in Italia mire frigent studia, ferment bella” [“for at this moment studies are remarkably dormant in Italy, whereas wars are hotly pursued”], *CWE* 2.205, 153d. Junius also exclaimed in *De pictura* 2.2.13.2, quoted after his translation in *Painting* (1638), “[t]he fatal stirres of Kingdomes and Republikes doe mightily dash that constancy of our mindes, whereby Arts are brought to perfection. And how is it possible that any mortall man should follow any intended worke quietly, when besides the present calamities that afflict us alreadie, there seeme to hang more grievous mis-fortunes over our heads.”

studiis suis obsequendi tempora porro exoptant.⁷ Omnes virtutes Vestras enumerare nunc locus non est, nec Maiestas Vestra splendida elogia libenter audit.⁸ Id propter, ut certa quaedam sacra non nisi silentio peraguntur, ita sincero quodam animi affectu tacitas laudes Vestras admirari malo, quam divinum istum coelestium virtutum consensum impari praedicatione devenustare.⁹ Siquidem in una Maiestate vestra—vel ipsa fatente Invidia—praeter caeteros Reges illa res clarior | est, quam in Iulio Caesare extollit Salustius, quod prius defessi sint homines laudando atque admirando animi magnitudinem, clementiam, et benignitatem Vestram, quam Vos faciendo quae gloria sempiterna digna sunt.¹⁰ Neque deerunt qui animum hunc Vestrum seris pandant nepotibus. Ibit in saecula Vestrum nomen, suumque ei decus constabit, quamdiu uspiam virtuti locus habebitur. Ut taceam (si tacere liceat, quod imprimis huc facit) summum erga omnes bonas artes studium, quo fulgentissimo insigni, tanquam salutari quodam sidere, conspicua Maiestas vestra caliginem superioris aevi feliciter disiicit, pacifici status ornamentis undique conquisitis.¹¹ Hinc ista orbi Britannico circumfusa serenitas; hinc pristina decora ubique revirescunt; hinc est, quod undequaque saeculum aurescit.¹² Artes passim restituis, conservas, auges, cumulas, velut unicus dispensator felicitatis, iustitiae norma, optimorum principum exemplar. Artificum delectatissimos luculentis honorariis ornatos et novis |

⁷ Cornelius Nepos, *Vitae* [life of Atticus] 2.2.4–5, “idoneum tempus ratus studiis obsequendi suis.”

⁸ The present letter reflects the eulogies on Charles I as displayed in the masques current at the court, and derives themes from classical panegyric, especially Pliny, cf. Parry (1981:184–229; 1989:28–41), *Literature* 1.315–17.

⁹ Cf. Seneca the Younger, *Dialogi* 7.26.7.8–9, “sed imperat silentium ut rite peragi possit sacrum nulla voce mala obstrepente.” Devenustare: hapax, Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 12.1.8.5–6, “tamquam pulcritudinis sibi insignia devenustet.”

¹⁰ Sallust, *Ad Caesarem de re publica* [sp.] 2.1.6.2–4, “quod prius defessi sunt homines laudando atque admirando munificentiam tuam, quam tu [in] faciundo quae gloria digna essent;” cf. 1.1.2.4–3.1, “ut prius defessi sint homines laudando facta tua quam tu laude digna.”

¹¹ Following sixteenth-century virtuoso princes, King Charles, “the finest art collector ever to sit on the English throne” (Carlton [1983:143]), had developed a fine connoisseurship of the visual arts under the influence of his brother Henry Frederick, Prince of Wales (1594–1612)—whose excellent collection he inherited, the court architect Inigo Jones and the earl of Arundel. His taste for the arts encompassed “antique medals and sculptures, paintings by the great masters of Italy and the North, and also by living masters of greatest reputation in the Low Countries and Italy, portraits, arms and armour, goldsmith’s work, modern medals and sculptures”

as some rituals are only performed in silence, so I prefer to admire Your unmentioned merits with sincere affection of the mind to dishonouring that divine harmony of heavenly virtues by inadequate extolment. Since, indeed—Jealousy itself even acknowledging this—in comparison with other kings, only in Your Majesty what Sallust praised in Julius Caesar is clearer, that is, that people may sooner grow weary from praising and admiring Your magnitude of heart, clemency and kindness than You are from doing what is worthy of everlasting glory. People who unfold Your character to distant descendants will not be lacking either. Your name will proceed for centuries and its characteristic splendour will last as long as anywhere a place will be found for virtue; not to mention (if one is allowed not to mention what contributes to this in particular) the deepest devotion to all good arts, by which shining mark, like a beneficial star, Your remarkable Majesty has happily dissolved the overcast of a previous age by collecting ornaments of a peaceful state on all sides. Hence that serenity encompassing the English world, hence ancient decorum is flourishing everywhere again, hence it is that the age is turning golden everywhere. You are restoring, preserving, increasing and assembling the arts everywhere, as if you are the only treasurer of happiness, rule of justice and example of the best rulers. You invite and encourage the choicest artists, honoured by considerable

Lightbown (1989:65). Just as Peter Paul Rubens, **114**, Anthony van Dyck, **110**, and the first duke of Buckingham, he showed a preference for sixteenth-century Venetian painting, especially Titian. Sir Dudley Carleton and Sir Henry Wotton had acquired pictures for him in Italy, and he had bought Titians during his stay at the Spanish court in 1623. When he acquired the splendid Gonzaga collection of pictures and sculptures in 1627, **114a**, he had probably the best royal collection of Europe. Throughout his life he continued to add to his collections or was presented with pieces of art by courts and courtiers who tried to obtain his favour. Besides, Charles' patronage of the various disciplines of the arts—painting, as exemplified most prominently in his patronage of van Dyck and Rubens, the miniature, and sculpture—increased the royal collections with special commissions. In *De pictura* 1.5.8–9, Junius argued how noble it is for rich “amatores” to spend much money on acquiring a good collection of art and to exhibit their collection for poorer lovers of art in their galleries—no doubt also a reference to Arundel, e. Cf. Lightbown (1989); for a good survey of Charles' collections and further references, MacGregor (1989); for the current use of the image of the “golden age,” cf. Levin (1969).

¹² Aurescere: hapax, Terentius Varro, *De lingua Latina* 7.83.2–3, “aurora dicitur ante solis ortum, ab eo quod ab igni solis tum aureo aer aurescit.”

commodis auctos ad arduam generosissimae artis curam sedulo obeundam invitas atque excitas.¹³

d Non est itaque, quod Antiquitatem, foecundissimam bonarum artium nutricem, saeculo huic nostro quidquam invidisse putemus. Rarus quidem est Apelles, rarus Phidias, fateor; quia non inveniunt fautores suos, cum rari sint rerum domini, qui tam excelsas mentes foveant atque in aulas suas benigne evocent.¹⁴ Nascuntur quidem etiam nunc innumeri artifices; neque enim est, quod sola arte fieri putemus, aut voto, aut suffragiis, ut consules; sed non stimulantur ad maiora, non pelliciuntur ad virtutum fastigia honestis stipendiis.¹⁵ Excitarentur dubio procul magnae ac coelestes animae, si principum cordatiores Vos, tanta Maiestate circumfusos atque acribus publicae pacis curis intentos, literas pariter atque omnes humaniores artes efflictim amare ac fovere, non audirent modo, sed re ipsa nobiscum quotidie experirentur. Vestro certe exemplo docentur omnes, quam non iniucundum, nec inutile oculorum atque animi delinimentum otii suavitas post seria ac severa negotia humanis mentibus commendet.¹⁶

e Advertit ea res exteri quoque hominis animum; neque putavi diutius mihi fastidiendas aut negligendas artes illas, quas non regia modo Maiestas vestra, sed tot ac tales florentissimi regni proceres usque adeo studiose colunt atque suspiciunt. Quoniam tamen nullas ego

¹³ The reference is presumably to such artists as Rubens, van Dyck and Robert van Voerst.

¹⁴ Apelles, a distinguished Greek painter in the time of Alexander the Great, and Phidias, a famous sculptor who made the celebrated statue of Olympian Zeus, on whom Junius had elaborate entries in his *Catalogus artificum* (1694). In the present section, Junius echoed *De pictura* 2.9.6–7 and 3.1.16, where he observed that good artists have become rare, because kings and nations have come to disregard the arts in favour of money, which has led to contempt of learning and art. Cf. *Literature* 2, nos. 98 and 926.

¹⁵ In *De pictura* 3.1.9, quoted after his translation in *Painting*, Junius asserted that “our discourse is not about ordinary workmen, but wee doe rather speake of such men as are Painters indeed, that is, men of excellent wittes and great learning, to the perfitting [perfecting (*Literature* 1.209)] of whom Nature and Studies seeme to have most lovingly conspired.” His concern is with the “doctus pictor,” someone like Rubens, whose poetic invention was equally nourished by frenzy, or “enargeia,” and learning. From childhood onwards, as Junius argued in 3.1.6–9, the artist must have studied the most varied disciplines, by name natural and moral philosophy, history, poetry, and mathematics, including optics and geometry, and must daily have observed nature and man’s behaviour in order to be able to represent ideas in a convincing way. Aspects of all these disciplines will be silently present in a good painter’s invention, that is, “[a] perfect and exactly handled invention must

recompense and endowed with new commodities, to apply themselves zealously to a lofty concern for most generous art.

d There is consequently no reason to believe that antiquity, the nurse abounding in good arts, has envied our age anything. Indeed, an Apelles is rare, a Phidias is rare, I admit, because they do not find their patrons, because lords with possessions who favour such exalted minds and kindly invite them to their courts are rare. Actually, also nowadays countless artists are born, for there is no reason for us to believe they become so only by skill, or by vowing or by suffrages, just as mayors; but they are not stimulated to loftier subjects; they are not allured to the zenith of virtues by honourable recompenses. Great and heavenly souls would without doubt be incited, if they not only heard of it, but were also actually daily experiencing with us that You, the more prudent of princes, enveloped with such a great majesty and attentive to the severe concerns of public peace, deeply love and favour literature and all humanities alike. All are surely instructed by Your example how pleasant and useful a charm for the eyes and heart is commended to human minds by the sweetness of leisure after serious and severe affairs.

e This has also drawn the attention of a foreigner's mind, and I believed I should no longer despise or neglect these arts, which not only Your royal Majesty, but also so many and such dignitaries of this most flourishing kingdom are cherishing and admiring so ardently. Yet, since I could not enjoy any pleasures here with the eyes, which should be learned and well experienced, I decided that whatever this

bud forth out of a great and well rooted fulnesse of learning: we must be conversant in all sorts of studies, all antiquitie must bee familiar unto us, but most of all the innumerable multitude of historical and poetical narrations: we must likewise be very well acquainted with all such commotions of the mind as by nature are incident unto men: seeing the whole force of painting doth principally consist in them, and nothing beareth a greater sway in such a manifold varietie of pictures and statues," *Painting* 3.1.6.

¹⁶ Matthew Wren had assured Junius that the king loved to contemplate the visual arts after his governmental duties, **100c**. In *De pictura* 1.5.6, quoted after his translation in *Painting*, Junius indeed observed that "[t]here are every where in our age also a great many of noble descent and eminent places, who having made an end of their urgent affaires, doe . . . recreate themselves in the contemplation of the divine workes of excellent Artificers, not onely weighing and examining by a secret estimation what treasures of delight and contentment there are hidden in them, but sometimes also viewing and examining therein every little moment of Art with such infatigable though scrupulous care that it is easie to be perceived they do not acknowledg any greater pleasure;" no doubt Junius also alluded to Arundel.

hic voluptates oculis, quos eruditos et bene exercitatos esse oportet, usurpare poteram, animo quidquid illud est perspicendum duxi, illustrissimo praesertim Comite celeusma praebente.¹⁷ Altior itaque cupido invasit, praecepta a proprio corpore veluti seiuncta et minutatim sparsimque in veterum monumentis discerpta congerendi, et in iustae artis formam digerendi, ut aliquam picturae veteris imaginem, vel saltem qualemcunque imaginis umbram, animo complexus, commendatissimarum artium amoenitatem pernoscerem.¹⁸

f Nescio, an benigna hominum iudicia mihi debeam polliceri, | abunde felix, si tenuem quandam rei totius imaginem conformasse existimer; nam politae et consummatae gloriam, nec spero, nec affecto.¹⁹ Quum vero magni interesse arbitrentur omnes, talia ut scripta viris principibus sint commendata, et a benigno illorum iudicio gratiam aliquam atque aditum commodum, ubi ubi opus est, assequantur, timide aggressus sum negotium, quo facilius efficitur, ut ii, qui nobile aliquod magnae dedicationis patrocinium affectant, molesti magis, quam officiosi fuisse videantur. Gestiebat quidem animus iamdudum, votiva hac tabella nomini Vestro appensa, specimen aliquod meae in Maiestatem vestram observantiae ac devotionis exhibere.²⁰ Maiestas etiam vestra libello huic famam, id est, vitam, datura videbatur.²¹ Nimirum de saeculorum omnium iudicio securus est, qui probatus est Vestro; et multa valde pretiosa ideo videntur, quia sunt templis dicata. Quid facerem?

g Adeo multa interim pertentabant conscium pudorem meum, ut non sine tacito quodam aestuantis animi | horrore periculosam insolentissimi ausi aleam posse subiri putarem. Maiorem sciebam Maiestatis

¹⁷ Throughout *De pictura*, Junius' emphasis is on the learned character of good art and of those who devote themselves to it, for, as he has it, "[t]he Art of painting requireth studious endeavours, assiduous exercitations, great experience, deep wisdom, and a most readie counsell," *Painting* 3.1.13. According to Junius, especially in 1.5, critics of the visual arts require the same qualities as artists, except that they need not practise. Critics must therefore exercise their imagination and judgement by contemplation and study of various disciplines in order to understand art, in other words, to become a "doctus amator." Their ability to understand art distinguishes them from the ignorant crowd, which can only delight in good art and reject bad art. Junius had probably never before paid close attention to the visual arts. Instead, his time with the Puritan oriented Willem Teellinck would have made him rather suspicious of the visual arts, as seems apparent, at least, in **20b**. Probably the earl of Arundel's earnest attitude towards the visual arts had contributed to Junius setting aside any initial reservations, **k**.

¹⁸ Cf. Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.129.2, "quanta sit animi vis seiuncta a corporis sensibus;" Lucretius Carus, *De rerum natura* 1.430-31, "ab omni corpore siunctum;" 2.187-88, "qui corpore seiunctus." Junius treated the observations of the ancients

is must be examined with the mind, especially because the most illustrious earl ordered so. I was accordingly seized by a profound desire to collect the rules, which were, so to say, separated from their own corpus and scattered diffusely and in small pieces in the documents of the ancients, and to arrange them in the frame of true art in order to examine thoroughly the delightfulness of the commendable arts, upon having grasped an image of ancient painting—or at least a kind of shade of an image—in my mind.

f I do not know whether I should promise myself people's benign judgements, being happy enough if I am considered to have formed a slight image of the whole matter, for I neither expect, nor strive after the glory of a refined and perfect one. Yet, since everybody believes it most important that such writings are commended to ruling men and acquire some favour and easy access—whenever need be—because of their kind judgement, I have timidly undertaken an affair in which it easily happens that those who are striving after the noble patronage of a dedication to an exalted person seem to have been more troublesome than obliging. Already long ago my heart was actually longing to show a token of my reverence and devotion to Your Majesty by means of this votive tablet suspended on Your name. Your Majesty also seemed to give a good reputation, that is, life, to this booklet. Surely, he who is approved of by Your judgement is unconcerned about the judgement of all ages, and many objects seem most valuable for the fact that they are consecrated to sanctuaries. What would I do?

g Meanwhile, so many matters were testing my selfconscious shame, that I thought that the risky hazard of the arrogant venture could only be endured by the silent dread of a tossing heart. I knew the highness of Your Majesty to be greater than that I might hope it to lower itself such an extent; besides, Your occupations must be

on art, which had been uttered so widely distant in place and time, as if they all voiced a single coherent theory of art, which he saw it as his task to collect in one body again, as *Literature* 1.lvii observes. Cf. Nativel (1996:589–92).

¹⁹ Cicero, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* [sp.] 3.33.15, “rei totius imaginem conformabimus.”

²⁰ Cf. Horace, *Sermones* 2.1.32–34, “quo fit ut omnis / votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella / vita senis;” Juvenal, *Saturae* 12.27, “votiva testantur fana tabella;” Pomponius Porphyrio, *Commentum in Horati Sermones* 2.1.33.1–3, “Votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella. Ita fit, ut Lucili vita tam clara sit per libros, quam si in tabula votiva ostendatur.”

²¹ Martial, *Epigrammata* 8.pr.1–2, “libelli mei, domine, quibus tu fa/mam, id est vitam, dedisti.”

vestrae celsitudinem, quam, ut descensuram, huc sperarem; praeterquam quod occupationibus Vestris publico bono parcendum erat; neque poteram tanti nominis maiorem habere reverentiam, quam si timerem profanare. Tot ac tantis remoris occurrentibus, ac tantum non proterve irruentibus, iamiam repudiaturus videbar consilium, quod primum intenderam, quum variis cogitationibus circumactum bona spe implevit vir reverendus et principalis iudicii Vestri favore ad maiora proventus, cuius mentionem silentio hic praeterire nefas habuissem, nisi ipse voluisset.²²

h Obsecutus itaque eius viri consilio, cuius mihi ^oauthoritas pro ratione sufficere debebat, Picturam Veterem venerabundus offero Maiestati vestrae; munus, si una censetur scriptione mea, sane pertenuis; si animo, magnum; si rei dignitate, lectissimum; neque enim me movet, quod ignava depravati saeculi ingenia sublimem illam divinarum artium vim, quam assequi non possunt, contemnere atque elevare student.²³ Nimirum in arduo posita est Ars, et exiguis humani ingenii viribus altior, barbaro feroque ingenio ignaviam suam pertinaciter foventes despicit, aut clarissima luce sua caligantes eorum oculos obruit. Summa res, summaeque rei pulcherrima cognitio fauctorem atque approbatorem summum nacta, suo apud omnes, hoc est, summo loco erit. Suimet adhaec subpudebit illos, qui dementer credunt, hoc argumentum esse Graeculum negotium²⁴ et meditamentum futile, si augustissimos serenissimi vultus Vestri radios, toti terrarum orbi illustrando iam dudum datos, ad tenues hosce conatus meos flectere non gravaberis.

i Triumphat profecto, et porro triumphabit tanto maecenate Pictura. Nam quis posthac eam spernere audebit, quam viderit Maiestati vestrae in pretio esse? Scio quidem mihi apud plerosque pro laboris modulo laudem non processuram; quam tamen si Maiestas vestra indulserit, maiorem laudem, quam laborem invenero. Si in homine peregrino deprehendes aliquid, quod non displiceat, unius Vestri iudicio laudatus, titivillitii non faciam quidquid viles gumiae vel bac-

h *authoritas*: p2 *autoritas*

²² Matthew Wren, **100b**—not Arundel, as *Literature* 1.320n12 suggests, but cf. 1.332n3.

²³ “Picturam veterem” or “De pictura vetere” served as Junius’ reference title, **100a**. For the observations on protesters against the visual arts, cf. **k**.

reserved for the public weal, and I could not have greater reverence of such a great name, than if I feared to profane it. Since so many and such great impediments intervened and almost boldly seized upon me, I already seemed about to reject the plan I had first intended, when, overwhelmed by various considerations, I was filled with good hope by the reverend gentleman who has been promoted to high positions by the favour of Your princely judgement, and whose name I would consider it an offense to pass in silence here, if he had not wished so himself.

h So, having followed the advice of this lord, whose authority should suffice for a reason for me, I respectfully present *Ancient Painting* to Your Majesty; a gift that is truly most meagre, if it is judged only by my writing; great, if judged by my intention; and choice, if judged by the value of the subject matter. For it does not bother me that the idle talents of a depraved age are endeavouring to despise and make light of that sublime level of the divine arts which they cannot reach. Surely, art is placed on a steep and, higher than the poor levels of human talents, it looks down on people persistently cherishing their own idleness by uncultivated and rude talents, or strikes their gloomy eyes with its bright light. Having acquired a most lofty Patron and Approver, the loftiest subject and the beautiful knowledge of the loftiest subject will be in its place, that is, the loftiest, for everybody. Besides, those who foolishly believe this subject to be thoroughly Greek and vain thinking will be somewhat ashamed about it, if You do not object to bending the most majestic beams of Your serene face, which were granted long before to illuminate the whole world, to my humble efforts.

i Truly, Painting triumphs and will further triumph under such a great Patron. For from now on, who will dare scorn what he may see to be held in high respect by Your Majesty? Indeed, I know I will not get praise in proportion to the degree of my exertion with many people, but if Your Majesty is inclined [to give] it, I will have found praise greater than my exertion. If you notice anything in a foreigner that does not displease you, I shall, honoured by only Your judgement, think it not even a trifle whatever vile gluttons or Cybele's bacchantes may be raging, for Your Majesty will grant to these

²⁴ Cicero, *Tusculanae Disputationes* 1.86.4–5, “Ineptum sane negotium et Graeculum.”

chantes Dindymeni insaniant;²⁵ gratiam enim et genium, quem a me non habent, laboribus hisce Maiestas vestra dabit, si Vestro eos nomini consecrari lubenti animo patiat. Non potui itaque, nec debui quaerere cui has meas qualescunque lucubratiunculas commendatas mallet. Omnino Maiestati vestrae consecrandus fuit liber, qui Vestro in regno, Vobis potissimum vires inspirantibus, natus est, et crevit spe favoris Vestri consequendi.

j Invitavit quoque me ad maiorem scribendi diligentiam favor Vester orbi notus, quo artifices antiquorum gloriae aemulos mirifice complecteris; quo nunc quotidie coelestem illum spiritum, in multis alioquin aut sponte elanguescentem, aut sordidis curis oppressum, exsuscitas; quo singulorum in Vos studia animosque incredibiliter accendis. Ut | cursum semel institutum constanter tenerem, effecit sublimis illa Maiestas vestra, ad quam cursum dirigebam. Non potui desperare Vos spectans. Et quemadmodum militem animat in praelia regis magni praesentia, ita me viva Vestri recordatio semper alacrem, semper recentem, reddidit. Vester ille affectus omnibus, qui magnas artes feliciter tractant, expositus atque obvius faces animo meo mirifice subdidit. Eoque dulcius mihi fuit placere Vobis hac in parte, quo dulcius Vobis est bene mereri de hisce artibus—quod, ut nunc sunt mores, vere est saeculum corrigere. Unde etiam usu venit, ut ambigam vestraene Maiestati acceptius, an commorientibus passim bonis artibus et moribus utilius quid dare potuerim.

k Multorum enim animos pravis exemplis imbutos morbus hic iam olim invasit, plurimum vitiis, parum virtuti operam dare.²⁶ Et certe

²⁵ Dindymene, or Cybele, goddess of fertility originally from Asia Minor, whose cult made her worshippers ecstatic and insensible to pain and included an annual bathing in bull's blood. It is unclear why Junius chose particularly this image. Cf. *OCD* (1996:416–17).

²⁶ In this section, Junius adduced part of the argument of *De pictura*, that is, a defense of art. Indeed, Junius may be said to have provided for the visual arts what Sir Philip Sidney's "Defense of Poesie," 68c, had provided for the sister art of poetry, that is, a Protestant poetic, as Weiner (1972:259) called Sidney's. According to Junius, good art created by a "doctus pictor" and contemplated by a "doctus amator" ranged among the noblest pastimes and belonged in a God-fearing way of life. He went a long way to prove this point. In his conviction, the good artist was a creator, like God, who seriously endeavoured to represent perfect Beauty and Truth (1.1.1–4). The learned contemplation of works of art consequently brings the critic to a better understanding and appreciation of God's creation, or, "they ['idiots' and 'ambitiously severe censurers'] are not well advised when they goe about to brand these most commendable recreations with the nick-name of barren and unprofitable delights: for how can that same contemplation deserve the opinion of an unfruitfull and idle exercise, by whose meanes wee doe understand the true

exertions grace and genius, which they do not have from me, if you heartily have them dedicated to Your name. For this reason I neither could, nor had to inquire to whom I preferred to dedicate my humble nocturnal work. The book which has originated in Your kingdom, while You in particular were inspiring vigour, and which is strengthened in the hope of gaining Your favour, absolutely had to be dedicated to Your Majesty.

j I was also invited to greater diligence in writing by Your world famous favour, with which you are specially encompassing artists emulous of the ancients' glory, and with which you now daily rouse that heavenly soul, which was otherwise either slackening of its own accord or weighted down by filthy concerns in many people, and with which you are exceedingly inciting the assiduity and hearts of all individually towards You. Your sublime Majesty, to whom I was directing my course, has made me steadily keep the course once taken. I could not despair as long as I looked to You. Just as a great king's presence inspires a soldier to battle, so the vivid memory of You has always made me alert and fresh. Your open and easy affection for all who are happily dealing with the great arts has specially set my heart on fire. It has been all the more agreeable for me to please You in this respect, as it is more agreeable for You to deserve well of these arts—which is truly to correct the age, such as the manners are nowadays. Thus it also happens that I doubt whether I could have given something that is more welcome to Your Majesty or more useful to the good arts and manners, which are dying together everywhere.

k Many people's hearts, stained by vicious examples, have been seized here long before by the disease to exert oneself much for vices and little for virtue. Truly, who is this town mime player who can imagine as many vices to either play in comedies or impersonate in tragedies, as are being performed now in large quantities? This is

beautie of created bodies, a ready way to the consideration of our glorious Creator?" *Painting* 1.5.9. Thus, the visual arts act as mediator between God, Beauty, Truth, and mankind. Furthermore, although pictures are deceptions in that they pretend to present reality, they are harmless because they please and revive, so that people who allow themselves to be deluded by art become better than those who do not (1.4.3). Junius took pains to prove the connection between God and the visual arts. He opened the book with a "laudatio" on God's creation—the first words of which are significantly "Deus optimus maximus"—which compares God the Creator and the artist as creator, so that there need be no doubt about the genuine character of the arts from the very onset of the work. Then, the opening of Book 2

quis iste est urbicarius mimologus, qui tanta fingere, vel in comoediis ludere, aut in tragoediis | personare possit, quam nunc fiunt plurima? Ex quotidianis hoc et in frontem incurrentibus satis constat. Pace bonorum liceat dixisse; ipsi recti bonique vindices quam non raro nefaria atque pudenda patrant? Hanc animorum labem, ut ut seria tegant, otium prodit. Quotusquisque enim honestas atque innoxias recreationes sectatur? Neque mirandum est, si nemo in hac contagione sapere potest, nisi qui probitatis constantibus exemplis animum firmet ac pectus muniat. Sola Maiestas vestra inventa est, quae inverteatae nequitiae magno resistit exemplo; sola Maiestas vestra quotidianum incorruptae voluptatis specimen ex nutu Vestro pendentibus subditis suppeditat; cum post ardua regni negotia fessum animum oblectatura, nusquam dignius occupari posse otium docet, quam in elegantissimarum artium contemplatione. Tali certe retro saecula cathartico egere visa sunt.

l Quare posthac danda nobis erit opera, ut Vestro exemplo dum | alii voluptatibus serviunt, aut inhiant auro, aut captant honores, aut mensarum asseclae de bellorum summa disputant inter pocula, neque illorum voluptates contempsisse, neque ambitionem carpsisse, neque vanitatem traduxisse, sed amoenissimi elegantissimique studii nobilitatem magno constantique animo prosecuti esse videamur.

m Superest votum ad supremum illum beatae perennitatis Arbitrum Deum, ut Maiestatem Vestram, orbis universi bono sceptris admotam, perdiu perennet. Preces ad Maiestatem Vestram subdo minutas, ut sublimis eius dignitas, cum humanitate certans, humiles hosce conatus meos non tam pretio sui, quam Vobis placendi studio, aestimare dignetur. Si ex hoc qualiscunque obsequii genere Maiestati Vestrae exploratum esse sensero, quanta cum alacritate serviam

explains in many quotations how “God Almighty and Nature have questionlesse been a maine cause of the wonderfull encrease of these Arts of Imitation,” *Painting* 2.1.1, and how “God is the author and supporter of these Arts [of painting and casting],” *Painting* 2.1.3. In addition, throughout the book, the arguments are illustrated with quotations from the Bible and Christian authors besides the ones from classical authors. Junius’ emphasis on the religious qualities of the visual arts and their edifying effect on both artist and critic seem to be directed against the current Puritan condemnation of the lavish works of art favoured by the court. Not only the political propaganda of Anthony van Dyck’s magnificent representations of Charles met with scorn, but also the associations of van Dyck and of donators of works of art with the Roman Catholic Church. The gift of pictures by the pope in 1635 was accordingly fiercely condemned by the Puritans, since, in the words

also sufficiently clear from the daily events occurring in front of our very eyes. With good leave of the right-minded, one may say, "How often are the very champions of the just and good not doing wicked and shameful activities?" To whatever extent serious matters are hiding this lapse of minds, leisure exposes it. For how few people pursue honourable and harmless pastimes? It is not surprising if nobody is capable of being sensible in this infection, except one who strengthens his mind and fortifies his heart by lasting examples of probity. Only Your Majesty, who resists deep-rooted vileness by a great example, is found. Only Your Majesty is presenting a daily example of unspoilt happiness to subjects depending on Your nod, because, diverting its tired mind after the heavy government of the kingdom, it instructs that leisure can never be occupied more worthily than in contemplation of the refined arts. Previous centuries seem truly to have lacked such a cathartic.

1 So, while others are gratifying pleasures, or gaping at money, or striving after honorary positions, or as flatterers of food discussing the substance of wars between drinks, from now on we will take pains to appear not to have despised their pleasures, nor to have slandered their ambition, nor to have ridiculed their vanity, but to have honoured the nobleness of pleasant and refined study with a great and steadfast heart.

m Remains the prayer to that supreme Judge of blessed perpetuity, God, to let Your Majesty, brought to the rule to the prosperity of the whole world, live very long. I add my insignificant wishes to Your Majesty that your sublime dignity, competing with humanity, deems it worthwhile to judge my humble efforts not so much by their own value as by their eagerness to please You. If from this humble kind of allegiance I find it to be established for Your Majesty with what a deep ardour I am serving Your name, praises and eternity, I will truly inquire not at all long what may be more worthy

of the Puritan spokesman William Prynne (1600–1669), the papal nuncio seemed "to seduce the King himself with Pictures, Antiquities, Images & other vanities brought from Rome," quoted after Millar (1982:60). As Parry (1981:224) observes, "Charles never seemed to realise how much his love of art exposed him to popular censure." Cf. **100k^a**, Parry (1981:223–24), *DoA* 29.800–01, *Literature* 1.xxi–xxvi, Nativel (1996:417–26), although neither *Literature* nor Nativel sufficiently take Junius' own Protestant roots and convictions into account.

nomini, laudibus, aeternitati Vestrae, haud diu certe quaeram, quod Maiestate Vestra magis sit dignum.²⁷ Nihil enim non faciam, ut claro patrocini Vestri apud | omnes testimonio aeternum gaudeam appellari Maiestatis Vestrae

observantissimus humillimusque cliens Franciscus Iunius F.F.

°In aedibus Arundellianis, anno MDCXXXVI, pridie idus Maias.

109₁₁₁ 36 07 07 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [ENGLAND, COUNTRYSIDE]¹

a Optime et coniunctissime adfinis,

Si vales bene ego etiam valeo. Opus tuum de pictura iam ad finem properat, ac intra hebdomadas duas ad finem poterit *perduci*.² Praefationem accepi, uti et quae scripsisti de ratione compingendi exemplaria ad cognatum van Bartem.³ Mos in omnibus geretur, etiam in eo ut Roterodamum ad Barthium mittantur.

b Desidero accuratius scire, quatenus Ecclesia Anglicana antiquos retineat ritus.⁴ Siqui Latine de eo scripserint, praeter Belgam Saraviam, quem habeo, comparari mihi iussi.⁵ Negotium recepit *Dominus* Goffius, vir *peramicus*. °Dixi te pecuniam bibliopolae *persoluturum*. Puto summam fore 10, aut 15 florenorum, si modo huc usque excrescat. Amstelodami, MDCXXXVI, V kalendas Quinctilis, *stilo veteri*.⁶ Tuus totus, Ger.Io. Vossius.

m In . . . Maias: p2 –

109b Dixi: c Di

²⁷ No details on a reward, **100e**. Junius had proposed to dedicate his *Catalogus artificum* to the king, **100d**.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 99m. *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 62, with the heading, “Francisco Iunio F.F.”

² Junius’ *De pictura* was currently being printed, **106a**.

³ The preface was letter **108**, which Junius had sent with letter **107**, cf. **111a**. He wanted the copies to be bound in Holland and sent to Abraham van Barthem, **107c**. Junius’ letter to van Barthem unretrieved.

⁴ Vossius may have needed this information for his studies on church history, for instance his unpublished treatise “De gradibus ministrorum ecclesiae ac prae-

110 36 08 24 ANTHONY VAN DYCK [ELTHAM] TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A °Aen Myn Heere Myn Heere Junius. London.

a Myn Heere,

Den Baron Canuwe heeft my vyt seé weder gesonden het Exemplar van Ué werck °de pictura vetrum, °dwelck hy °estraordinas estimeert. °et voor een seer geleert werck houdt.² Ick meyne vastelyck dat soo aengenaem aen de werelt sal syn dit werck als eenich dat noch int licht sy. ooc sal de kunste aen de werelt claerdegemaect worden door dit notabel werck. de vrucht van ue werck sal wesen tot hervatting van de verlooren kunste. dwelck een groote glorie ende content voor den auteur sal wesen.

b dese voorleden daghen hebbe by my eenighe daghen gehadt eenen seer geleerden man.³ den welcke dit werck ooc gethoont hebbe. ic en can Ue niet genoechaem seggen de groote °stimatie die hy daervan maect °et secht my te syn soo curieusen ende geleerden werck als hy noch gesien heeft. °etc. | Den voorss. Baron Canuwe desireert en supplieert het werck voldrukt synde een esemplaer, neffens dat alle Curieuse mannen tselue sullen desidereren. etc.⁴

A: *p* – | **a** de pictura vetrum: *p* De pictura veterum | dwelck: *p* het welck | estraordinas: *p* estraordinaris | *et*: *p* en | **b** stimatie: *p* estimatie | *et*: *p* ende | etc: *p* –

¹ *o*: BL, HI. 4935, f. 45. *p*: Junius, *De pictura* (1694:†††3); collation from the copy now UBL, 679 A 10; orthographic and spelling differences of *p* as compared with *o* not indicated. *f*: W.H. Carpenter, *Pictorial Notices: consisting of a memoir of Sir Anthony van Dyck* (London, 1844:55–56), not seen. In the edition words have been separated silently, as van Dyck often did not lift his pen completely from the sheet. Van Dyck spent his summers at Eltham, presumably at the king's house. During the present summer he painted lord deputy of Ireland Thomas Wentworth there, **136bⁿ**. The letter was addressed to London, but, just as van Dyck, Junius was in the country, with the Arundel family, **107c**. Cf. Millar (1982:18–20).

² Sir Anthony van Dyck (1599–1641), celebrated painter of portraits and religious scenes. A student, colleague and rival of Peter Paul Rubens in Antwerp, **114**, he was probably invited by the earl of Arundel to come to England late in 1620, after Countess Aletheia had sat for Rubens in Antwerp on her way to Italy. Van Dyck stayed several months—leaving before Junius arrived, **31a**—and painted his first portrait of Arundel. He then made a six-year tour of Italy, initially in Countess Aletheia's train, to study Italian painting. On his return to Antwerp he was appointed court painter of the Archduchess Isabella (1566–1633), royal regent of the Spanish Netherlands. At the king's invitation, van Dyck moved to England to become court painter in 1632. He was to spend most of the rest of his life in England as a

110 36 08 24 ANTHONY VAN DYCK [ELTHAM] TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To my lord Mr. Junius, London.

a Sir,

Baron Conway has sent me back again from sea the copy of your book *On the Painting of the Ancients*, which he thinks extraordinary and considers a most learned book. I absolutely believe this book will be as pleasing to the world as any that may still be published. Art will also be made clearer to the world by this eminent book. The fruit of your work will be a resumption of lost art, which will bring great glory and satisfaction to the author.

b These past days I have had with me for some days a most learned gentleman, whom I also showed this book. I cannot sufficiently say to you what a great esteem he had of it, and he told me that it is as conscientious and learned a book as he had ever seen yet, etc. The aforementioned Baron Conway desires and demands a copy when the book has been published; besides, all curious people will desire likewise, etc.

courtier and painter of especially portraits of members of the royal court and its courtiers. With his baroque style, he revolutionised English portrait painting and influenced many colleagues in Italy, England and the Low Countries. Junius was to sit for van Dyck in 1640, which resulted in the monochrome portrait now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and engraved by Wenceslaus Hollar, **131a**, for the frontispiece of Junius' *Schilder-konst* (1641), **129e**; cf. cover illustration. It was presumably intended for van Dyck's project of the *Iconography*, a collection of engraved portraits of distinguished contemporaries. Edward, second viscount and baron Conway, a friend of van Dyck. Given the italianised form of the Latin title, they had probably seen the Latin version of Junius' *De pictura* (1637), for instance the fourteen printed quires Junius had received to share with a friend, **106b**. They could, alternatively, have seen the English translation, which Junius had expected to have finished in manuscript by early March, **105a**. The mention does not imply that van Dyck actually read the text. Since Conway had perused the text, it is less likely that they saw the Dutch translation, **105a**, contrary to Nativel's suggestion (1998:27). If, however, they did, it must have been finished to such an extent that Junius could have given a manuscript copy to van Dyck before leaving London for the summer on 23 May, **107c**. Van Dyck could obviously not react to a published *De pictura* he had received as a gift, contrary to the suggestions in *Literature* 1.lxv and Fehl (1998:35), for the book was still being printed, **b**. Cf. Millar (1982, no. 64), *Literature* 1.xlin43, xlvn56, xxxixn, lxv, fig. 1, *Literature* 1 and 2, s.v. Van Dyck, Nativel (1996:75–76, 109, figs 10–16, and s.v. Van Dyck), Mauquoy-Hendrickx (1956), *DNB* 58.104–11, Ch. Brown (1982), Millar (1982), Fehl (1998), Blake (1999:313–14), *DNB* 12.50.

³ Person unidentified.

⁴ Junius' *De pictura* was currently being printed, **106a**, **109a**.

- c** °my occureert Ue te versoecken te willen tfaueur doen. dat mits van °Caua^l.^{ro} digby een Contrefeytsel hebbe laeten snyden in plaete dwelcke nu soude laeten vyt gaen. dat Ue geliefde een cleyⁿ °comentario te maecken om onder tselue te schryuen.⁵ ende mij sal eere ende vrintschap geschieden ende desen tot geenen anderen eynde als °offer[iss]erende aen UE mynen Humilen dinst. terwylent ick assureere te syn ende te blyuen,
Mijn Heere,
Ue ootmoedeghen dinaer Ant.^o van Dycke.
desen 14 *Augusti* 1636.⁶

111₁₁₂ 37 02 28 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]¹

A Clarissimo viro *Domino* Gerardo Ioanni Vossio, affini coniunctissimo.

- a** Coniunctissime affinis,
Octo menses atque amplius in agris transegimus, dum pestis Londinii grassatur; tantaque iis, qui hic in nobili aliqua familia vivunt et nobilium liberos curant, cautela opus est, ut nihil cum Londinio, aut Londiniensibus commercii habere possint.² Excusabis itaque, quod nullas hactenus literas ad vos dederim.³ Pridie antequam in agros secederemus, die 13 aut 14 (si bene memini) mensis Maii, dedicationem misi, neque leviter gavisus sum, quod eam ad manus tuas recte perlatam ex literis tuis 5 *calendas Quintilis* datis intellexi.⁴ Augebat hoc meum gaudium propinqua, quam feceras, spes videndi tractatum de pictura; scribebas enim, intra duas hebdomadas absolvi tum

c my: *p* En mij | Caua^l.^{ro}: *p* den Cavalier | comentario: *p* commentarie | offer[iss]erende: *p* offererende

⁵ Sir Kenelm Digby (1603–1665), author, naval commander and diplomatist, and a friend of van Dyck. He had established his reputation by successfully privateering on French, Spanish, Venetian and Dutch ships in the Mediterranean in 1628. Having returned home in the mean time, he was in France at present, as well as during most of the Commonwealth, when he was Queen Henrietta's chancellor. A Roman Catholic and royalist, he was on familiar terms with Archbishop Laud and the lord Protector Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) alike. The engraving had been made by Robert van Voerst and was intended for van Dyck's project of the *Iconography*. Mauquoy-Hendrickx (1956:19) quoted and translated the present section. In accordance with his predilection for classical quotations and for compositions with strings of silent quotations, Junius seems to have provided the phrase from Horace, *Carmina*

- c It occurs to me to ask you to be willing to do me a favour, since I have had Cavalier Digby's portrait cut on plate, and would have it appear now, to please make a small comment to write underneath, and you will do me honour and friendly service. And this to no other end than to offer you my humble service, while I assure you to be and remain, sir,
Your humble servant, Ant. van Dyck.
This 14 August 1636.

111 37 02 28 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]

- A To the widely renowned gentleman Mr. Gerardus Joannes Vossius, dearest Brother.

- a Dearest Brother,

We have passed more than eight months in the country while the plague was raging in London, and people who are staying with a noble family here and care for noblemen's children must take such great precaution that they do not have contact with London or Londoners. So excuse me that I have not yet written you a letter. The day before we left for the country, on the 13th or 14th day of the month of May (if I remember well), I sent you the dedication and I was extremely glad to learn from your letter written on the 5th before the Kalends of July that it had been delivered to your hands in good order, and the ready hope which you gave me of seeing the little treatise on painting increased my happiness, for you wrote that it could be finished within two weeks. Owing to easy naivety I truly fostered some people's expectation more than I would

3.3.8, "impavidum ferient [ruinae]" [(the ruins) will rain down on the steadfast man], a tribute to Sir Kenelm's resolution as a naval commander. Cf. *DNB* 15.60–66, Mauquoy-Hendrickx (1956, esp. 18–19, no. 71), Ch. Brown (1982:147), Fehl (1998:42–43nn16–18), who did not recognize that the quotation was probably provided by Junius.

⁶ Not 1637, which Nativel (1996:109n) suggests.

¹ *p*: Colomesius 2.248.

² Cf. **107c**; Junius was tutor to the earl of Arundel's grandchildren, **86a**.

³ This is evidently the first letter Junius sent to Vossius after letter **107**.

⁴ The dedication, letter **108**, was sent together with letter **107** at the end of May, for Junius calculated the date in old style, cf. Introduction. Letter **109** had probably been delivered to him in the country.

potuisse.⁵ Quorundam certe expectationem obvia credulitate plusquam nunc factum voluissem fovi; non desinunt enim quidam, quotidiano fere convitio, promissi fidem efflagitare. Sed iuxta mecum ferant necesse est quod aliter se habere non potest. Ne quidem vacaverat adhuc, cum epistolam dedicatorem transmitterem, 14 quaterniones percurrere; leviter tantum inspexeram, et unum atque alterum errorem (si bene memini) annotaveram.⁶ Nunc per otium tribus hisce hebdomadis, quibus hic Londinii sum, perlustravi, atque alios quosdam errores typographicos annotavi, eosque tibi misi.⁷ Serius forte quam voluisses, sed citius non potui propter diutinam absentiam.

b Metuunt plerique, ne male per hyemem repressa contagio rursus ineunte vere ingravescat. Statuit itaque Comes *Arundeliae* nepotulos suos intra hebdomadam unam atque alteram in remotiora quaedam loca ablegare. Viderit summus rerum humanarum arbiter.⁸ Nihil mihi interim gratius obtinget, quam ut laeto de vobis nuntio aliquando perfrui detur, usquedum idonea gratum animum testandi tempora affulgeant. Quum cogitarem cui recte literularum aliquid ad vos commissurus essem, obtulit sese vir humanissimus Dominus Hermannus Mylius, qui spondit se Amstelodamo rescripturum, si quid ad me perscribi velles.⁹ Si otium tibi non erit, libentissime faciet vir humanissimus, quod facturum recepit.

c Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo pro me, meaque, per literas, quas ipsi tradere possim, commendabis; neque enim obscura prout favoris indicia hactenus exhibuit immerenti.¹⁰ Confido plus exhibentur gratiae habitura quae, te commendante;¹¹ mea enim interest, ut tanto Antistiti probentur qualescumque labores mei, priusquam eos regiae Maiestati offeram.

d Subinde literas ad me scribit Prudentia, quibus ut tibi unice commendari cupit, ita subveniri sibi angustia rei familiaris misere laboranti

b spondit: *p* spondit

⁵ Junius' *De pictura* was being printed, **106a**, **109a**.

⁶ For some errors in the fourteen printed quires of *De pictura* Vossius had sent with letter **106**, cf. **107a**.

⁷ Junius must accordingly have returned to London early February. His remarks on the proofs, apparently sent to Vossius separately from the present letter, are unretrieved.

⁸ Cf. "videant consules," a well-known Roman formula which assigned unlimited power to consuls, cf. *LS*, s.v. detrimentum.

⁹ Hermann Mylius (1600–1657), secretary to Count Anton Günther von Oldenburg, who stayed neutral during the Thirty Years' War. In 1637 Mylius was sent as an

now wish I had, for some people do not cease to demand the fulfilment of the promise by almost daily reproof; yet, together with me they must bear what cannot be otherwise. When I sent you the dedicatory letter, I actually had had no time yet to look over the 14 quires; I had only superficially inspected them and noted down an error or two (if I remember well). I have now examined them in my leisure time these three weeks that I have been here in London and noted down other printing errors and sent them to you; perhaps later than you would have wished, but I could not do so any sooner because of my lengthy absence.

- b** Most people fear that the plague, which was insufficiently repressed during the winter, will grow worse again with the beginning of spring. The earl of Arundel has therefore decided to send off his little grandchildren to remote places within a week or two. May the highest Judge of human affairs see to it. Meanwhile, nothing more pleasing may happen to me than to be granted one day to rejoice in happy news from you, until times suitable for showing my gratitude will dawn. When I was considering to whom I would entrust a small letter for you in good order, the most kind gentleman Mr. Herman van der Myle presented himself, and he promised to write back from Amsterdam if you wanted anything to be written to me. If you do not have time, the most kind gentleman will willingly do what he promised to do.
- c** You must commend me to the archbishop of Canterbury for me and my cause in a letter which I can deliver to him, for until now he has shown quite distinct tokens of ready favour to me, although I do not deserve them. I trust that [the tokens] which are shown thanks to your commendation will have more favour, for it is in my interest that my humble exertions are approved of by such a great bishop before I present them to His Royal Majesty.
- d** Furthermore, Prudence has written me a letter in which she desires to be specially commended to you and also asks to be supported, because she is desperately suffering from lack of provisions. I have

envoy to Holland, but he evidently also went to England. Vossius, however, wrote back himself in letter **112**. Cf. *ADB* 23.143–44, Jöcher and Adelung 5.307.

¹⁰ Junius had already requested Vossius to recommend *De pictura* to Archbishop Laud in 1635, **100k**. No indications that Vossius did so were found.

¹¹ Corrupt word order, reconstructed as, “confido [ea indicia] plus gratiae habitura, quae te commendante exhibentur.”

postulat.¹² Ego nihil ad haec respondi, quoniam nullas adhuc Ioannis nostri, neque tuas literas vidi, quae me instruant, quatenus ei subsidium ferendum sit.¹³ Non deero afflictæ, si certio rem me feceris, quid consultum iudices.¹⁴ Nihil non faciam pro viribus. Universae familiae tuae plurimam meis verbis salutem dices. Vale.

Raptim; in aedibus Arundellianis, anno 1637, 18 Februarii.

Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.

¹¹¹ 112 37 04 19 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [-]¹

- a Ger.Io. Vossius Francisco Iunio Fr. *Filio salutem plurimam dicit.*
Tandem prodiisse in lucem vides, quae de veterum pictura elaborasti.² Tarde profecto; sed pro more Blauwiano, sat cito, si sat bene.³ Urgentibus nobis praelatus es et meis, et Meursianis, et tot aliis.⁴ Non facile dixerim, quam multis eius typographi praelum ferbeat, cosmographicis, vel mathematicis imprimis.⁵ Adde quod nobis hoc datum, ut liber ille, etsi his quidem terris paucorum videretur hominum, tamen nullo tuo vel periculo, vel sumtu excuderetur.⁶ Quocirca nihil pretii annumerabis, nisi pro exemplaribus, quae deinceps voles transmitti. Hoc non dari solet alteri, nisi iam magnum sibi nomen in studiis compararit, et argumentum ad omnium sit palatum. At tuum tantum ad elegantiores pertinet. Caeteri fere spectant illa πρὸς τὰ

¹² No letters from Prudence Greene to Junius have been retrieved; **105d–e**.

¹³ There were no letters to come from Joannes Vossius; he had already died in 1636 during his voyage to the Dutch East Indies, but his family had not been informed of this yet. For Vossius' reply, cf. **112d**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:334–35), **96a***.

¹⁴ Junius intended to support her somewhat from his own money, **105d**.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 100a. *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, ff. 63–64. *p*: Colomesius 1.300, after *c*.

² Junius' *De pictura* (1637), printed at the Blaeu publishing house, **99g**. On 31 March Vossius had written to Joannes Vossius—who had already died, however, **111d***, “excusum et volumen cognati, nisi avunculi malis, Francisci Iuni de veterum pictura” [the volume on the painting of the ancients by kinsman, or Uncle, if you prefer, Francis Junius has also been executed], BL, Hl. 7012, f. 63. The present letter is paraphrased in *Literature* 1.xxxixn.

³ Porcius Cato, *Dicta memorabilia* dictum 80.1, “sat cito, si sat bene,” Erasmus, part of *Adage* 101 (i.e. “festina lente”).

⁴ Vossius, *De theologia gentili* (1641), **106a**, **118i**; Joannes Meursius, *Historica Danica pariter et Belgica, uno tomo comprehensa* . . . (Amsterdam, 1638), a compilation and reprint

answered nothing to this, because I have not yet seen any letter from our Joannes or from you to instruct me to what extent she must be assisted. I will not fail the afflicted girl if you inform me what you think right. I will do everything in my power. Give warmest regards to your whole family on my behalf. Farewell.

In haste. At Arundel House in the year 1637, 18 February.

Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

112 37 04 19 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [-]

a Ger.Jo. Vossius gives warmest regards to Junius, Fr.F.

You see that what you endeavoured on ancient painting has finally been published; late indeed, but, in accordance with Blaeu's habit, soon enough if well enough. At my instigation, you were preferred over my, as well as Meursius' and so many other people's books. I could not easily say with how many books, especially cosmographical or mathematical ones, that printer's press is running hot. Add to this the fact that he granted us that this book, although it appeals to few people in this country, was printed without any risk or expense for you, and so you need not pay any money except for the copies you wish to be sent over in the future. This is usually not granted to anyone else, unless he has already earned a great reputation in scholarship and the subject is to everybody's taste. But yours pertains only to refined ones. Others mostly consider what is *for the*

of four histories written in his function as historiographer to the Dutch States General and to King Christian, *Historiae Danicae libri tres . . . a regibus Christiano I, Ioanne, ac Christiano II; Historiae Danicae, sive De regibus Daniae . . . libri quinque priores; Historiae Danicae continuatio, sive De regibus Daniae . . . libri quinque posteriores, Gulielmus Auriacus, sive De rebus toto Belgio tam ab eo . . .; Ferdinandus Albanus, sive De rebus eius in Belgio per sexennium gestis, libri IV . . .* The history on Prince William of Orange (1533–1584), originally published in 1614, was the book that had incensed Counter-Remonstrants, **21a**ⁿ. Cf. *Repertorium* (1990, no. 334).

⁵ Blaeu's publishing house specialised in cartography and lavishly illustrated books, **99g**ⁿ.

⁶ This was unusual, for a printer took financial risks only if the publication was sure to be a best-seller or otherwise rewarding the efforts. Still, Vossius did not write that Junius need not pay "since the book was likely to please and the author well known," which *Literature* 1.xxxixn suggests. Cf. *Golden Compasses* 2.283–87.

ἄλφίτα,⁷ nisi quod aliquis cuivis historiae sit locus. Omnes enim narratiunculis capiuntur.⁸

- b** Utinam autem singulorum capitum argumenta concinnasses, ut inde index confieret. Author sim, ut deinceps id fiat in iis, quae sub manibus habes.⁹ Imo, quid si chartae duo tres adiiciantur residuis, quae hic sunt, exemplaribus?¹⁰ In iis et argumenta sint, et index. Erit opera tua hoc pacto et commendabilior, et utilior. Simul addentur iis errata, quae in posteriori parte observaris. Sola prioris excudere non erat ex re.¹¹ Nec fieri potuit, quia demum ea accepi, exemplaribus, quae misi, compactis.¹² Cum erudito iuvene (eo nempe, cuius opera usus sum in operis nostri Grammatici indicibus conficiendis) multis egi, ut eandem operam praestare vellet in tuis.¹³ Sed nihil effeci, etsi pretium liberaliter offerrem pro labore. Negabat se veteris picturae intelligentem, nec qui argumentum operis non caperet sufficere periochis vel syllabis operis scribendis.¹⁴ Tum autem Theologicis se magis capi, nec Grammatica, quia saltem caperet, fastidisse. De pictura autem, nec capere se, nec capi. Quae scribo, ut videas, hoc in te °onus devolvi. Nam nec filii in se recipere audebant, cum tua caussa maxime vellent, cuius gratia omnia debent.¹⁵ Sed humeris diffidebant; ac satius visum, si absque iis opus prodiret, quam aliena °inscitia corrumpetur.
- c** | Praefationem, priusquam ederetur, ostendi Oratori Boswello.¹⁶ Longiorem ille aiebat, quam ut unquam Rex esset lecturus. Itaque se authorem esse, ut inde duae fierent, ad serenissimum Regem una, ad lectorem altera. Sed argumentum erat istiusmodi, ut commode id praestari non posset. Tentatum enim a me. Remittere autem longioris

b onus: *c* opus | inscitia corrumpetur: *p* inscitia opus corrumpetur

⁷ Aristophanes, *Clouds* 176, “πρὸς τᾶλφίτῃ;” 648, idem.

⁸ Nativel’s interpretation (1998:28) that this sentence refers to *De pictura*, and that “[t]his opinion shows that *De pictura* was read first of all as a historical account of ancient painting, but not in the way we understand it nowadays,” seems inappropriate.

⁹ The second edition of *De pictura* and the *Catalogus artificum* (1694) do have “indices rerum et verborum,” but these need not have been provided by Junius. Cf. Nativel (1996:99, 1998:26).

¹⁰ The errata were added to copies of *De pictura* on a separate sheet, **113b**.

¹¹ Junius had sent remarks on the first fourteen quires of *De pictura*, **107a**, **111a**.

¹² *De pictura* was bound in Holland, **107d**.

¹³ Young man unidentified; possibly one of Vossius’ Amsterdam students, who had assisted Vossius, presumably with *Aristarchus* (1635), **86f**.

benefit of making a living, except that there is some room for a story, for all are captured by short stories.

- b But how I wish you had made summaries of each chapter, so that an index could be made of them! Let me advise you to do so with what you have in hand in the future. Well, what if two or three leaves were added to the remaining copies that are here? Let them contain the subjects as well as an index. In this way your work will be both more commendable and more useful. The errors you observe in the latter part can be added to them at the same time—it was not practical to print only those of the first part, nor could it have been done, because I received them only after the copies I sent had been bound. I negotiated with many words with a learned young man (that is, he whose service I used for making the indices to my work *On Grammar*) to be willing to render the same service to your book, but I accomplished nothing, although I generously offered him money for the job. He denied understanding anything of ancient painting, and that someone who does not grasp the subject of a book does not meet the needs of writing summaries or outlines of it. And then he said that he was more taken by theological subjects and had not disliked grammar, because he grasped it at least, but as for painting, that he did not grasp it and was not fascinated by it either. I am writing this so you can see that this burden has shifted on to you, for my sons dared not take it upon themselves; although they would rather wish to do so because of you, for whose sake they must do everything—but they distrusted their shoulders. It seemed better if the work appeared without them, than that it be spoilt by somebody else's ignorance.
- c I showed the preface to Resident Boswell before it was printed. He said it was too long for the king ever to read it, so he advised me to make two out of it, one for the right serene king, the other for the reader, but the contents were such that it could not be done conveniently—for I tried. But to send it back would have been too long a delay. Two months would easily have wasted away. That is why it has virtually been printed as you sent it. You must be more

¹⁴ *De pictura* (1694) does have brief summaries in the margin.

¹⁵ Gerardus and Isaac Vossius had helped translate the Greek in *De pictura* into Latin, **106a**.

¹⁶ Junius had wanted William Boswell to be consulted on letter **108**, cf. **107e**.

res morae fuisset. Facile menses duo abiissent. Quamobrem edita propemodum est, uti miseris. Deinceps cautiore in hac esse re licebit.¹⁷ Non dubito, quin brevi caeteros de pictura labores tuos cogites divulgare.¹⁸ Praestabitur a me et meis (hic si edi visum °sit) quicquid possimus.¹⁹ Nulla hactenus editi operis tui exemplaria sunt distracta; nec dividuntur, priusquam te exemplar serenissimo Regi tradidisse cognoro.²⁰ Tui vero officii erit, simulac acceperis exemplaria, me comonefacere, ne nimia mora damno simus typographo.

d Miseret me Prudentiae; sed magis dolet propter eum, qui ducendo illam, sic se, suosque afflixit.²¹ Adhuc sudandum hic in exsolvendo aere alieno, quod contraxit.²² Unum solatur, quod qui ex Indiis veniunt, aiunt bene rem gerere, et spem esse summam maximi honoris, quem si consequatur, rem facere possit honeste, et ex voto suo, nostroque.²³ Prudentia, scio, exoptat eum quamprimum reverti. Sed stulte profecto, nec nomini suo convenienter. Quid aliud enim exspectaremus, quam ut liberos gignerent in spem esuritionis? Ut nihil gravius dicam. Scis quippe quanta mala penuriam saepe consequantur. Itaque valde me perculit, quod nec ἄταις se ipsam possit alere. Egestas saepe malesuada sexui isti, imo et firmiori esse solet. Prudentia interim in hac Prudentia adiutanda opus. Inique enim uni omnia insumam, quasi obesse fratribus debeat, quod recta ad virtutem via grassentur. Tum quid de filiabus dicam?²⁴ Nunquamne illarum mihi curam suscipere licebit? Semperne comedar sic, ut nequeam °frugalitate aliquid comparcere, quod eas, pro dote si detur, magis reddat commendabiles? Quid si °brevis me Deus evocet ex hac vita?

c sit: c - | d frugalitate: p frugaliter | brevi . . . evocet: c brevi Deus evocet me

¹⁷ Whereas his dedicatory letters **116** and **194** were much shorter, letters **189** and **211** were not, although they contained less panegyric and more programmatic discussion.

¹⁸ Junius' posthumously published *Catalogus artificum* (1694), **58b**, **102c**.

¹⁹ This is another indication that Junius himself had suggested that *De pictura* might be printed in the Low Countries, **95b**, **99g**.

²⁰ Vossius or Joan Blaeu were informed of this, for in the summer Vossius sent copies to Franciscus Gomarus and Joachim Borgesius, **113c**, and to Joannes Meursius. This led Meursius' colleague Stephan Stephanus, **189c**, to ask Vossius for a copy too, in a letter dated 37 09 28. Whether the request was gratified has not been found. It was not necessarily at William Boswell's instigation that no books were distributed before the king had received his copy, which *Literature* 1.xxxixn suggests. Cf. Colomesius 1.309 (dated 37 09 10), 2.255.

cautious in this respect in the future. I do not doubt that you consider publishing your other endeavours on painting soon. Whatever we can do will be done by me and my family (if you decide to have it printed here). No copies of your printed book have been distributed yet, and they will not be distributed before I hear that you have presented a copy to the right serene king. It will be your duty to warn me as soon as you have received the copies so that we do not cause the printer a loss by too long a delay.

- d** I feel sorry for Prudence, but it grieves me more because of him who distressed himself and his family so by marrying her. One must still sweat here to pay the debts he contracted. There is one comfort, that people coming from the Indies are saying that he is doing well and that there is high expectation of the highest honorary position, and if he secures this, he can make money in a respectable way after his and our wish. Prudence, I know, much wishes him to return as soon as possible. But that is quite silly, and not advantageous to his credit, for what else might we expect, than that they would bear children in expectation of hunger? Not to say anything worse. You certainly know what a great harm often follows poverty. That is why it much discouraged me that she, though *childless*, cannot support herself. Poverty often tends to be a bad councillor to that sex, well, to the stronger one as well. Meanwhile, Prudence is needed in supporting this Prudence, for I will spend everything on one unfairly, as if it must injure his brothers that they proceed to virtue on the straight road. Then what shall I say about my girls? Shall I never be allowed to take care of them? Shall I always be consumed in such a way that I cannot save by economy anything which will make them more commendable if it is given as dowry? What if God soon calls me away from this life? What would happen to the widowed mother, if England is such a burden [now], and if what had better be left to my wife is being spent elsewhere? So

²¹ Prudence Greene was in pecuniary difficulties, **111d**. Joannes Vossius had had to give up his Cambridge fellowship, **100j**.

²² Joannes had contracted debts in the Low Countries to get equipped for his voyage to the Indies, **101c**.

²³ The information was rather old, for Joannes Vossius had already died, **111d^a**.

²⁴ Cornelia (1613–1638), “with a fine taste and diverse education,” who was helping her mother in the household, but was to die one year later, and Johanna (1623–1640), who had particular drawing and painting skills, but was to die three years later, cf. **118f**, **133b**, Rademaker (1981:252, 442).

Quid matri fieret viduae, si magnopere oneri °nunc sit Britannia, et quod praestaret relinqui meae, hoc profundatur alio? Quamobrem multum esse non debet, quod eroges, siquid omnino erogandum, urgente necessitate, iudicabis. Sed de isto scribam diligentius simulac literas a marito accepero, ex quibus intelligam rem augere; ac solum mutuo dari quod an|numerandum, sed tuo quasi nomine °putabit. Interea exiguo sit contenta, deque caetero, corpusculum animo, animum hac spe sustentet, brevi fore melius, ubi Fortuna (si loqui sic licet) maritum plane inauraverit.²⁵

- e** Plurimum a me, et sorore tua, optima mea coniuge, Francisco item meo, non exigui °iam nominis inter Hagenses avvocato, caeterisque liberis meis, salve.²⁶

Amstelodami, MDCXXXVII, XIII kalendas Maias stilo novo.²⁷

113 37 07 11 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

A Francisco Iunio.

- a** *Salutem plurimam.* Qui has ad te literas defert, coniunctissim' affinis, is Iohannes Mullenius est, vir eruditus et perhonestus, natione Danus, et ab septennio mihi notus, ante ephorus filii illustrissimi Roscerantsii, nunc duorum iuvenum itidem ex primaria nobilitate Danica.² Eo minus grave duces commonstrare statuas et alia antiqui operis aut novi, quae in Arundelliana °domo conspiciere memini.³ Obstringes valde generosos ac nobilissimos iuvenes, quibus iucundum erit referre

d nunc: *c* meo | putabit: *o*, *c* putabis; *p* putabit | **e** iam: *c* –

113a domo conspiciere: *c* domo quae conspiciere

²⁵ Cf. Horace, *Epistulae*, 1.12.8–9, “ut te confestim liquidus Fortunae rivus inauret.”

²⁶ Franciscus Vossius was a lawyer in the Hague, **77c**.

²⁷ Not 5 May 1637, which *Literature* 1.xxxixn suggests.

¹ *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 65. Presumably sent to London, although Junius may have been in the country because of the plague, **111b**.

² Hans Mule (1605–1669), the future assessor and numismatic, had been tutor to Erik Rosenkrantz on his tour of Oxford, Cambridge and Leiden in 1629 and 1631, and was currently accompanying the two Lindenov noblemen on their tour. Vossius must have met him during the latter's earlier stay at Leiden. Erik Rosenkrantz (1612–1681), son of the councillor and theologian Holger Rosenkrantz til Rosenholm (1574–1642), had studied at Sorø, where Joannes Meursius was a professor, and

it should not be much what you spend, if you judge that anything must be paid at all, urged by necessity. But I will write more accurately about this as soon as I have received a letter from her husband, from which I will understand that he is making money and that what must be paid out is only given on loan, but she will believe it to be on your behalf, so to speak. But let her be satisfied with little and for the rest sustain her little body with her heart and her heart with the hope that it will soon be better, when Fortune (if one may say so) will have wholly gilded her husband.

- e I, and your sister, my excellent wife, as well as my Franciscus, a lawyer of good repute in The Hague, and my other children wish you very well.

At Amsterdam, 1637, on the 13th Kalends of May new style [19 Apr.].

113 37 07 11 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

A To Francis Junius.

- a Warmest regards. He who delivers you this letter, dearest Brother, is Hans Mule, a learned and most respectable gentleman, Danish by birth and known to me for seven years, the tutor formerly of the son of the most illustrious Rosenkrantz, and now of two young men also of the highest Danish nobility. You will therefore consider it little trouble showing them the statues and other objects of ancient or new make which I remember are to be seen in Arundel House. You will much oblige the generous and most noble young men, to whom it will be a pleasure to tell their families what they have seen in the

then travelled abroad from 1629 to 1634, studying at Oxford, and at Leiden from 1631 to 1634. The brothers Lindenov were probably Christoffer Lindenov til Linds vold, Bækkeskov og Restrup (1611–1679), the future admiral, and Henrik Lindenov (d. 1673), the future mayor and prefect. Christoffer, having studied at Sorø from 1629, had received a royal annuity to study abroad. No details on Henrik's studies found, yet he may have accompanied his brother, for he began his public life as a troop captain only in 1639. They were making a tour of France, Swizerland, the Low Countries, and England from 1636 to 1639. Cf. *DBL* 9.64–67, 10.86, 12.330–31.

³ The Arundel collection of marbles and paintings was an attraction to visitors, **56b**. Vossius had been with Junius at Arundel House in 1629, **66a**. No indications that Junius actually showed the Arundel collection to the Danish noblemen was found; but he may have been out of London at the time, **111b**.

suis, quae in herois illustrissimi et, ut aliis multis nominibus, ita etiam ob singularem erga antiquitatem amorem celeberrimi aedibus conspexerint. Facies omnia commodo tuo. Nolim enim eos tibi ulla in re incommodare.

- b** Iam in eo sum, ut mittantur Roterodamum ad Bartenium 25 exemplaria tui operis incompacta.⁴ Addidi circiter 50 pagellas, in quibus sint ea, quae emendari voluisti.⁵ Plura si expetas, quamprimum transmittam.
- c** Accepit filius Matthaëus literas Middelburgo a filio sororis tuae.⁶ Iis refert, ut Gallias et Britanniam quamprimum cogitet in nescio cuius comitatu, non enim hoc addidit, uti nec qua conditione sit iturus.⁷ Suspitor alteri a studiis fore. Sed tu coram omnia melius cognosces.⁸ Vidua affinis *piae memoriae* Iohannis Casimiri Iunii aliquanto tempore adfuit mihi et Neranae affini, tuae sorori, una cum filiolo et filia.⁹ Per eam cum ad tutorem liberorum eius nobilissimum virum, tum ad avunculum tuum Gomarum exemplar operis tui transmisi.¹⁰ Quid rescripserit hic, exemplum literarum eius, quod mitto, ostendet.¹¹ In eo est de filiolo quoque et filia. Hanc mittit Hamburgum affinis nostra, ut istic cum nobilissima quadam matrona degat; meo iudicio satius fuisset educari sub oculis maternis.¹² Filiolus

b expetas: *c* expetam | **c** Per: [*– Hanc mittit Hamburgum affinis nostra*] Per | eius: [*– quod*] eius

⁴ Junius' *De pictura* (1637) would be bound and sent to England via Abraham van Barthem, **107c**.

⁵ Sheets with Junius' errata to *De pictura* are unretrieved.

⁶ Letter from Jan de Brune to Matthaëus Vossius unretrieved.

⁷ Jan de Brune seems to have left for England with the intention to go and see Junius only in March 1638. He stayed with Vossius again by June 1638. Cf. **118j**, **121c**, Worp (1890:87–88).

⁸ This remark suggests that Junius corresponded with his sister Johanna or her son more often than indicated by the letters that have been retrieved or mentioned in retrieved correspondence.

⁹ Junius' niece Maria Junius the younger was staying with Maria Junius, **84f**. His nephew Franciscus Junius *Francisci Nepos* (1624–1678), the son of Johan Casimir and Maria Dison, and Junius' namesake—which has sometimes given rise to confusion in secondary literature—was currently being educated by Joachim Borgesius, cf. below, yet moved in with Vossius in 1638, before continuing his studies at the universities of Groningen, Utrecht, Leiden, Paris, and Geneva, **152f**, **158a**.

¹⁰ Maria Dison, who lived in Groningen, delivered copies of *De pictura* to Joachim Borgesius and Franciscus Gomarus. Joachim Borgesius (1585–after 1663) was headmaster of the Latin School in Groningen. He was also Junius F.N.'s tutor, as appears from Vossius' letter to Borgesius with educational advice on Junius F.N., which Maria Dison delivered, dated 37 06 05. This letter accompanied a copy of *De pic-*

house of the most illustrious nobleman, who is famous both for many other reasons, and besides, for an extraordinary love for antiquity. You must do all to your convenience, for I do not want them to inconvenience you in any way.

- b** I am just about to send 25 unbound copies of your book to van Bartem in Rotterdam. I added about 50 pages which contain what you wished to be corrected. I will send more as soon as possible, if you wish so.
- c** My son Matthaëus received a letter from your sister's son from Middelburg. In it, he writes that he is considering going to France and England as soon as possible in I do not know whose company, for he has not added this, nor in what condition he will be going. I expect he will be tutor to someone. But you will get to know everything better in his presence. For some time the widow of Brother Johannes Casimir Junius of blessed memory was with me, and kinswoman Naeranus, your sister, together with her little son and daughter. Through her I sent a copy of your book to her children's tutor, a most noble gentleman, as well as to your uncle Gomarus. What he wrote back is shown by the copy of his letter I am sending here. There is also something on her little son and daughter in it. Our kinswoman will send the latter to Hamburg to stay with a most noble lady there; in my opinion it had been better that she were reared under her mother's eye. The little son is studying successfully.

tura, "Francisci Iunii Fra. f., discipuli tui patrum, opusculum de pictura bene eruditum ad te mitto. Gratum fore confido" [I am sending you the most learned little work on painting by Francis Junius F.F., your pupil's paternal uncle. I trust it will be welcome], Colomesius 1.306. Vossius also sent a copy of *De pictura* to Gomarus with an accompanying, undated, letter, "Mitto ad te affinis mei Francisci Iunii libros tres de veterum pictura. Scio placituros tum ob variam eruditionem tum ob artis intelligentiam quam in Arundellianis aedibus hausit, tum quia ab eo exacti, qui te non ut avunculum modo, sed ut alterum parentem ob tanta tua et uxoris *piae memoriae* beneficia semper aestimabit" [I send to you my brother-in-law Francis Junius' three books on the painting of the ancients. I know that they will please you because of the varied learning as well as the understanding of art which he has derived from Arundel House, as well as because they have been written by him who will always honour you not only as an uncle, but also as a second father owing to so many favours from you and your wife of blessed memory], Rawl. 84c, f. 35. The copy remained in Gomarus' library until his death, when it was auctioned as no. 256 (no. 156 in the catalogue) in the category "libri in quarto, ordo 4, Theologorum recentium" (!), at the auction held from 4 October 1641 at Elzevier's in Leiden. Cf. *NNBW* 10.93, *Effigies* (1968:86, 204), Dekker, Knoop and Verdegaal (1996:27).

¹¹ Gomarus' letter or a copy of it unretrieved.

¹² Hamburg lady unidentified.

feliciter studet. Ingenio est vivido plane, sed istiusmodi, ut diu detinendus sit sub disciplina scolastica; contra quam statuerat mater, quae hac parte primitus non satis sapiebat. Nunc meliora eam edocuimus.

- d** Uxor plane est valetudinaria. Multum eam macerat, quod rem nostram ita imminuerit filius Iohannes.¹³ Plus minus bis millenis et quingentis Karolaeis expendimus, partim exolvendo aeri alieno, quod uno anno hic contraxerat, partim coemendis itineri necessariis. Ecquando redditurus sit, nescio. Etiam alii flagitant alia. In his permolestus est quidam nomine illius Iacobi, qui sexcentos ei florenos annumeravit Londini.¹⁴ Sed non est animus quicquam refundere; nec, si velim, sinat uxor. Satis auster ille domum nostram perculit.
- e** Sed ecce, ante paucos dies mihi literae ab reverendo et claro S. Collino, e collegio Regali, quod est Cantabrigiae.¹⁵ Hic se a filii socru et coniuge multis precibus rogatum ait, ut ipsarum causam mihi vellet serio commendare.¹⁶ Quid rescripturus sim nescio. Nam ut alam illam, iniquum est. Nec uxor sinat mea, quae iudicat id marito curandum, qui annorum pene est 33. Et si frugi esse volet, ut speramus, pauculis annis eas sibi opes parabit, quae longissime excedant quidquid ego et uxor habemus. Sin alia Iohanni mens, cur nos illius causa perdere pergamus? Quotidie ab eo ex India ^olitteras expecto.¹⁷ Tum certiora perscribam. Sed mirari satis uxor nequit, iuenculam ἀπαίδα non posse tantum honesto labore sibi parare, unde vivat.¹⁸ Indignatur filium aliquam duxisse tam paupertinae sortis, ut nec sese alere possit. Si filius voluisset, hic honestam ex honestissima familia ducere potuisset cum 20 minimum, imo cum 30 aut 40 florenorum milibus. Sed quid ego his te obtundo, qui satis sortem nostram doles? Amstelodami, MDCXXXVII, V idus Quinctiles.

e literas: [- *liter*] literas

¹³ Joannes Vossius had incurred debts at Cambridge and in Holland, **96a**, **101c**.

¹⁴ James, relative of a London innkeeper, **101f**.

¹⁵ Samuel Collins (1576–1651), provost of King's College, Cambridge, from 1615 until he was deprived of the position because of his royalist sympathies in 1645. Having been created D.D. at Cambridge in 1613, he had become one of King James' chaplains in 1615, and regius professor of theology in 1617. Collins' letter to Vossius, not seen, is probably the one dated 36 03 13 in *ICVossius* (1993:218), which corresponds to 37 03 23 new, Continental style. Cf. *DNB* 11.374–75.

He has a truly vivid intellect, but of such a kind that he must long be kept under school-discipline; his mother decided against this, because she did not understand enough in this respect at first. Now we have instructed her better thoughts.

d My wife is truly sickly. It deeply aggravated her that our son Joannes has ruined our possessions so much. We spent about two thousand and five hundred Carolus guilders, partly for paying the debts he had contracted here in a single year, partly for buying travelling requisites. And I do not know when he will return them. Other people also demand other satisfaction. Among them there is a most annoying gentleman on behalf of this James, who paid him six hundred guilders in London. But I do not intend to pay back anything, nor would my wife allow me to if I wished so. That southern wind swept our house hard.

e But look, a few days ago a letter for me from the reverend and renowned S. Collins from King's College, which is in Cambridge. He wrote to have been asked by my son's mother-in-law and wife with many requests to be willing seriously to commend their cause to me. I do not know what to write back, for it is unfair of me to support her, nor does my wife allow me to, because she thinks that her husband, who is almost 33 years old, should take care of it. And if he wants to be virtuous, as we hope, he will gather for himself such riches within a few years as will surpass by far what I and my wife possess. But if Joannes' intention is different, why continue to ruin ourselves for his sake? I daily expect a letter from him from the Indies. Then I will write more definite matters. But my wife cannot stop wondering that the *childless* young woman cannot get for herself enough to live from by honest work. She is angry that our son married someone of such a poor condition that she cannot support herself. If my son had wished so, he could have married a respectable girl from a respectable family with at least 20, well even with 30 or 40 thousand guilders. But why do I deafen you with this, for you feel sorry enough for our lot.

At Amsterdam, 1637, on the 5th Ides of July [11 Jul.].

¹⁶ Prudence Greene and her mother, **96b, 105b.**

¹⁷ Joannes Vossius had already died, **111d^a, 112d.**

¹⁸ Cf. **112d.**

° 114 37 08 01 PETER PAUL RUBENS (ANTWERP) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A °Aen mynHeere mynHeere Franciscus Junius Int hof van mynheere den Marischal Graeue van Arundel etc. tot London.

a Mijn Heere,

U.E.^c sal seer verwondert wesen in soo langhen tijt gheen tijdingh vanden ontfanck U.E. Boeckx door my ontfanghen te hebben, den welcken als blijktt wt °U.E. aenghenaemen van den 24 May voor datum aen my gedestineert was.² Toch ick bidde U.E. belieue te ghelooven dat den voorseyden boeck my nu eerst ouer 14 daeghen behandicht is door eenen van dese stadt, ghenoept Leon Hemselroy, met vele excusen van soo spaden bestellinghe.³ °Dit is de oorsaecke dat ick U.E. Brief oock niet beantwoordt en hebbe; want ick eerst wenschsten den boeck te sien ende te lesen; ghelijck ick nu met attentie ghedaen hebbe. Ende om de waerheyt te segghen, ick beuinde dat U.E. onse conste seer vereert heeft *immense hoc totius antiquitatis tesauo, tanta diligentia refosso, et ordine pulcherrimo publice distributo*.⁴ *Nam liber iste Dominationis Vestrae, ut uno verbo dicam, vere promus condus est uberrimus omnium exemplorum, sententiarum et dogmatum, quae a veteribus uspiam sparsim ad dignitatem et lucem artis pictoriae pertinentia litteris conse-*

A: *p1, p2* – | **a** U.E.: *p2* uwes | Dit: *e* dat

¹ *o*: BL, HI. 4935, ff. 42–43. *p1*: Junius, *Schilder-konst* (1641:***iil–3), collation from the copy now UBL 2361 F 56; the letter is inserted between ***iiv and ***iiir. *p2*: Junius, *Catalogus artificum* (1694:†††2–3), collation from the copy now UBL 679 A 10. *e*: Ruelens and Rooses 6 (1909, 179–80). An English translation of this letter has been substantially and excellently annotated and analysed, with particular attention to its imagery and art-historical detail, in *Literature* 1.325–30. Other editions or translations of this letter are in Ruelens and Rooses 6.181–82, Saunders Magurn (1991:406–08), Rosenberg (1881:211), Sainsbury (1859:262, 159), and P. Colin, *Correspondance de Rubens* (Paris, 1926), not seen. Orthographic and spelling differences of *p1*, *p2* and *e* as compared with *o* not indicated. Reply to an unretrieved letter dated 37 06 03, **a**.

² Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), Flemish painter and diplomat, “the most versatile and influential Baroque artist of northern Europe in the 17th century” (*DoA* 27.278). Trained by the influential and learned artist Otto van Veen (1556–1629), Rubens was master of the Antwerp guild for two years before moving to Italy in 1600. In the service of Vincenzo I Gonzaga (d. 1612), duke of Mantua, Rubens studied the duke’s excellent art collection of Italian painters, notably Titian and the Venetian school, which were lastingly to influence his style, **b**^a. Together with his brother, the humanist Philip (1574–1611), he examined Roman antiquities. In Italy, he painted many commissions, mainly portraits, but also his first altarpieces. On

114 37 08 01 PETER PAUL RUBENS (ANTWERP) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To my lord Mr. Francis Junius at the court of my lord, the marshal, earl of Arundel etc., in London.

a Sir,

You will be surprised for such a long time not to have received tidings of my receipt of your book, which, as appeared from your welcome letter of 24 May, had been sent to me by then. Yet I pray you, please be assured that the aforesaid book was only handed to me a fortnight ago now by someone of this town called Leon Hemselroy, with many apologies for such a late delivery. This is the reason why I have not answered your letter either, for I wanted to see and read the book first, as I have carefully done now. And to tell the truth, I think you have highly honoured our art *by this enormous treasure of all antiquity, which has been dug up again with such a great diligence and distributed in beautiful order on behalf of the public. For Your Lordship's book—to say so in a single word—is truly a distributing steward rich with all examples, sayings and doctrines which, pertaining to the dignity and splendour of the art of painting and everywhere dispersedly committed to text by the ancients, still last to our great benefit. For this reason I believe that Your*

his return to Antwerp in 1608, he was appointed court painter of the Archduke Albert (1559–1621) and Archduchess Isabella, the regents of the southern Netherlands, and brought his studio to great flourishing. The Flemish high baroque style of the 1620s is embodied especially in Rubens' cycles. In these years he was sent on diplomatic missions to various courts in Europe; to the Dutch Republic to negotiate unsuccessfully a renewal of the Truce; to Paris, where he met the duke of Buckingham; to Madrid, and to England in 1629, where he successfully negotiated a peace treaty between the two countries. King Charles, who knighted him in 1630, commissioned him to paint the ceiling of the new Banqueting House designed by Inigo Jones, which commission was finished in 1634. In 1630, Rubens portrayed several courtiers, among whom the earl of Arundel and Countess Aletheia. Junius probably met him then—unless Junius' family connections with Antwerp had allowed an earlier acquaintance. Having returned home in the autumn, Rubens was to stay in the Antwerp region for the rest of his life. He was the embodiment of Junius' "doctus pictor," **108d**, who combined artistic talents and learning to produce allegorical scenes in a vivid, magnificent style that influenced generations of painters. For Junius' *De pictura* (1637), cf. **93a**, **112a**. His letter to Rubens, dated 37 06 03 (24 May old style), is unretrieved. For a survey of Rubens' life and works, cf. *DoA* 27.287–303, also for further references; for the relationship between Rubens, Junius and *De pictura* (1637), cf. Fehl (1998).

³ Leon Hemselroy of Antwerp, unidentified.

⁴ Rubens probably reverted to Latin not only because it was considered the

*crata maximo nostro emolumento hactenus perennarunt.*⁵ *Itaque titulo et argumento libri De Pictura °veterum a Dominatione Vestra ad unguem satisfactum censeo.*⁶ *Monita etiam et leges, giudicia et exempla °maximam nobis lucem offerentia passim inserta, et admiranda quadam eruditione elegantissimoque locutionis genere expressa, et ordine recto totum hoc opus °perfectissime digestum, atque insigni cura et lima ad calcem usque perpolitum.*⁷

b *Sed quoniam exempla illa veterum pictorum fantasia tantum et pro cuiusque captu magis aut minus assequi possumus, vellem equidem eadem diligentia similem quandoque tractatum excudi posse de picturis Italorum, quorum exemplaria °sive prototypa adhuc hodie publice prostant, et digito possunt | monstrari et dici, "haec sunt."*⁸ *Nam illa, quae sub sensum cadunt, acrius imprimuntur et haerent, et exactius examen requirunt, atque materiam uberiores proficiendi studiosis °praebent, quam illa, quae sola imaginatione tanquam somnia se nobis offerunt, et verbis °tantum adumbrata ter frustra comprehensa (ut Orpheum Euridices imago) eludunt saepe et sua quemque spe frustrantur.*⁹ *Quod experti dicimus, nam quotusquisque nostrum °si praeclarum °aliquod Apellis aut Timanthis opus, a Plinio aut aliis autoribus graphice descriptum, pro rei dignitate °oculis °subiicere tentaturus, aliquid non insulsum aut a veterum maiestate non alienum praestabit;*¹⁰ *sed genio suo quisque indulgens, musteum aliquid pro Opimiano illo*

a veterum: *e* veterum | maximam: *e* maximum | perfectissime: perfectissim[um > e] | **b** sive: *p1* et | praebent: [praestant > praebent]; *p1* praestant | tantum: *p1* – | si: *p1* – | aliquod: *e* aliquid | oculis: [- rem] oculis | subiicere: [subiiciet > subiicere]

proper language in which to give his judgement on Junius' book and the art of the ancients, but also because he wanted his opinion to have more weight and wider impact than it could have had in the vernacular. Rubens may refer to the composition of *De pictura* from (silent) quotations, **93a**. Cf. *Literature* 1.lxvi, Introduction.

⁵ "Promus condus," **22d**.

⁶ "Ad unguem," Plutarch, *Moralia* 86A, 636C. *Literature* 1.327 refers to the phrase "ad unguem" as said of the finishing touches by especially the sculptor Polyclitus, cf. Junius' *Catalogus artificum* (1694, s.v. Polyclitus), *Literature* 2, no. 983B; but cf. Erasmus, *Adage* 491, "Ad unguem," "[t]o the finger-nail. The metaphor is taken from workers in marble, who draw the nail over the surface to test the joins in the stone," *CWE* 31, I.v.91.

⁷ Cf. Grotius' appraisal of *De pictura* in **117a**.

⁸ Rubens here seems to engage in the debate between ancients and moderns, between those insisting on the superiority of the Classics as a measure for learning and culture, and those claiming the advancement of modern, contemporary civilization, a debate, too, on the merits of knowledge derived from the authority of books versus that acquired from actual, tangible things in the natural world, that

Lordship has perfectly satisfied the title and subject of the book On the Painting of the Ancients; also the advices and laws, judgements and examples which bring us much light have been inserted everywhere and expressed by an admirable erudition and most refined kind of style, and the whole work has been exactly arranged in appropriate order and refined by eminent attention and polishing up to the end.

b *Yet, since we can pursue those examples of ancient painters only more or less in our imagination and according to our capacity, I would indeed wish that one day, with the same carefulness, a similar treatise could be made on the paintings of the Italians, whose examples or originals still openly exist today and can be pointed at with a finger and be said, "This is it." For those that are perceived by the senses are more sharply impressed and stick, and require more precise examination and provide richer matter useful to students than those that present themselves to us only by imagination, just like a dream, and often delude us, as they are expressed only by words and traced thrice to no avail (just as Euridice's image eluded Orpheus), and frustrate everybody in their hope. We say so from experience. For, if they try to bring before the eyes an excellent work by Apelles or Timantes which has graphically been described by Pliny or other authors in accordance with its dignity, how few of us will furnish something that is not insipid or not alien to the ancients' majesty; but fond of their genius, everyone will produce some must instead of that bittersweet Opimian wine and*

was to gain momentum during the seventeenth century. I owe this suggestion to Bart Westerweel. Cf. **211h**, **219e**, Levine (1991).

⁹ Vergil, *Aeneid* 2.793, "ter frustra comprehensa manus effugit imago." Rubens seems to propose here that *pictura* outstrips *poesis*, thus entering into the ancient debate on which of the sister arts was superior. In *De pictura* 1.4, Junius had addressed the topos "ut pictura poesis"—rendered by Junius as "picture is a silent poesie, as poesie is a speaking picture," *Painting* 1.4.2—by stressing their similarity. This similarity had legitimized Junius, or so he felt, silently to adapt quotations about the "orator" and "ars dicendi" to refer to the "pictor" and "ars pingendi" throughout *De pictura*. Nevertheless, he also observed that "both [poesie and picture] then have a hidden force to move and compell our minds to severall Passions, but Picture for all that seemeth to doe it more effectually," *Painting* 1.4.4. Thanks to his enchanting music, the harpist Orpheus was allowed to lead back his deceased wife Eurydice from the Underworld, yet on the condition that they would not look back. Eurydice, however, could not help turning around and was immediately flung back, which caused Orpheus to turn mad. *Literature* 1.328 refers to Rubens' painting "Orpheus leads Eurydice from Hades." Cf. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 10.57–81; for a discussion of "ut pictura poesis," cf. Nativel (1996:515–49).

¹⁰ Pliny discussed Apelles and Timantes, a Greek painter noted especially for his grief-stricken painting of Iphigenia at the altar, in *Naturalis historiae*, bk. 35, cf. the entries on Apelles and Timantes in *Catalogus artificum* (1694), *Literature* 2, nos. 98, 1202.

dulce amaro °promet et iniuriam magnis illis manibus °afferet, quos ego veneratione summa prosequor, et vestigia euntium potius adoro, quam vel sola cogitatione assequi °me posse ingenue profiteor.¹¹

- c Ick bidde mijn Heere believe mij wel afte nemen 'tghene ick met vriendelijcke liberteyt ben seggende met hope dat U.E. ons naer soo goeden *promulsidem* niet en sal weygheren *ipsum caput caenae*, daer wy allegader seer naer verlanghen want tot noch toe en heeft ons niemant onsen appetijt voldaan van alle die ghene die alsulcken materie ghetracteert °hebben *nam oportet venire ad individua, ut dixi*.¹² Waer mede ick °ghebiede my wt ganscher harten in U.E. goede °gunste ende grootelycx voor de eere die my gheschiet is met de presentatie van U.E. boeck ende vrientdschap °bedanckende, blyue inder eeuwicheyt, Mijnheere, U.E. Ootmoedighen ende gheaffectioneerden Dienaer Pietro Paulo °Rubeno.

Antwerpiae; raptim et stans pede in uno.¹³ Den eersten Augusti 1637.

115 37 09 21 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Francisco Iunio, Londinum.

- a *Salutem plurimam*. Paucos ante dies domum meam venere Iohannes Blawius, °*Iuris Consultus* et typographus, ac Adrianas Vlaccius, Batavus bibliopola apud Londinenses.² Hi retulere mihi de interdicto Anglicano, nequis peregrinus, vel etiam indigena, nisi qui iusto ac legitimo temporis spatio apud vos bibliopolae inservierit, ullos in Angliam inferre libros praesumat vel ipsis divendere bibliopolis Anglicanis.³ Queritur

b promet: p2 promit | afferet: p2 affert | me: \me/ | c hebben: \hebben/ | ghebiede: gheb[+ iede] | gunste: \gunste/ | bedanckende: \bedanckende/ | Rubeno: e Rubens

115a *Iuris*: [- *typographus et*] *Iuris*

¹¹ The wine made under Lucius Opimius' consulship (121 b.c.) was of proverbial superior quality, cf. *OCD* (1996:1069).

¹² *De pictura* had been intended as an introduction to *Catalogus artificum*, 93a. Junius had also expressed discontent with his predecessors, 95b.

¹³ Horace, *Sermones* 1.4.10, "stans pede in uno."

¹ c: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 66; by two hands, and the heading in Vossius' hand. The copyists seem to have misreproduced the original in places.

² Adriaan Vlacq (1600–1666/7), Dutch mathematician and bookseller in London

bring injury to those great hands, which I honour with deepest veneration, and I rather worship the steps of the going than I frankly acknowledge to be able to pursue even only in thought.

- c I pray, sir, please take what I have been saying in friendly liberty well from me, in the hope that after such a good *starter* you will not deny us the *very main course of the supper*, which we are all deeply longing for, for as yet no one of all those who have treated us to such matter has satisfied our appetite, *for one must come to the core, as I said*. With this I commend myself to your good favour with all my heart, and warmly thanking you for the honour that has come to me by the presentation of your book and friendship, I remain for ever, sir, Your humble and affectionate servant Peter Paul Rubens.
Antwerp. In haste and standing on one foot. The first August 1637.

115 37 09 21 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To Francis Junius, London.

- a Warmest regards. Several days ago, Joan Blaeu, the lawyer and printer, and Adriaen Vlacq, the Dutch bookseller in London, came to my house. They told me about the English interdict that no foreigner, nor a native either—unless he has served a bookseller with you for a justifiable and legitimate period of time—may venture to import any books into England or retail them to the English booksellers themselves. He complains that it will be a great disadvantage

from 1633. Little more is known of Vlacq's London period than his problems with the Star Chamber Decree, and his departing to Paris in 1642 owing to his royalist sympathies. In the late 1640s he settled in The Hague, where he was to publish several of Isaac Vossius' books and Vossius' posthumous publications, **185b**, and offer Junius' *Cædmonis paraphrasis* (1655), **183a**, and *Observationes* (1655), **188c**, for sale. When still in the Low Countries, he had published mathematical tables, notably *Arithmetica logarithmica sive logarithmorum chiliades centum . . .* (Gouda, 1628), a continuation and improved edition of Henry Brigg's *Arithmetica logarithmica sive logarithmorum chiliades triginta . . .* (London, 1624), an earlier version of which Junius possessed and annotated, **84c**. Their acquaintance may have been partly inspired by their joint interest in logarithms. After his return, Vlacq continued to improve and publish tables. Cf. *NNBW* 2.1503–07, Lucas (1998:184), Sampson (1915, nos. 29–30, 33–35).

³ Promoted by the Stationers' Company and the Government alike, the Star Chamber decree "Concerning Printing" of July 1637, a drastic measure consisting of thirty-three clauses, attempted to restrict the printing and sale of printed matter

autem magno id sibi damno fore, si saltem non liceat distrahere ea quae habuit ante °interdictum, vel ad ipsum iam hinc missa utcunque nondum advecta forent.⁴

b Rogavit igitur uterque, °quam si hoc sibi nomine negotium facesatur, intercessione tua facilius consequatur quod exoptat.⁵ Respondi me ad te literas de eo daturum; et tu quoque aliquid hac in re debes, si non Vlaccii causa, qui °tamen se notum tibi aiebat, saltem propter Blaeuwium, operis tui de pictura editorem, uti et mei de arte grammatica et filii mei Matthei de gestis veterum Batavorum.⁶ Ut de eo ad reverendissimum et illustrissimum *Dominum* Archiepiscopum scriberem, optassent quidem, sed ausi a me petere non erant, qui scirent me semel in simili negotio Blawio operam locasse; nec semper esse Saturnalia.⁷ Quare contenti fuerunt operam tuam exposcere. Invitus tamen hoc perscribo; nolim enim meo nomine sollicitari reverendissimum *Dominum*, quia iniquum putem, me quicquam gratia valeo in alios potius profundere quam domum meam. Scis fere ingrata esse postulata, quae pro exteris sint adversus indigenarum postulata. Et tamen propter Blawium, cuius de libris agi arbitror, velim non prorsus saltem excidere spe opera tua impetrandi quod petit. Ages igitur in hac re quantum possis et expedire utrique nostri existimabis.⁸

a interdictum: interductum | b quam si: quo si- | tamen: [- se] tamen

to a number of lawfully established booksellers, printers and letter-founders, who were requested to acquire licenses, mostly given by nominees of Archbishop Laud, before printing or distribution. Several clauses restricted the import of printed matter, but the clause most harmful to Blaeu and Vlacc was no. 12, "that no stranger or forreigner whatsoever, be suffered to bring in, or vent here, any booke or bookes printed beyond the seas, in any language whatsoever, either by themselves, or their secret Factors, except such onely as bee free Stationers of London, and such as haue beene brought vp in that profession, and haue their whole meanes of subsistance, and liuelihood depending thereupon," Arber (1877:532). Junius seems to have had a narrow escape with the publication and distribution of his *De pictura* (1637), **112a**, just a few months before the decree. Cf. Arber (1877:528–36), Blagden (1960:118–25), Sharpe (1992:644–54).

⁴ Blaeu had sold 350 copies of the English translation of his *Theatrum orbis* (1635), **99g**, to the English bookseller Cornelius Bee, **167c**, in early summer, but Bee had become prohibited by the Star Chamber decree to import them. Bee was to petition the archbishop in November for his "favour for the importation of the said books, being neither offensive to church nor state," *CSPDS*, 1637, 13 November 1637, no. 95. Cf. Rostenberg 1.190–91.

⁵ Blaeu and Vlacc wished Vossius or Junius to plead their case with the archbishop, cf. below. The Latin is corrupt.

to him if he is not even permitted to retail what he had before the interdict, or what has already been sent to him from here, but has not yet been delivered.

b [They accordingly both asked that they can more easily attain what they greatly desire at your intercession than if this business is accomplished on their own behalf.] I answered I would write you a letter about it, and you also owe something in this respect, if not for Vlacq's sake—who said, though, that you know him, at least towards Blaeu, the printer of your book on painting, as well as of my book *On Grammar* and of my son Matthaëus' book on the deeds of the ancient Batavians. They had actually wished me to write about this to the right reverend and illustrious lord archbishop, but dared not ask me, since they knew I had lent service in a similar business of Blaeu once, and every day cannot be a holiday. They were therefore satisfied to implore your assistance. But I am writing this reluctantly, for I do not want the right reverend lord to be solicited on my behalf, because I consider it unfair to bestow whatever I am worth for his favour on others rather than on my family. You know that requests which are made on behalf of foreigners and oppose the requests of natives are quite unwelcome. And yet, on behalf of Blaeu—with whose books we are dealing, I think—I did not wish immediately, at least, to dash his hopes of getting what he asks with your assistance. So you must do in this respect as much as you can and judge expedient for both of us, for it is both dutiful to assist

⁶ No further details on Junius' and Vlacq's acquaintance found. Junius' *De pictura* (1637), **112a**; Vossius, *Aristarchus* (1635), **86f**; Matthaëus Vossius, *Annalium* (1635), **99d**.

⁷ Erasmus, *Adage* 165, "Foras Cares, non amplius anthisteria" [out you go, slaves, the festival is over], includes "non semper erunt Saturnalia" [it will not always be Saturnalia], that is, the festival when slave is master. One of the advisers on the drawing up of the Decree, Archbishop Laud obviously had power to license the import of Blaeu's and Vlacq's books. In a letter of early 1634—probably 34 02 14 or 34 03 31 (not seen), Vossius had asked Laud to support Blaeu in an affair for which the latter had Vossius thank Laud in November. Cf. *CWE* 31.207–08, *ICVossius* (1993:191–92), Colomesius 1.239.

⁸ There are no indications that Junius actually attempted to acquire some leniency for Blaeu and Vlacq with the archbishop. The import of Blaeu's *Theatrum orbis* was still prohibited in November, while Vlacq, though illegally having continued trade for some time, seems to have been about "to go over seas to avoid answering his late bringing over nine bales of books contrary to the decree of the Star Chamber," *CSPDS*, 1637, 13 November 1637, no. 94.

Nam et pium est iuvare amicos, et imprudens id facere cum suo dispendio; quod fiat si eo offendantur qui indigenis merito quam exteris melius volunt.

c Cum exemplaribus eruditi operis tui fuit tabula urbis Hierosolymitanae compluribus constans chartis.⁹ Eam comparavi mihi pro praestantissimo Merico Casaubono.¹⁰ Et ita ipsi scripsi, sed literis ad te da|tis oblitus sum addere.¹¹ Si eam a te petiit bene est. Sin adhuc retineas, sponte, quaeso, Cantuariam transmittas.

d Uxor optima veteri cum morbo iam alterum mensem conflictatur, ac vehementius quam solet. Metuo eius °vitae plurimum. Haec aliaque mala domestica non sinunt me tam bene de ecclesia et literis mereri, quam alioqui et possem, et vellem.¹² Interea gratias ago Deo *optimo maximo* quod nemo ex liberis quos ex sorore tua genui non optimae sit frugis et praeclari aliquid spiret, cuius rei propediem indicia videbis.¹³ Nempe valuerat Dominus bono nostro idemque sanat.

°Amstelodami, MDCXXXVII, °XI kalendas VIIIbris.

Tuus totus, G.Io. Vossius.

116 38 04 07 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ALETHEIA, COUNTESS OF ARUNDEL [LONDON]¹

A TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE, THE COUNTESS *of* ARUNDELL *and* SURREY, my singular good Ladie *and* *Mistresse*.²

a MADAME,

As the sweet and glorious harmony of your heroïcall vertues, in so high a birth, most happily conjoynd and matched with the most

d vitae: vita | Amstelodami: Amstelodomi | XI: [- VII] XI

⁹ Vossius had sent the copies of *De pictura* with letter **112**. Map unidentified; Blaeu never published a map of Jerusalem, and his rival, the Amsterdam cartographer Jan Janssonius (c.1588–1664) published only one only in 1657. Vossius may have bought any map by an earlier printer, possibly at Blaeu's. Cf. Laor and Klein (1986:137–72).

¹⁰ Vossius' letter to Meric Casaubon, dated 37 04 19—just like letter **112**—does not mention a map, cf. Colomesius 1.298.

¹¹ Letter **112**.

friends and inconsiderate to do so at one's own expense; this will happen if those who rightfully wish natives better than foreigners are offended by it.

c With the copies of your learned book was a map of the town Jerusalem consisting of several sheets. I bought it by myself for the most distinguished Meric Casaubon. I wrote so to him, but forgot to add it to the letter written to you. If he asked it from you it is alright, but if you still keep it, I ask of you to send it to Canterbury of your own accord.

d My excellent wife has been vexed by an old illness for two months now, and more vehemently than usually. I am greatly fearing for her life. These and other family misfortunes do not allow me to deserve of the Church and of literature as well as I would otherwise be both able and willing to. But I give thanks to Allgood and Almighty God that all children I begot on your sister are wholly successful and are breathing something excellent, of which you will soon see the signs. To be sure, the Lord was powerful for our benefit and he is a healing God. At Amsterdam, 1637, on the 11th before the Kalends of October [21 Sep.].

Yours Truly, G.Jo. Vossius.

116 38 04 07 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ALETHEIA, COUNTESS OF
ARUNDEL [LONDON]

[See the original letter.]

¹² Probably the troubles with Joannes Vossius and his wife Prudence Greene, **113e**. Prudence had asked her family-in-law to support her financially, whereas Joannes, who had sailed to the East Indies, kept failing to inform his family how to treat her—because he had already died in 1636, as Vossius was only to hear probably shortly after the present letter. Cf. Rademaker (1981:334–35), who suggests that “in that letter [the present letter] he [Vossius] spoke of his son Joannes but did not mention his death” (335n1024).

¹³ As opposed to Joannes Vossius, son of Vossius and his first wife, Elizabeth van den Corput. Isaac Vossius' *Scylax* (1639), for instance, was to be in press fairly soon, **118i**. For other publications by the Vossius sons, cf. **131e**.

¹ *p*: Junius, *Painting* (1638:A2–A3v); text after the copy now in the Huntington Library, CA. *e*: *Literature* 1.5–6. The date of this letter need not be its true date, because the archbishop's licence for the publication of *Painting* bears the same date, **b^a**.

² This is Junius' dedicatory letter of his *Painting* (1638), **b**, to his patroness, Countess Aletheia.

illustrious Lord your husband, the very patterne of | true Nobilitie, enforceth the world farre and neere with honour and admiration to behold and renowne you: so doth my condition require, that I within this little *Britain* world, in which wee live, should unto your publike glory adde my particular testimony of your bountie and munificence; whereby I am engaged, above any other of °your servants, to seeke any means both to intimate my humble dutie, and to professe my thankfull mind to your noble familie.³

b Neither needed I goe farre to find my occasion and subject; but even to make use of that, which in your service, and within the walls of your own house, I had produced: I meane my observations of the manner of painting in use among the ancients.⁴ For seeing your Ladiship upon the first sight of my Latine copie, was pleased to expresse your desire of having it Englished;⁵ there seemed a way to be opened un|to me, of effecting that my serviceable intent: and the rather, because some things have passed therein, which (as one day teacheth another)⁶ in the review and more mature cogitation I wished might be altered, I thought best to begin that correction in this present Edition.⁷ Nor doe I so much over-ween, but that I see and confesse, that this translation befitteth rather the native fluency of one in-bred, than the forced stile of a forrainer;⁸ and therefore unto severe eyes it might seeme an unpardonable presumption, to have taken upon me a burden so unfit for my shoulders to beare, and therewith to interrupt your higher conceits; yet feeling myselfe inspired with courage by the signification of your noble desire (which wrought in my heart, what an absolute command useth to worke in others) I stoutly fell to my taske.⁹

c Wherein I doubt not, but that, if your Honor by a | favourable construction shall judge me not altogether undutifull, though not precisely officious, others also will think that this my forwardnesse in accomplishing your desire, may make all pardonable, if not in some degree acceptable. Howsoever these rude and imperfect attempts of your dutifull servant, shall finde their chiefest protection and perfection in wearing the faire and glorious livery of your most noble and worthy name.¹⁰ And thus humbly laying both my selfe and my endeavours at the feet of your Ladiship, to whom I wish all encrease of honor and happinesse, I ever remaine

Your Honors humbly devoted servant, FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.F.

From *Arundell-house*, Anno 1638. Martii 28.

a your: yo[u]r (*Ink faded*)

³ Junius had been a tutor in the service of the earl of Arundel since 1622, **39d**, **86a^r**.

⁴ Junius' *De pictura* (1637), **93a**, **108a**.

⁵ While Countess Aletheia knew Italian, she probably did not read Latin. Cf. Howarth (1985:42).

⁶ Cf. Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae* D.1, "discipulus est prioris posterior dies."

⁷ Junius' English translation of *De pictura* appeared as *THE PAINTING OF THE ANCIENTS in three Bookes: Declaring by Historically Observations and Examples, THE BEGINNING, PROGRESSE, AND CONSUMMATION of that most Noble ART. And how those ancient ARTIFICERS attained to their still so much admired Excellencie*. Written first in *Latine* by FRANCISCUS JUNIUS, F.F. And now by Him Englished, with some Additions and Alterations (London: R. Hodgkinsonne, 1638). He had the translation almost finished by early January 1636, before beginning the Dutch one, which he initially had intended to prepare first, **102c**, **105a**. It was only licensed by William Laud through his chaplain William Bray (d. 1644) to be committed to type within three months after 38 04 07, the same date as the present letter. *Painting* differs from *De pictura* to some extent. It lacks the addition of 3.8–11 which Junius had sent with **100**, cf. **100a**; the number of quotations is reduced, and some material has been added. The text served as a model for *Schilder-konst* (1641), **129e**. Cf. *Painting*, p. [A4], *Literature* 1.xiv, 332–33; for an edition of *Painting* with excellent introduction and commentary, cf. *Literature* 1, also for further references.

⁸ *Painting* is Junius' earliest known English text. It compelled him to find an appropriately literate style and proper English equivalents of art terminology. *Painting* therefore deserves to be made the topic of a linguistic study. Junius had several aids for translation at his disposal. Since *De pictura* was moulded from classical quotations, examples were obviously to be found in the many sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English translations of classical texts. Junius' acquaintance Philemon Holland, **208b**, had translated Junius' most important source, Pliny's *Natural History* (London, 1601); Cicero, Homer, Horace, Ovid, Plutarch, Seneca, and Vergil—to mention some of Junius' sources—were all available in recent enough English versions. Dictionaries, such as Thomas Thomasius' *Dictionarium* enlarged by Holland (London, 1631), which Junius possessed, **208b**, could be helpful for individual phrases, and so could Sir Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* . . . (London, 1624), and Henry Peacham's *Compleat Gentleman* (1622; 1634) for vocabulary in the field of the visual arts, **42e^r**, **84d^r**. Junius adopted the technical word "resupination" from Wotton, and "Herma," "Panathenaic," and a particular use of "scaffold" from Holland. The *Authorised Version* of the Bible (1611), translated by Lancelot Andrewes and Samuel Ward, among others, offered another source for comparison. His quotations of Sidney, **68c**, and the poet Edmund Spenser (1552?–1599) reveal furthermore that Junius was familiar with contemporary English literature. The resulting translation of *Painting* is fluent, and of such a quality that it has yielded more than three hundred quotations to entries in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, from "deep" to "youthfully." Cf. Kitagaki (1981), *Literature* 1.xl, xxxixn40, lvn, 206n61, Burrowes Lathrop (1933), *OED-CD*.

⁹ Junius did not want his work translated by others, **102c**, **105a**.

¹⁰ For these phrases, cf. Junius to Charles I in the dedication of *De pictura*, **108f**, i.

117¹¹⁹ 38 05 31 GROTIUS (PARIS) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

- a Magnas tibi gratias ago, Iuni doctissime, pro donato mihi libro tuo De Pictura Veterum, qui ipse vivam habet ingenii eruditionisque tuae picturam.² Miror diffusam lectionem, iudicium, ordinem et quae ex cunctis artibus ad hanc artem ornandam attulisti.³ Plane simile mihi videtur hoc opus tuum illis imaginibus quae e lapillis diversicoloribus compaginatis fiunt, qualis illa Satyri epigrammate Graeco celebrata et Theuderichi Gothorum Regis memorata Procopio.⁴ Delectat varietas, multoque magis ex ista varietate consurgens pulchra species.⁵ Rogo te ut multa nobis des similia; ut vero pictorum veterum nobis des nomina operaque etiam ex promisso te convenio.⁶

a nobis des: p2 des nobis

¹ c: RGB, RK Cat. Mss 674. p1: *Epp. Grotius* 967. p2: Junius, *De pictura* (1694:†††2). e: *BWGrotius* 9.3606.

² Junius' *De pictura* (1637), 93a. Junius had mentioned Grotius as a prospective recipient of the book, 107d. In January 1638, Vossius had sent a copy to Willem de Groot to have it forwarded to Grotius. De Groot sent it late April, "Addidi et Iunii de pictura veterum libros, multi laboris, multae curae opus; ego certe subinde miror unde tam multa et quidem non cuivis obvia eruerit et quomodo tam accurate pertexuerit commentarium" [I have also added Junius' books *On the Painting of the Ancients*, a work of great effort and care; I at least repeatedly admire from where he has brought to light so much material, which is indeed not ready at hand to anyone, and how he wove a commentary so accurately], 38 04 25, *BWGrotius* 9.3546, 3586. On receipt, Grotius wrote to Vossius, "subsisto agere Iunio gratias pro dono, ubi librum, quem inspexi tantum, perlegerim. Nunc, antequam perlegere vacaverit, accepit eum a me quidam amicus, qui eum forte apud me viderat, talium callens. Quantum cursim cognoscere licuit, miror diligentiam, iudicium, ordinem" [I wait with giving Junius thanks for the gift until I have read the book, which I have only looked through. Now, before I have had time to read it through, a friend who may have seen it with me and understands such a book has received it from me. As much as I could notice in passing, I admire his accuracy, discernment and composition], 38 05 28, *BWGrotius* 9.3603. Friend unidentified. Grotius also praised *De pictura* to Samson Johnson, 200c, "Francisci Iunii liber de Veterum pictura non minus me delectavit quam ipsae picturae talium studiosos solent" [Francis Junius' book *On Painting of the Ancients* delighted me no less than the pictures themselves use to delight students of such matters], 38 09 30, *BWGrotius* 9.3781. Cf. *BWGrotius* 9.3414, 3438, 3452.

³ "Lectio," "iudicium" and "ordo" are rhetorical terminology. The reader's reception of what is read, "lectio," acknowledges the perfections and flaws of the material read, thus leading to literary criticism; "iudicium" discerns which material is useful for the composition of a particular work, and "ordo" is the result of the author's arrangement of the material in the work in the most useful way. Cf. Lausberg 1.443, 445, 1153, 1141-42.

117 38 05 31 GROTIUS (PARIS) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

- a I give you many thanks, most learned Junius, for the gift of your book *On the Painting of the Ancients*, which contains a vivid image of your talents and learning. I admire your wide reading, discernment, composition, and what you have adduced from all arts to illustrate that art. I consider your book truly similar to those pictures which are made from joined party-coloured gems, such as the one praised in the Satirist's Greek epigram and the one of Theodoric, king of the Goths, remembered by Procopius. Variety pleases, and much more so the beautiful splendour arising from this variety. I pray you to present us with many similar books, but I hold you to presenting us with the names and works of ancient painters even by a promise.

⁴ Junius touched upon mosaics, as made by the Greek Sosus, in *De pictura* 2.8.10 and *Catalogus artificum*, s.v. Sosus. The epigram by Neilos Scholastikos, *Anthologia Graeca* 16.247, is included as no. 102, "De imagine Satyri ex lapillis" [On a Satyr's image from little stones], of "Florilegii Graeci liber quartus" in Grotius' posthumously published *Anthologia Graeca*, vol. 2 (ed. H. de Bosch, Utrecht, 1797), 458–59. Grotius had currently sent the work to Holland to have it published by Blaeu, but never came further than a specimen of the intended edition. His own Latin translation reads, "Semper amat risum Satyrorum turba: sed eius/ Materia est ut quem conspicis ecqua tibi?/ Miror tesseralis qui de tot et undique lectis/ Compositus, factus tam cito sim Satyrus" [The troop of Satyrs always loves a good laugh. But what is the reason for you to do so as soon as you see someone? I am surprised that, made from so many little pieces of stone gathered from everywhere, I have so suddenly become a Satyr]. The reference to the mosaic of Theodoric the Great (?451–526), king of the Ostrogoths, by the Greek historian Procopius (c.500–after 542) occurs in Grotius' translation "Procopius Caesarensis Gothicae Historiae libri IV" for his *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum, et Langobardorum* . . . (Amsterdam, 1655), which he currently had almost ready for the press. The passage (Bk. 1, p. 207) reads, "Stabat in foro Theuderichi Gothorum principis effigies ex calculis minimis sed omni colorum genere variis composita. Huius statucae caput quondam delapsum est vivente Theudericho, sponte dissoluta lapillorum compage" [In the market-square (of Naples) there was a statue of Theodoric, king of the Goths, made of the smallest stones but that were varied in all kinds of colours. The head of this statue fell down one time when Theodoric was still alive, because the structure of little stones fell apart of its own accord]. Cf. *BGGrotius*, p. 204n8, no. 534, no. 735, esp. p. 333n2–3, *BWGGrotius* 9:339n9, *Literature* 1.xi.iii.

⁵ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 2.15.1, "ista ipsa me varietas sermonum opinionumque delectat."

⁶ Junius' *Catalogus artificum*, 58b, the completing of which Junius had used as an excuse for not complying with Grotius' wish to have him become his secretary, 102c.

- b** Quo magis videas legisse me libri tui omnia, quaero quae quid sint apud Claudianum vela Iudaica.⁷ Scis Iudaicis impermissum ullam exhibere animantis effigiem vel in velis.⁸ Cogita an legendum “Lydiacis quae pingitur India velis;” aut si quid habes melius, ad nos scribe.⁹
- c** Ita etiam parte me levabis sollicitudinis quae me movet, ut, quotiescunque aliquem ex Anglia video, ex eo de te tuisque rebus inquiram. Quod si pateris et hoc adiici, meo ut nomine comiter salutes viros egregios, Seldenum, Patritium, ὀμόνωνυμον tuum, ὀPettaeum, et si qui his similes sunt alii, ad multa merita tua, quibus obstrictum me habes, novum hoc adieceris.¹⁰
Lutetiae, XXXI Maii MDCXXXVIII.
Tuus toto animo, H. Grotius.

118 38 06 29 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

- A** Nobili viro, Francisco Iunio, Francisci F., agenti in aedibus illustrissimi Comitum Arondelii, Londini. *Per* amicum, una cum opere Salmasiano de Usuris.²
- a** Francisco Iunio Fr.F. Ger.Io. Vossius *salutem plurimam dicit*.
Qui has ad te literas, ὀconiunctissime affinis, defert, is est ornatis-

c ὀμόνωνυμον: *p1, p2* ὀμόνωνυμον [*cognominem*] | Pettaeum: *p1, p2* Petlaeum
118a coniunctissime affinis, defert: *c, p* defert, coniunctissime affinis

⁷ In *De pictura* 2.8.9, Junius commented on “Iudaica vela,” quoted after his translation in *Painting*, “Jewish vailles were most commonly notable for all such kinde of monsters as men conceive when they doe imagine the wonders of strange Indian countries,” from Claudian, *In Eutropium* 1.356–357, “iam cocleis homines iunctos et quidquid inane/ nutrit Iudaicis quae pingitur India velis” [Now men joined with snails and everything vain are nurtured by India, which is depicted on Jewish cloths]. As *Literature* 1.134n163 observes, “[t]he word *Iudaicis*, however, is an emendation, and the others proposed, *Lydiacis*, *Attalicis*, and *Niliacis*, are equally, if not more, supportable.” Cf. Hall (1985).

⁸ The Second Commandment prohibited the making of moulded images to the Israelites, and hence to the Jewish community; *Exodus* 20.4, “Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth,” AV.

⁹ Grotius explained “Iudaicis” as a corrupt reading of “Lydiacis,” which would have been caused by misreading ‘I’ for ‘L,’ ‘u’ for ‘y’ and ‘ai’ for ‘ia.’ Junius retained the reading “Iudaica,” **123b**.

¹⁰ William Petty may have gone to see Grotius during his travels. This seems

- b** To show you the better that I have read all of your book, I inquire what the Jewish cloths in Claudian may be. You know that Jews are not allowed to portray any image of a living creature even on cloths. Consider whether one must read “India which is painted on Lydian cloths;” or if you have anything better, write it to us.
- c** In that way, you will also relieve me from part of the concern which troubles me, that as often as I see anyone from England I inquire of him after you and your situation. And if you let a request on my behalf courteously to greet the eminent men Selden, Patrick your *namesake*, Petty and others, if they are similar to them, be added as well, you will add this new merit to the many others with which you have obliged me.
At Paris, 31 May 1638.
Wholeheartedly Yours, H. Grotius.

118 38 06 29 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

- A** To the noble gentleman Francis Junius, Franciscus’ son, residing at the court of the most illustrious earl of Arundel, London. By a friend, together with Salmasius’ book *On Usury*.
- a** Ger.Jo. Vossius gives warmest regards to Francis Junius Fr.F. He who delivers this letter to you, dearest Brother, is the most excellent young man Christian Ravius, brother of Joannes Ravius, professor of eloquence at the famous University of Rostock. He has already

Grotius’ first attested endeavour to establish contact with Selden and Patrick Young, with whose works he was evidently acquainted. In the mid-1630s, Grotius had circumstantially followed the publication of Selden’s *Mare clausum* (London, 1635), the answer to his own *Mare liberum* (Leiden, 1609), the treatise on the control of the seas written on behalf of the Dutch Republic; and although he had been flattered to have been treated honourably by Selden, and had written an epigram in his praise, Grotius seems not to have sought contact with him before. Likewise, whereas Samson Johnson had called Young one of Grotius’ admirers in a letter to Grotius dated 35 05 31, Grotius seems only now to have sought to make his acquaintance. Cf. *BWGrotius* 5.2126, and 5, 6, 7, s.v. John Selden and Patrick Young, *BGGrotius*, no. 541.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 100b. *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, ff. 67–68. *p1*: Colomesius 1.335; after *c*. *p2*: *Epp. Vossius* 442; not collated. *p3*: Christian Ravius, *Prima tredecim partium Alcorani Arabico-Latino . . .* [Amsterdam, 1646], “after the letter of Buxtorf of Sept. 1 1645, and before Catalogus CCLXI Manuscriptorum, . . . 4 printed pages” in the copy now BLO, 4N I.19(14) Th.Seld.; after *p1*. I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer.

² The friend is Christian Ravius, **a**. For Salmasius’ book, cf. **e**.

simus iuvenis °Christianus Roue, °Ioannis Roue Professoris eloquentiae in inclyta Rostochiensium Academia frater.³ Octennium iam in Witebergensi, Lipsiensi, Rostochiensi Academia vixit, ac linguis praecipue Orientalibus sedulam dedit operam sub egregii nominis viris Buchnero, Smidio, Trostio—eo qui et Syriaci Testamenti et Lexici editione non leve sibi nomen paravit.⁴ Exinde anno integro lustrata illi Suecia, Daniaque. Sed egregius animus nequit his °se spatiis continere, sed nosse avet quicquid in orbe est praeclari. Itaque in Bataviam venit, ac Leidae sub Golio Professore in Arabicis se exercuit; inque aedibus vixit Elichmanni, medici experientissimi, et quod magis huc facit, Arabicae, Persicae, Aegyptiacae, °aliarum linguarum periti.⁵

b Nunc Magnam cogitat Britanniam, magnis (ita censeo) foetam viris. Commendaticias eo, ut intelligo, obtinuit a praestantissimo Boswello, gentis Britannicae ad Belgicae foederatae proceres Oratore.⁶ Sed, quem dixi, Elichmannus hospes eius, petiit ut meas quoque adderem,

a Christianus: [*Ioannes* > Christianus] | Christianus . . . Roue: *c*, *p* Ioannes Roue | Ioannis Roue: \Ioannis Roue/ | se: \se/ | aliarum: *c*, *p* et aliarum

³ Christian Ravius, or Raue, (1613–1677), German Orientalist and theologian. After studying Oriental languages at Wittenberg (M.A. in 1633), he visited Leipzig, Königsberg, and Rostock, and made a tour of Denmark and Sweden. From 1637 to 1638, he studied arabic under Jacob Golius in Leiden, after which he moved to England. Settled in Oxford, he received an allowance from Archbishop Ussher to make a journey to Constantinople. On the way, he went to see Grotius in Paris, **122a**. He stayed at Smyrna and at the English embassy in Constantinople, by the agency of Edward Pococke, and later travelled in the Near East with Charles Cavendish, **b**. Fluent in Oriental languages and enriched with some three hundred manuscripts, he returned to London, where he lectured at Gresham college and London house in 1641–42. In the spring of 1642 he moved to Leiden, where he was only allowed to teach unpaid, just as subsequently was to happen in Utrecht, **156**, and in Amsterdam from March 1646, until he moved to London with the intention to take up a post there in 1647. From 1649, he was in Oxford, where he was elected fellow of Magdalen College, until being invited in 1650 to a professorship in Uppsala. From 1655 he was royal librarian, and moved to Stockholm. Later still, he lectured in Kiel. He wrote many books on Oriental philology, including a grammar of Oriental languages (1648), which has been hailed as one of the pioneers for the study of comparative Oriental linguistics, and his *Chronologia biblica* (1670), which refuted Isaac Vossius' biblical chronology, **220d**. Formerly a professor at Wittenberg, his brother Johann Ravius, or Raue (1610–1679), was currently professor of eloquence in Rostock from 1636 until 1639, when he became professor at Sorø, Denmark, and later at Danzig. Inspired by Jan Amos Comenius, he called for educational reform, but failed to implement it due to pecuniary problems. From 1654 he was the general school inspector in Brandenburg. Cf. Toomer (1996, s.v.; forthcoming), *Gedenkboek* (1932:660), *DNB* 47.319, *ADB* 27.396–97, 397–98, Jöcher 3.1925–26, Juynboll (1931:117–222), Moller (1744:680–88).

stayed at the universities of Wittenberg, Leipzig and Rostock for eight years and has zealously exerted himself in especially Oriental languages under the men of excellent name Buchner, Schmidt and the Trostius who acquired considerable fame for himself with an edition of the Syriac Testament with a *Lexicon*. Then he visited Sweden and Denmark for a whole year. But his excellent heart cannot confine itself to these countries, but desires to know everything illustrious there is in the world. He accordingly came to Holland and practised himself in the Arabic languages under professor Golius in Leiden and stayed in the house of Elichmann, a most experienced physician and, what is more to the point, an expert in Arabic, Persian, Egyptian and other languages.

b Now he considers going to Great Britain, which is full of great men (so I believe). He obtained recommendations for this, as I understand, from the most distinguished Boswell, resident of the English people to the government of the Dutch United Provinces. But his landlord Elichmann, whom I mentioned, asked me to add mine as well, which I have done all the more willingly, because Cornelis de Groot, son of the great Hugo, has also recommended him in a letter to my son Matthaeus. Later, during a lunch to which I had invited him together with my colleague Hortensius and the physician

⁴ August Buchner (1591–1661), German philologist, Latin and German poet and professor of poetry and of eloquence at Wittenberg from 1616 and 1632, respectively, until his death. Erasmus Schmidt, or Schmied (1560–1637), German philologist, professor of Greek and of mathematics in Wittenberg from 1597 and 1614, respectively, until his death. Martin Trostius (1588–1636), professor at Wittenberg from 1629, and a promotor of the study of Syriac, who is especially known for his edition of the Syriac New Testament (1621/2). Cf. *NDB* 2.703–04, *ADB* 31.27, 38.656–57.

⁵ Joannes Elichmann, or Elisman or Heylichman (1600?–1639), Silezian physician in Leiden, whose joint studies of Arabic, under Golius, and medicine at Leiden from 1631 had resulted in the treatise *De usu linguae Arabicae in medicina* (Jena, 1636). A fluent speaker of Arabic, he had stayed with the Danish scholar Ole Worm in 1635 to learn Gothic—or presumably rather Old Norse, **164c**. He was deeply interested in linguistics and proposed the theory that the original language had been Scythian on the basis of comparisons of Persian, Greek and Germanic words. His library comprised about three hundred Icelandic, Arabic and Persian manuscripts. His edition of the Arabic version of the *Tabula Cebetis* was published posthumously (Leiden, 1640) by Claudius Salmasius, who added a biographical and explanatory preface. Cf. *MNBW* 1.801–02, Juynboll (1931:191–95), personal communication Gerald Toomer.

⁶ Sir William Boswell's letters of recommendation were included on the same additional sheet as this letter in some copies of Ravius' *Prima tridecim partium Alcorani*; personal communication Gerald Toomer.

quod eo lubentius feci, quia et Cornelius Grotius magni Hugonis filius eum filio meo Matthaeo per literas commendarat.⁷ Postea etiam in prandiolo, quo eum cum Collega Hortensio et Hasio medico exceperam, sic tribus nobis se probavit, ut amore nostri dignum, imo bonorum omnium, putarem.⁸ Non animus quidem tam occupato facessere quicquam negotii, sed facies quod possis, quod mihi gratissimum erit, meque | ad similia in tuae spem gratiae praestanda paratissimum scito. Ab nobili *Domino* Boswello spes ei facta est posse cum Britanno natalium splendore inclyto proficisci ad illustrissimum serenissimi Regis Caroli Oratorem, qui Constantinopoli agit.⁹ °Nihil aequae in votis habet quam ut eius rei compos fiat. Quare quoque in isthoc, siquid valeas, non patieris, scio, operam tuam desiderari.

c De excessu filii mei Ioannis in India Orientali iamdiu, existimo, aliunde cognoris.¹⁰ Scripsi de eo ad reverendissimum et illustrissimum *Dominum* Archiepiscopum, nequid ignoraret, cuius maxime scire interesset.¹¹ Sic sunt spes humanae. Post tantas impensas bene tandem fore sperabam. Et ille meus magnam sui exspectionem suscitavit. Iamque proceres hic nostri cogitationem susceperant de orando eo dignitate luculenta, quae eum potuisset, ut sic dicam, totum inaurare.¹² Sed Deo aliter visum. Ex bibliotheca eius desidero nimum quantum librorum, quos donaram.¹³ Et in his aliqui quos ut recuperare his terris possim minime videam.

b Nihil . . . fiat: c, p -

⁷ Letter of Cornelis Cornets de Groot, Grotius' eldest son, to Matthaues Vossius, unretrieved. Cornelis had met Christian Ravius in Stockholm in 1636, as Ravius testified in a letter to Vossius, dated 46 02 13, "filius tanti viri Cornelius Grotius in Suecia Holmia mihi fuerat familiaris. Is me Belgium anno 1636 petentem commendarat . . . Matthaeo Vossio . . . filio tuo" [the son of such a great man, Cornelius Grotius, was friends with me in Stockholm, Sweden. He recommended me, when I was going to Holland in 1636, to your son Matthaues Vossius], UBA, L 129a; I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer.

⁸ Martinus Hortensius, or van den Hove (1605–1639), professor of mathematics at the Amsterdam Athenaeum Illustre from 1634. A dedicated astronomer, he was the first Dutch professor openly to proclaim and defend the Copernican heliocentric system. If he had assented with Vossius' suggestion of him trying to become professor of mathematics in Amsterdam in **84c**, Junius might have held the position in Hortensius' stead. Nicolaas Hase (fl. 1644), an Amsterdam philosopher and physician. Cf. *NNBW* 1.1160–64, van Berkel (1997), Jöcher 2.1393.

⁹ Presumably Charles Cavendish (1620–1643), who made a journey to the Near

Hasius, he also made such a good impression on the three of us that we considered him worthy of our love—well, also of the love of all right-minded people. Still, I do not intend to burden someone so busy with all kinds of affairs, but you must do what you can; which will be most welcome to me—and know me to be most prepared to do the like in the hope of your gratitude. The noble Mr. Boswell has roused his hopes that together with an Englishman famous by magnificence of birth he can go to the most illustrious ambassador of the serene King Charles who is staying in Constantinople. He has no wish as ardent as to be gratified in this. For this reason also, I know, you will not have your support be wanting in this respect, if you are able to do anything.

- c You will have heard of my son Joannes' death in the East Indies elsewhere long before, I suppose. I wrote about it to the right reverend and most illustrious lord archbishop, so that he to whom it is of the greatest importance to know would not remain uninformed. Such are human expectations. I had hoped it would finally be alright after such great expenses, and my son had roused great expectations of himself. Our dignitaries here had already conceived the intention to honour him with a splendid rank, which could have gilded him completely, so to speak; but God ordained otherwise. From his library I miss too many books which I had given to him, and among them some of which I absolutely fail to see how to recover them in this country.

East, including visits to Cairo and Turkey, from 1638 to 1641. Ravius did not join him to Constantinople, but did travel with him later. Sir Sackville Crowe, the English ambassador at Constantinople from 1638, was indeed to offer Ravius lodgings. Cf. *DNB* 9.343, Toomer (1996:135n, 143, 145), personal communication Gerald Toomer.

¹⁰ Joannes Vossius had died in the Indies in 1636, but Vossius had only heard so in the autumn of 1637, **111d^a**, **115d^a**. Junius may have been informed of Joannes' death in an unretrieved letter from one of the members of the Junius family, for instance the one by Johanna to which Junius referred in **f**.

¹¹ Vossius informed Archbishop Laud, who had concerned himself with arranging a Cambridge fellowship for Joannes, **59b**, of Joannes' death in a letter dated 37 10 10, cf. Colomesius 1.128.

¹² For the use of "inaurare" in this context, **112d**.

¹³ The books which had been sent back to Holland from Cambridge in 1635 had evidently not comprised all of Joannes' library, since many had been on loan to his creditors, **102e^a**.

- d** Intelligo de nova Vitruvii editione te cogitare.¹⁴ Sane placet animus. Et in nostris, °sive τοῦ μακαρίτου filii malis, vetus erat editio Florentina, quam usui tibi futuram arbitrarer.¹⁵ Habeo alioqui et alteram ibidem excusam non multo post curante Iocundo Veronense.¹⁶ Si usui esse possit transmittam.
- e** Clarissimus Salmasius, vir nunquam satis laudatus, magnas tibi gratias agit pro opere tuo de Pictura, et ἀντίδωρον mittit quae de Usuris scripsit. Unum est volumen, sed eiusdem argumenti iam alterum sub praelo est.¹⁷
- f** De excessu °tristissimo Corneliae meae suavissimae et eruditissimae | virginis, scio iam cognoris ex sorore Brunaea.¹⁸ Eo magis tristitia illa °mihi refricare animus non est.
- g** Quaeso, mi affinis, ne tam segnis sis in scribendo. Tueberis te exemplo meo. Sed si vitam meam tam molestam et occupatam nosset, facile excusaveris.
- h** Uxor nunc Amersforti est apud °Naeranam sororem; idque auctore medico, qui arbitrabatur usque adeo valetudinariam recreari posse tum aere eius loci meliore, tum °alloquio sororis et amicorum, quos alios, in his Thinsium affinem, habet.¹⁹

d sive . . . malis: \sive . . . malis/ | **f** tristissimo: *c, p* - | mihi refricare: *c, p* refricare mihi | **h** Naeranam: *c, p* Neranam | alloquio: *p* colloquio

¹⁴ Considering the use of “intelligo,” as well as the rest of the section, Vossius had heard of Junius’ intended Vitruvius project from somebody else and forgotten that Junius had already informed him of it two years and a half before in **105h**.

¹⁵ Probably the “Editio Florentina” of 1496, **105h**. In view of Vossius’ use of the past tense “erat,” of “alioqui” to distinguish this copy from the next, and of the singular “possit” in reference to the copy he might send, Vossius did not have this copy with him, cf. below. Since Junius had asked George Stearne for this Vitruvius from Joannes’ books in Cambridge but had not received it in 1635/36, **105h**, it may have been really lost. Furthermore, while Vossius provided two rather old Vitruvius editions for Johannes de Laet’s edition of Vitruvius (1649), and one of these was by Philander (first published 1544), no “Editio Florentina” was mentioned by de Laet, **105h**, **164b**. Vossius probably did not yet have the Philander at the time of the present letter. Cf. Ottenheym (1998:219).

¹⁶ Probably *M. Vitruvius Pollio, De architectura libri decem . . .* (Florence: Giunta, 1522), of which Vossius had a copy in his library. The Giunta editions of 1513 and 1522 presented a new collation of Fra Giocondo G., *M. Vitruvius Pollio, De architectura libri decem . . .* (Venice: Ion. de Tridino, 1511). Cf. Rademaker (1996:35), Ebert (1830, nos. 23826, 23827).

- d** I have heard that you are thinking of a new Vitruvius edition. The idea is truly appealing. Among our, or my *late* son's books, if you prefer, there was an old Florentine edition, which I think can be of use to you. Anyway, I also have a second one printed there not much later, edited by Giocondo Veronensis; I will send it over if it is of use to you.
- e** The most illustrious Salmasius, a gentleman never praised enough, gives you many thanks for your book *On Painting* and sends what he wrote *On Usury* as a *return gift*. It is one volume, but a second one on the same subject is in press now.
- f** You have already heard of the tragic death of my Cornelia, a sweetest and educated girl, from Sister de Brune, I know. I accordingly do not intend to renew those sorrows any further.
- g** I beg you not to be so lazy in writing, my brother. You will defend yourself with my example, but if you knew how burdened and occupied my life is, you would easily forgive me.
- h** My wife is in Amersfoort now with Sister Naeranus, and this on advice of the physician, who believed that the patient can recover quite well because of both the better atmosphere of that place and the company of Sister and the other friends she has, among whom relative Thin.

¹⁷ Claudius Salmasius, *De usuris liber* (Leiden, 1638). The second book appeared as *De modo usurarum liber* (Leiden, 1639). They concern the scholarly debate on lending at interest prompted by Deuteronomy 23:19–20, which condemns lending at interest to one's brothers but allows it to strangers. According to Salmasius, usury should not be allowed between Christian countries at war, but is lawful once war is over; in other words, lending at interest is lawful between friends, not enemies. Salmasius had sent the copy for Junius to Isaac Vossius and Vossius, indicating to the latter "oblitus fueram tibi gratias agere pro libro De pictura Iunii affinis. Exemplar hoc etiam habes quod ei curabis, Usuram pro Pictura" [I had forgotten to thank you for your brother-in-law Junius' book *On Painting*. You may have this copy to further it to him; Usury in return for Painting], undated, Clemens (1656, no. 123). Cf. Nelson (1949:i–xxi, 97).

¹⁸ Cornelia Vossius had died from the icy water when the sleigh in which she, her sister Johanna, brother Matthaëus, cousin Franciscus Junius F.N.—not Junius himself, as Rademaker (1981:336) suggests—and two others were making a ride crashed through thin ice in January. Joost van den Vondel, **129e**, and Jan de Brune wrote funerary poems. Johanna Junius's letter to Junius, informing him of the accident, is unretrieved; it may have been the one which also gave notice of Joannes Vossius' death, **c**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:335–37).

¹⁹ The physician was probably Hase, **b**. Thin, details unidentified, was a relative of Samuel Naeranus, cf. Rogge (1900:20).

- i** Excuditur opus nostrum gemini argumenti, de Theologia Gentium et Physiologia °Christiana; iamque perventum ad philyram centesimam, sive id clarius, ad alphabetum quinctum.²⁰ Excuditur et Scylax Caryandenus filii mei Isaaci.²¹ Qui et de Ptolemaei Geographicorum nova editione consilium suscepit.²² Vide ecquibus *codicibus* ex Anglia *manuscriptis* iuvare possis.²³ Multa enim in eo corruptissime nunc leguntur.²⁴
- j** Quaeso meo nomine salutes quos mei in Britannia scis amantes. Catalogum nunc texere non est animus. Vale, optime affinis, et a nobis omnibus salve, etiam cognato tuo Brunaeo, qui post suum ex Anglia reditum nobiscum Amstelodami vivit.²⁵
°Anno MDCXXXVIII, III kalendas Iulias *stilo novo*.

¹¹⁷ 119₁₂₀ 38 07 24 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO GROTIUS (PARIS)¹

- A** [Illustrissimo Domino H. de Groot, Sueci regni ad °Christianissimum Regem Legato, Lutetiae Parisiorum.]
- a** Tuus in me animus tuumque de me iudicium, utrum mihi plus dignitatis in perpetuum an voluptatis quotidie sit allaturus non facile dixerim.² Crebro regusto tuas litteras atque in iis acquiesco; sollicitudines tantum meas tua °indies merita magis excitant, ne quid aut

i Christiana: [*gentilium* > Christiana] | **j** Anno: *c, p* –
119A Christianissimum: Christianissimion | **a** indies: *e* in dies

²⁰ Vossius, *De theologia gentili, et physiologia Christiana, sive de origine ac progressu idololatriae deque naturae mirandis, quibus homo adducitur ad Deum, libri quatuor* (Amsterdam, 1641), dedicated—without letter—to the clergy of the Church of England by Vossius as canon of Canterbury, although Vossius had meant to dedicate it to Archbishop Laud, **129h**. It was bound with Dionysius Vossius' *Maimonides*, **94a, 152a**. Stimulated by Dionysius' *Maimonides* and in an effort to nullify charges of idolatry towards the Remonstrants, Vossius comprehensively discussed the mythologies and cult forms of Greek and Roman antiquity and of Celtic, Germanic and Native American societies, and also described a whole array of natural phenomena which were believed to have been created to give mankind natural knowledge of God, on the basis of material derived from previous authors. The work was received well and reprinted several times in the seventeenth century. Junius' copy not found in UBL. Composition of a book for printing comprised the numbering of sheets with twenty-three signatures from A to Z (excluding I/ J, U/ V and W), then Aa to Zz, and so on, so that the fifth alphabet began with sheet ninety-three. Cf. Rademaker (1981:306–09, 368–69), Katchen (1984:24–25, 162–65, 287–90), Gaskell (1972:51–52), **106a, 112a**.

i Our book with the double subject, *On Pagan Religion and Christian Natural Science*, is being printed and has already reached the one-hundredth quire, or if this is clearer, the fifth alphabet. My son Isaac's *Scylax of Caryanda* is being printed as well. He has also formed a plan for a new edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*. See whether you can help him to any manuscript codices from England, for many passages in it are read corruptly now.

j I pray you to greet those whom you know to be devoted to me in England on my behalf; I do not intend to draw up a list. Farewell, excellent Brother, and all of us are wishing you well; also your nephew de Brune, who has been staying with us in Amsterdam after his return from England.

In the year 1638 on the third before the Kalends of July new style [29 Jun.].

119 38 07 24 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO GROTIUS (PARIS)

A To the most illustrious Mr. H. de Groot, ambassador of the kingdom of Sweden to the most Christian king, Paris.

a I could not easily say whether your inclination for me and your opinion of me will bring me more dignity forever, or more delight every day. I frequently read over your letter and rejoice in it; daily your merits are just more rousing my anxiety not to lose anything of either your love or opinion. I do not know what I can do—or

²¹ For Isaac Vossius' *Scylax* (1639), **126b**.

²² For Isaac's description of his intended edition of Ptolemy, **126a**.

²³ Junius helped Isaac to two manuscripts from the Arundel Library, **126a**, **129g**.

²⁴ The current edition was the one by Vossius' former preceptor Petrus Bertius, *Ptolemaei theatri geographiae veteris . . .* (Amsterdam, 1618/9), which had the Greek text collated with Palatine codices, and included a corrected Latin translation. According to Ebert, it is a praiseworthy work, but the Greek shows numerous mistakes. Cf. Ebert (1830, no. 18217).

²⁵ Jan de Brune had gone to England presumably in March 1638, **121c**.

¹ *o*: BN, NAF 14.823, f. 73; address lost but copied, as *c*, in an unidentified hand, "inscriptio erat [A]." In the top margin, in Grotius' hand, "receptae 21 de Septembris." *e*: BWGrotius 9.3670—the original is not lost, as n1 suggests.

² This section consists entirely of quotations, Junius' favourite form of composition, cf. Introduction. Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* 10.24.1.9–12, "amor enim tuus ac iudicium de me utrum mihi plus dignitatis in perpetuum an voluptatis cottidie sit adlaturus non facile dixerim."

ex amore aut ex iudicio tuo deperdam.³ Ego quid possim nescio; vel potius, me parum posse sentio. Illud tamen tibi polliceor, me omnia quae te velle, quaeque ad res tuas pertinere arbitrabor, tanto studio officioque esse facturum, quanto tu in meis rebus studio semper fuisti, quod, quamquam intelligo me cum multis esse facturum, appetam tamen huius rei principatum, tuamque erga me benevolentiam, ut ut merita non °assequar, sedulo °imitabor.⁴

- b** Libellum nostrum de Pictura voluptati tibi fuisse minime miror, cum omnia nostra perinde ac nos ames; quum tamen scires fidem laudis ibi semper incertiolem, ubi certa est amicitia, iudicio quoque tuo benigne prorsus argumenti pondus adiicis, efficisque ut magis °credam caetera tibi placuisse, dum quaedam displicuisse testaris.⁵
- c** Exprimere verbis nequeo quam grate *Dominus* Seldenus ac Patricius Iunius acceperint salutationis officium tuis verbis allatum.⁶ Uterque certe humanitatem °hanc apud °animos tanti beneficii non immemores collatam esse profitetur. Ac forte iniecta apud Iunium mentione Heinsianarum (quae sub praelo esse dicuntur) annotationum in novum testamentum, interrogavi numquid varias lectiones codicis a Cyrillo patriarcha Constantinopolitano ad Regem nostrum transmissi vidisset *Dominus* Heinsius.⁷ Negabat id Iunius, spondebatque se exigenti tibi earum copiam paratissime facturum.⁸ Id te scire volui, si quid forte ea res ad cogitationes tuas pertineret.

a assequar: *e* assequor | imitabor: *e* imitabar | **b** credam: *e* credo | **c** hanc: *e* sane | animos: *e* animum

³ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 13.13.3.2–3, “crebro regusto tuas litteras atque in iis acquiesco;” *Epistulae ad Familiares* 10.23.7.2–3, “solicitudinesque meas cottidie magis tua merita exacuunt, ne quid aut ex amore aut ex iudicio tuo perdam.”

⁴ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* 6.22.3.1–4, “ego quid possim nescio, vel potius me parum posse sentio. illud tamen tibi polliceor, me quaecumque saluti dignitaeque tuae conducere arbitrabor tanto studio esse facturum quanto semper tu et studio et officio in meis rebus fuisti;” 11.6a.2.7–8, “quod quamquam intelligo me cum multis esse facturum, tamen appetam huius rei principatum;” 6.4.5.7–8, “benevolentiam tuam erga me imitabor, merita non adsequar.”

⁵ Grotius had thanked Junius for *De pictura* (1637) in **117**, and had suggested the reading “Lydiacis velis” for “Iudaicis velis” for a quotation from Claudian in it, **117b**.

⁶ Cf. **117c**.

⁷ Daniel Heinsius was currently publishing his extensive philological annotations to the Greek New Testament, *Sacrarum exercitationum ad Novum Testamentum libri XX* (Leiden, 1639), which he had been preparing for years. They were meant to be seen in conjunction with the “textus receptus” edited by the Leiden professor of Greek Jeremias Hoelzlin (1583–1641), and published by Elsevier (1633), for which Heinsius had written the preface. Since Heinsius was no friend of Vossius and a

rather, I think I can do too little; yet I promise you that I will do everything I believe to be wished by you and to concern your interests with as great devotion and kindness as the devotion you have always had for my interests, and although I understand I will do so together with many others, I will strive after the first place in this and zealously imitate your benevolence towards me, although I do not equal your merits.

b I am not in the least surprised that our booklet *On Painting* was a delight to you, because you love all that is ours in similar manner as you love us. But since you knew that the trustworthiness of praise is always more uncertain where friendship is certain, you have also immediately kindly lent weight of subject matter to your opinion and made that I better believe that the rest pleased you because you testify that certain matters displeased you.

c I cannot express in words with what pleasure Mr. Selden and Patrick Young received the obligation of greetings given on your behalf. Both confess in truth that this kindness has been placed with hearts which do not forget such a great favour. And when accidentally mention was made to Young of Heinsius' annotations on the New Testament (which are said to be in press), I inquired whether Mr. Heinsius had seen the variant readings of the codex sent to our king by Cyrillus, patriarch of Constantinople. Young denied this and promised to give you readily access to them if you ask so. I wanted you to know this, if it perhaps pertains to your considerations.

rival of both Claudius Salmasius and Grotius, **99f**, Vossius was sceptical about his achievements and even unfoundedly accused him of plagiarism and of having silently used Joseph Justus Scaliger's notes. Junius' readiness in helping Grotius to variant readings unknown to Heinsius was no doubt induced by a desire to have Grotius' annotations outshine Heinsius'. However, already in 1633, Patrick Young had actually sent Heinsius some, albeit few, excerpts from the *Codex Alexandrinus*, the fifth-century Greek codex of the Old and New Testament which Cyril Lucar (1572–1638), Patriarch of Constantinople, had presented to King Charles in 1627. They comprised variant readings from Hebrews 2.9, which Heinsius included in his commentary (p. 553). Grotius at first misinterpreted Junius' description of the material, **120b**. For a characterisation of the codex, now BL, Royal Ms 1.D.v–viii, and known as 'A' in the stemmata, cf. Kenyon (1909:8–11). Cf. de Jonge (1975:93–100; 1978), Sellin (1968:108–09).

⁸ Grotius liked to receive its variant readings, which were to form the principal reason for the writing of **120**, **122**, **123**, **124** and **125**. He used the material for his *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum* (1641), **152g**. In his annotations, he repeatedly proposed to replace the "textus receptus" with other readings, some of which from the *Codex Alexandrinus*. Cf. de Jonge (1983).

d Cura, ut valeas, meque ames amore illo tuo singulari, quem ut conserves non quo de tua constantia dubitem, sed quia mos est ita rogandi rogo.

Londinii, in aedibus Arundellianis, 14 Iulii 1638.

Tuus omni officio, Fr. Iunius.

¹¹⁹ **120** [38] 09 23 GROTIUS (PARIS) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

a Multis nominibus te amo, Iuni doctissime, et abs te vicissim amari magni facio. Scis quam vetus haec sit inter nos amicitia, quam firmas radices egerit. Caeterum in iis quae nuper scripsi perlecto tuo de Veterum Pictura libro, cave, credas quicquam a me huic amori datum. Sicut in causis iudices ita ex actis pronuntiant, ut amici inimicique non discernant personam, ita mihi in scriptis alienis facere mos est. Et in hoc quidem, quo certius mihi constet iudicii mei ratio, exquisivi et aliorum virorum eruditissimorum sententias, quas omnes °cum meae congruentes repererim, quae ultra restabat dubitandi causa?²

b Beasti me, quod *Domino* Seldeno et *Domino* Patricio Iunio memoriam mei renovasti.³ Plurimum ipsis debeo et publico nomine ob labores ipsorum, quibus humanum genus sunt demeriti, et privato, quod multis argumentis comperi eos mihi optime velle. Beneficium quod ultro offert *Dominus* Patricius Iunius, faciendi mihi copiam lectionum variantium quas e Graecis codicibus misit Cyrillus, maximi facio, ut debeo, neque tantum gratissimum erit id munus, sed et operam dabo, ut id quam plurimis prosit.⁴

c Venit iam ad vos *Dominus* P. Reigersbergius, cui uxor mea matertera est.⁵ Nemo est cui eum libentius quam tibi commendem. Rogo

a cum: e –

¹ *p1*: Junius, *De pictura* (1694:†††2). *p2*: *Epp. Grotius* 1031. *e*: *BWGrocius* 9.3772. The letter lacks a year, but must have been written in 1638, for it replies to **119**.

² Willem de Groot was one of the learned men who had praised Junius' *De pictura* (1637), **117aⁿ**.

³ Cf. **117c**, **119c**.

⁴ Patrick Young had promised Grotius variant readings from the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which Cyril Lucar had presented to King Charles, **119c**. Grotius misinterpreted Junius' description of the material in **119c**. For the use he made of it, cf. **119cⁿ**.

- d** Take care to be well and to love me with your extraordinary love, which I pray you to preserve not because I doubt your steadfastness, but because it is customary to ask so.
London, at Arundel House, 14 July 1638.
Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

120 [38] 09 23 GROTIUS (PARIS) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

- a** I love you for many reasons, most learned Junius, and make much of being loved by you in turn. You know how old this friendship is between us and what strong root it has taken. But concerning what I recently wrote upon reading your book *On the Painting of the Ancients*, beware of believing that I yield anything at all to this love. Just as judges in lawsuits verdict on the basis of facts in such a way that friend nor foe may perceive subjectivity, so I am accustomed to do concerning somebody else's writing. Actually, in order for the reasoning of my opinion to be more firmly established, I have also inquired after the opinions of other learned men, all of which I found to be consistent with mine. What reason to doubt is there any further?
- b** You have delighted me that you have remembered me to Mr. Selden and Mr. Patrick Young. I owe them very much both in public respect, because of their books, with which they have deserved well from humankind, and in private respect, because I have found by many signs that they wish me the best. As I should, I make much of the favour which Mr. Patrick Young is offering me of his own accord, of giving me access to the variant readings which Cyrillus sent from Greek codices, and this service will not only be most welcome, but I will also take pains that it be useful for as many people as possible.
- c** Mr. P. Reigersberg, whose aunt is my wife, is coming to you now. There is no one to whom I would commend him with more pleasure

⁵ Pieter van Reigersberch, the son of Maria van Reigersberch's eldest brother Johan (d. 1632), the former Steward-General of Zeeland West of the Scheld. Pieter was staying in Paris for several years, and had also been to Italy in 1637, cf. *BWGrotius* 8, s.v.

igitur tuo consilio efficias, ut haec peregrinatio ei fiat quam utilissima. Talis autem erit, si te tuique similes noverit. Vale quam suavissime. °Lutetiae, 23 Septembris novo calendario, cum tertio ante die tuas 14 Iulii datas accepissem.⁶

Tuus ὀλοσχερῶς °plane, H. Grotius.

121 38 09 24 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

a Ger.Io. Vossius Francisco Fr. Iunio affini optimo *salutem plurimam dicit*.

Videmur inter nos °certasse utrius silentium sit futurum magis pertinax. Placuit igitur id mihi abrumpere, praesertim tam commoda occasione, eunte ad vos Sictore Bohemo, viro optimo, et poeta minime malo, olim non regimine modo Scholae Pragensis, sed maiori etiam [gravi], °quam non satis dicere possem, dignitate perfuncto.²

b De excessu tristissimo etc. (de Cornelia, Iohanne, et caupone Londinensi, non magnae rei, confero) sequitur inde;³

c Adolescens ille, quem ante sesquiannum circiter tui invisendi gratia in Angliam profectum meministi, non idem nobis rediit, qui fuerat prius.⁴ Scis quantopere eum ante laudarem meis ad te literis.⁵ Nunc indies magis ad otium et ea quae otium sequuntur animum applicuit. Metuo interdum ne [..ct..s] et [p..g..] mihi °referatur domum, quod domui meae admodum ignominiosum sit, imo et familiae avitae. Nescio plane quid de hac vita futurum sit. Pro Latinis Graecisque literis [stilum] in vulgaribus se exercet.⁶ Ait alteram, quam mei insis-

c Lutetiae . . . Grotius: *e* Tuus . . . Grotius. Lutetiae . . . accepissem | plane: *e* – **121a** certasse: \certasse/ | quam: [- ..] quam | **c** referatur: [- ..] referatur

⁶ Letter **119**.

¹ *ca*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 40. The letter is extremely hard to decipher owing to both the great hurry in which it was written and the sometimes abridged representation of the original text. Written in 1638, not 1639, which *ICVossius* (1993:255) suggests, **d**.

² Jan Sictor Rokycanus (1593–1652), former notary at the Bohemian Court of Appeal during the reign of Frederick the Winter King, and Latin poet. An exile, he matriculated at Groningen in 1623, at Leiden in 1625, and moved to London between 1626 and 1629. He may have been on his return from a visit to the court in exile of Elizabeth of Bohemia in The Hague at the time. Cf. *ASG* (1915:13), *ASL* (1875:185), Truhlář and Hrdina (1982:88–99), personal communication Nicolette Mout.

³ **b** is a summary of a section in the original letter concerning the deaths of

than to you. I accordingly pray you to make this journey be as useful as possible for him by your advice. And it will be so, if he comes to know you and your equals. Farewell as sweetly as possible.

Paris, 23 September new style, when I had received your letter written on 14 July three days before.

Wholly *Especially* Yours, H. Grotius.

121 38 09 24 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

a Ger.Io. Vossius sends warmest regards to excellent Brother Francis Fr. Junius.

We seem to have contended among ourselves whose silence will be more obstinate. So it pleased me to break it, especially at such a convenient opportunity, since the Bohemian Sicto, an excellent gentleman and quite a fine poet, who used to be not only trustee of Prague University, but also honoured with a greater dignity which I cannot fully tell, is coming to you.

b About the most sad passing away (I condense; about Cornelia, Joannes and the London innkeeper something of little importance); it continues as follows.

c That young man whom you remember to have left for England to see you about half a year ago has returned to us not the same as he was before. You know how much I praised him before in my letter to you. Now he has been devoting his heart to leisure and to what follows leisure more each day. I sometimes fear that [. . .], he is returned [. . .] home to me, which is quite disgraceful to my family and also to his parental family. I really do not know what will happen with this life. Instead of Latin and Greek literature he is trying his pen in vernacular literature. He said that the other road, which my family is treading, is a long one to public offices. But I fear that the road which he is treading himself surely leads him to poverty. He seems to have breathed the life of the court now, and

Cornelia and Joannes Vossius, **118c, f**, and the London innkeeper whose relative had lent money to Joannes, **101f, 113d**.

⁴ Jan de Brune, who must accordingly have left for England by March 1638.

⁵ Vossius' letter to Junius unretrieved. Jan may have brought it with him to England to deliver it in person, so it had probably been written in March 1638.

⁶ Jan had composed Dutch poetry, **e**.

tunt, longam esse ad publica munera viam. Ac ego metuo ne via, quam ipse calcat, plane ad pauperiem eum ducat. Videtur aulam spirasse [hactenus], ac porro id facere.⁷ Mihi vero id vitae genus in iuuenili aetate prorsus improbatur. Domo nobis [annum] adfuit vel circiter.⁸ Nihil non adolescentis caussa volo. Neque desum fidelibus monitis. Nihilominus fiduciam quoque sumsi °de hoc ad te scribendi. Paternum me tenet exemplum, cui nolim eum insistere.⁹ Tanto aequius est te, meque tempori cogitare de isto, priusquam serum erit. Haec ego raptim in chartam conieci, quam ubi acceperis combures. Nihil enim attinet, si tibi humanitatis quid evenerit, in eius manum venire. Et cogita esse alia, quot nolim chartis committere. Si is esse velit quem optamus, magno et matri et sororibus solatio erit. Caeteroquin, sed nolo male ominari.

d (de Konsto, et opere eius de Pictura etc).¹⁰ Salutent te etc. Amsterodami, MDCXXXVIII, XXIV Septembris stylo Gregoriano; τὰχιστα.¹¹

e De adolescente hoc cogitandum, cum ex suis non possit, unde sit victurus; nisi aliam insistat studiorum viam, nec se componat ad mores eorum qui opibus affluunt.¹² Monitis, ut dixi, non deero, sed bona verba [. . .]. Edit belgice °epigrammata de osculis.¹³ Non sum ita tetricus, ut ferre id non possem, si graviora addat studia. Insurre ei,

°Est aliquid quo tendis et in quod dirigis arcum?
An passim sequeris corvos testaque lutoque.¹⁴

c de: [- quasi] de | **e** epigrammata: [poemata > epigrammata] | Est: [Esse > Est]

⁷ Jan hoped to come to Prince Frederick Henry's attention, **129d**. He had also recently composed a sixteen-page laudatory poem for Marie de Medicis, mother of Louis XIII of France and the English Queen Henrietta Maria, who visited Amsterdam from 1 to 5 September 1638, cf. Worp (1890:88).

⁸ Jan had stayed with Vossius for a year in 1635–36, **103d**, **106c**.

⁹ Isaac de Brune had tended to be irresolute and little successful in his various enterprises, **7f**, **49c**.

¹⁰ As in **b**, Vossius condensed the original text, so that "eius" refers to Junius, "Konsto" probably to the manuscript of *Schilder-konst* (1641), the Dutch translation of *De pictura* (1637), on which Junius may have been working at the time, **129e**.

¹¹ Although it looks like "MDCXXXVIII" in *ca*, the year cannot be 1639, which *ICVossius* (1993:255) suggests. By October 1639, Jan de Brune had not yet returned from a visit to England of several months, **131b**, whereas he had done so from another visit by June 1638, **c**, **118j**. Furthermore, since he stayed in The Hague

to do so further. But this kind of life at a young age is wholly rejected by me. He was a year or thereabouts with us in our house. I only want what is for the young man's sake. And I do not fail in sincere admonitions. Nevertheless, I have also taken courage to write you about it. His father's example, which I would not want him to follow, holds me. The more reasonable it is for you and me to think about him in time, before it will be too late. I have quickly put this to paper, which you must burn as soon as you have received it, for it is of no use at all that it comes to his hand if something human happened to you. And consider that there are other matters, as many as I do not want to commit to paper. If he wants to be whom we hope, he will be a great comfort to both his mother and sisters. Otherwise—but I do not want to predict evil.

d (about *Schilder-konst* and about his book *On Painting* etc.) They greet you etc.

At Amsterdam, 1638, 24 September Gregorian style. *In haste*.

e About the young man it must be considered how he will sustain himself, because he cannot do so from his own resources, unless he enters a different road of studies and does not assume the habits of those who abound in riches. I will not be wanting in admonitions, as I said, but beautiful words [. . .]. He is publishing poems on kisses in Dutch. I am not so gloomy that I cannot bear this, if he adds more serious studies. Please, insinuate him,

Is there anything at which you are aiming and to which you direct the bow?

Or do you follow ravens at random with potsherds and clods.

for several days until 39 09 25, Vossius could hardly have written the present letter from Amsterdam on 39 09 24. Cf. *ICVossius* (1993:254–55).

¹² Jan de Brune was slowly usurping his sisters' money too, **131b**.

¹³ Jan de Brune, *Veirzjes van Jan de Brune* (Amsterdam, 1639), a collection of Dutch poems, one part of which is called "Kusiens" [Kisses]; others are "Gesangen" [Hymns], and "De Honichbye. Rymen van Joh. Junianus Brunaeus" [The Honeybee. Poems of J.J.B.]. One of the poems mourned over Cornelia Vossius' death, **118f**. Franciscus Vossius and Pieter de Groot had contributed liminary poems. Cf. Worp (1890:88–90).

¹⁴ Persius Flaccus, *Saturae* 3.60–61, "Est aliquid quo tendis et in quod derigis arcum?/An passim sequeris corvos testaque lutoque."

f Dum haec scribo, advenit et cognatus de la °Haije, gener Gomari.¹⁵ Abrumpo igitur. Vale, et me, quo [animo] sollicitere de familia parentis tui, °amare ne desiste. Nam haec quoque scribens bene de ea mereor, aut nimis quantum fallor. Quo minus hasce literas Vulcano dandas, ne obliviscere. Idem faciam in tuis.

⁰ 122₁₂₃ 39 01 22 GROTIUS (PARIS) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

- a** Vir eruditissime,
Is, qui ad me et a *Domino* Vossio et abs te commendatrices attulit literas, quaecunque a me praestari poterunt tantis suffragatoribus facile obtinebit.² Te bene valere et opportuno ad studia frui otio plurimum gaudeo.³
- b** *Dominus* Patricius Iunius ita est de literis meritus, ut ab amantibus literas omnibus amari debeat.⁴ Accedet ad communem causam privata, ex qua me debitorem habeat, si ipsius beneficio, quod ipsius nomine et *Dominus* Goffius mihi obtulit, nancisci possim codicis Cyrilliani novi federis excerpta.⁵ Mitti autem tuto chartae poterunt ad *Dominum* Ternerium, qui discedente iam hinc illustrissimo *Domino* legato Scutamorio mansurus hic est, ut filii eius institutioni praesit.⁶ Vale, vir mihi multis nominibus carissime.
Dabantur Lutetiae, XII/XXII Ianuarii MDCXXXIX.
Tuus ut semper tuo iure, H. Grotius.

f Haije: [- *hyii*] Haije | amare: [- *a qu*] amare

¹⁵ David de la Haye.

¹ c: RGB, RK Cat. Mss 674. p: *Epp. Grotius* 1106. e: *BWGrotius* 10.3940.

² Christian Ravius went to see Grotius on his journey to the Levant, **118a**. Junius' letter of commendation to Grotius unretrieved.

³ This is the first attested reference to a change in Junius' daily occupations. Although his tutorship to Arundel's grandchildren officially continued until 1640, it had probably become largely nominal, leaving him time not only for studies, but also for the duty of librarian to the Arundel collection, **131a**. Cf. ARA, p. 3.

⁴ Patrick Young had promised Grotius variant readings from the *Codex Alexandrinus*, **119c**.

f While I am writing this, relative de la Haye, Gomarus' son-in-law, has arrived as well. So I break off. Farewell, and do not stop to love me with the inclination with which you must concern yourself with your father's family, for also by writing this I am deserving well from it, or I am deceived very much indeed. Do not forget that this letter must be given to Vulcan. I will do likewise with yours.

122 39 01 22 GROTIUS (PARIS) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

a Most learned sir,
He who brought me letters of recommendation from both Mr. Vossius and you will easily get whatever I can do thanks to such great supporters. I am glad that you are well and are enjoying convenient leisure for studies.

b Mr. Patrick Young has deserved so well with respect to the arts that he should be loved by all lovers of the arts. To a general reason a private one will be added, by virtue of which he has me under an obligation, if I am able to get the excerpts from the New Testament of the *Codex Cyrillianus* by his favour, which Mr. Goffe also offered to me on his behalf. The sheets can safely be sent to Mr. Turner, who is staying here—although the most illustrious Mr. ambassador Scudamore is leaving from here now—to take the education of the latter's son upon himself.

Farewell sir, who are dearest to me for many reasons.

Written in Paris, 12/22 January 1639.

As always deservedly your H. Grotius.

⁵ Stephen Goffe, King Charles' agent on the Continent. Grotius wanted excerpts from the New Testament for his *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum* (1641), **119c**, **152g**.

⁶ John Scudamore (1601–1671), first viscount Scudamore, was the English ambassador in Paris from 1634, and a friend of Grotius. Since she had been slighted by the French queen, Lady Scudamore returned to England, and Scudamore was currently about to follow her home. His chaplain Matthew Turner stayed behind as a tutor to James Scudamore (1624–1668), who stayed in Paris for several more years. Cf. *DNB* 51.154–57.

¹²² **123** ¹²⁴ 39 02 09 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO GROTIUS [PARIS]¹

A °[Eminentissimo viro *Domino* Hugoni Grotio.]

a Vir illustrissime,

Commodum *Dominus* Patricius Iunius transcribi curaverat bonam partem *variarum* lectionum codicis Cyrilliani Novi Foederis, quum ecce litterae tuae advolant.² Eas ut vidit, obvia statim humanitate non modo tradidit mihi *varias* hasce *lectiones* in omnes epistolas, verum etiam, si operam hanc non ingratham tibi fuisse intelliget, spondit se pari cura excerpturum quidquid in *Apocalypsin*, *Acta apostolorum* ac tria Evangelia notatu dignum occurret; desideratur enim in vetustissimo codice totum fere Evangelium Matthaei.³

b *Dominus* Seldenus unice tibi commendari cupit.⁴ Sub praelo est opusculum eius nescio cuius argumenti, sed quemadmodum plura in eo potissimum ex Orientalium linguarum scriptoribus congegit, ita dum inter alia disquirat quatenus olim Iudaei cum aliis nationibus atque aliae vicissim nationes cum Iudaeis commercium habuerint, inserit operi suo diatribam de Iudaicis velis et nihil in istis Claudiani verbis immutandum esse multis adstruit.⁵

c Quod affinis Vossii meaque commendatione adductus nihil non officii ac beneficii in Christianum Ravium paratus es conferre vehementer nobis gratum esse debet; quin imo dandam nobis posthac operam video, ut hanc tuam benevolentiam apud gratos homines praeclare positam esse deprehendas.⁶ Quod superest, Deum immor-

A: e -

¹ o: BN, NAF 14823, f. 75; address lost but copied in an unidentified hand, "inscriptio erat: [A]." On the verso, in Grotius' hand, "(30 Ian. 1639 Fr. Iunius)." e: *BWGrotius* 10.3967.

² Patrick Young had promised Grotius variant readings from the *Codex Alexandrinus*, **119c**. In **122b**, Grotius had asked for excerpts from the New Testament.

³ In view of the use of "hasce" and of Grotius' thanks in **124a**, the variants in the Letters were enclosed with the present letter; cf. Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, **126c**, to Claudius Salmasius, "Epistolarum quarundam varias ad Grotium Iunius per Fr. Iunium misit" [Young has sent variants from certain Letters to Grotius via Fr. Junius], 39 08 15, Dibon and Waquet (1984, no. 21). Twenty-five leaves of Matthew, from 1.1 to 25.6, are wanting in the codex. The quality of the New Testament text of the *Codex Alexandrinus* varies; it is not high in the Gospels, high

123 39 02 09 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO GROTIUS [PARIS]

A To the most eminent Mr. Hugo Grotius.

a Most illustrious sir,

Conveniently, Mr. Patrick Young had had a good part of the variant readings of the *Codex Cyrillianus* of the New Testament copied, when look, your letter came flying. As soon as he had seen it, he not only immediately gave me these variant readings in all the Letters with his ready kindness, but, if he learnt that this service would not be unwelcome to you, also promised with similar care to select whatever appeared worthy of noting down in the Apocalypse, the Acts of the Apostles and three Gospels—for almost the whole Gospel of Matthew is wanting in the very old codex.

b Mr. Selden wishes to be especially commended to you. A small book of his on a subject I do not know is in press, and just as he collected in it much principally from authors in Oriental languages, so he inserted a learned discussion on Jewish cloths in his book when investigating, among other things, to what extent the Jews used to have contact with other peoples and other peoples with the Jews in turn, and in many arguments he added that nothing in those words of Claudian need be changed.

c We must be extremely grateful that, incited by Brother-in-law Vossius' and my recommendation, you are prepared to grant only favours and kindness to Christian Ravius; well, I even see that we must take pains from now on to make you recognize that your kindness is clearly placed with grateful men. What remains: I pray eternal God that such a happy end follows all your considerations both

in the other New Testament books and highest in Revelation, according to Aland and Aland (1989:118). For Grotius' use of the readings, **119c**. Cf. Kenyon (1909:8).

⁴ Cf. **117c**, **119c**, **120b**.

⁵ Grotius had suggested the reading "Lydiacis velis" for "Iudaicis velis" for a quotation from Claudian in Junius' *De pictura* (1637), **117b**. In *De iure naturali et gentium, iuxta disciplinam Ebraeorum, libri septem* (London, 1640), John Selden devoted 2.9 to the problem of the Judaic veils, and argued that the veils were curtains depicting amazing Indian animals which had been heard of, and decorated the rich courts of especially Jews who lived in the Orient in Claudian's time. In his discussion why "Iudaicis" should not be replaced by the name of another people, he briefly mentioned Junius (p. 243) and included an account of their discussion with respect to Grotius' suggestion, **124b**.

⁶ Cf. **122a**.

talem precor ut omnes cogitationes tuas et privatim et publice tam laetus sequatur eventus, ut aeterna laude florentem virtutis tuae gloriam et incolumis et fortis aliis super alia operibus augeas.
Raptim; in aedibus Arundellianis, XXX Ianuarii MDCXXXIX.

¹²³ 124₁₂₅ 39 02 19 GROTIUS (PARIS) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

A °Viro summae eruditionis Francisco Iunio in familia *illustrissimi* Comitissae Arundellii.

a Vir eruditissime,

Plurimum Iuniis duobus Patricio Franciscoque debeo pro datis liberaliter, transmissis diligenter lectionum discrepantiis.² Sunt in illis °observatu digna non pauca quibus suus erit usus, sed nunc maxime evangelia me occupant; quare si cumulare beneficium beneficio °velitis et me earum lectionum quae ad Marcum, Lucam, Iohannem pertinent compotem facere, felicem me tanto munere iudicabo.³ Rogo autem, ut tua comitate °et gratiae agantur *Domino* Patricio, quod haec mihi praestiterit, sed et *Domino* Seldeno, quod vir meo iudicio maximus, mei vivat memor.⁴ Exspectabimus eius quicquid est.⁵ Non potest enim non egregium esse quod ab ipso proficiscitur.

b De loco Claudiani et mihi in mentem venerat posse defendi, si animantium, non quae conspiciuntur, sed quae finguntur, formas velis impressas intelligamus.⁶ Vale, °Iuni optime.

°Scribebam Lutetiae, IX/XIX Februarii °anni MDCXXXIX.

A: *c1, c2, c3, p, e* – | **a** observatu: *c3* observatione | velitis: *c1, c2, c3, e* velis | et: *c3* – | **b** Iuni: *c2, c3* vir | Scribebam . . . Grotius: *c1* Tuus . . . Grotius. Scribebam . . . intelligam; *c2, c3* Scribebam . . . MDCXXXIX. Tuus . . . Grotius. Res . . . intelligam | anni MDCXXXIX: *c1, p, e* MDCXXXIX; *c2* anno 1639.

¹ *o*: BLO, Ms Selden supra 108, f. 72. *c1*: RGB, RK Cat. Mss 674. *c2*: Berlin, Staatsbibl. Preus. Kult., coll. Spanheimiana 62d. *c3*: Cambridge, UB, Ms KK 5.38, pp. 319–320. *p*: *Epp. Grotius* 1126. *e*: *BWGrotius* 10.3982; *o* was not yet known then, cf. *BWGrotius* 17, p. 684. Gerald Toomer has brought *o* to my attention, and provided its transcription for me.

² With **123** were sent variant readings from the *Codex Alexandrinus* collected by Patrick Young, **123a**.

³ The *Codex Alexandrinus* lacks most of the Gospel of Matthew, **123a**. Grotius was especially interested in the Gospels as he was working on his *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum* (1641), **119c**, **152g**.

in private and in public that, sound and vigorous, you may enrich the flourishing glory of your excellence with books upon books to eternal praise.

In haste; at Arundel House on 30 January 1639.

124 39 02 19 GROTIUS (PARIS) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

A To the gentleman of greatest erudition Francis Junius, in the house of the most illustrious Earl of Arundel.

a Most learned sir,

I owe very much to the two Juniuses, Patrick and Francis, for the discrepant readings generously presented and diligently sent. Among them there are many worthy of note, which will have their use, but at the moment the Gospels occupy me most; so, if you wish to heap a favour upon a favour and make me sharing in those readings which pertain to Mark, Luke and John, I will believe myself lucky with such a great service. I pray that through your kindness thanks will also be given to Mr. Patrick, because he has done this for me, but also to Mr. Selden, so that the greatest man—to my opinion—continues to remember me. We are looking forward to whatever it is of his, for it must be excellent what originates from him.

b As for the passage of Claudian, I was also thinking that it can be defended if we infer that images not of the living creatures we see but of the ones we imagine were depicted on cloths. Farewell, excellent Junius.

I wrote in Paris, 9/19 February 1639.

⁴ Cf. **123b**.

⁵ Selden's *De iure naturali* (1640), to which Junius referred in **123b**, was currently in press.

⁶ In his chapter on the Judaic veils, **123b**, Selden included an account of their discussion with respect to Grotius' suggestion, "Dum haec cogitabamus, monitum de Claudiani loco accepit a viro amplissimo summoque Hugone Grotio cognatus eius [!] Franciscus Iunius, in literis scilicet, quibus doctissimi eius de Pictura Veterum operis nomine gratiam ei egit. Pro Iudaicis forte substituendum "Lydiacis," quod in scriptione veteri manifesto quidem proximum. Id mecum communicavit Iunius et de loci sensu, qualem iam exhibui, paucis una disseruimus. Qua de re cum is rescripserat, a Grotio responsum est, dum hisce praelum calet, [*see this section*]. Tanti viri, utcunque de lectione subdubitantis, suffragio locum hunc non ornare nequibam" [When we were considering this, a warning for this place in Claudian from the

- c Res Scotiae si in melius procedant, laetus id intelligam.⁷
Tuus iure veteri, H. Grotius.

¹²⁴ 125 39 02 28 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO GROTIUS (PARIS)¹

A [Illustrissimo Domino Hugoni Grotio Suecici regni ad Christianissimum Regem Legato, Lutetiae Parisiorum].

a Clarissime Domine,
Tantum me tibi debere existimo, quantum persolvere difficile est.² Quamobrem etiam litteris tuis ad me perlatis, nihil mihi ad celeritatem tantae rei debitam reliqui feci, sed seposita inutili cunctatione, vix horae unius moram perpeusus, continuo ad *Dominum* Patricium Iunium properans percurro.³ Caeterum is, coalescentium regnorum spem dissociatis utrimque animis temere turbatam praecipuo quodam ac vix consolabili dolore aestimans, non dissimulanter ferebat horrida impendentium calamitatum imagine omnia sibi studia, omnes curas, omnia avocamenta penitus erepta excussaue.⁴

b Post multa denique luctuosa quae iusti doloris acerbitas moerenti suggerebat, suspiriis brevissime collecti spiritus ab imo pectore pertractis,⁵ “Mihi equidem sit nefas,” inquit,⁶ “desse tanto viro, publicum praesertim Christiani orbis negotium curanti; pollicitus sum, et certum

very distinguished and great Grotius was received by his relative Francis Junius, that is, in a letter in which he gave him thanks because of his most learned book *On the Painting of the Ancients*. “Iudaicis” must perhaps be replaced with “Lydiacis,” which is indeed clearly very similar in ancient writing. Junius informed me of it and we together discussed the meaning of the place, such as I have already shown, in some words. When (Junius) had written back about it, Grotius has replied, while the press is running hot from this (book), “(see this section).” I could not fail to honour this place with the judgement of such a great gentleman, although he somewhat doubts about the reading], (p. 247).

⁷ Charles I had deeply offended the Scots by several ill-advised policies, yet most deeply by his imposition of the new English Prayer Book on the Scottish Church in 1637, as Archbishop Laud had urged him to do. While the Scots united in their rejection of the new Prayer Book, Charles decided to send an English army to enforce the Scots to yield to his will and chose the earl of Arundel as Commander-in-Chief of the forces. The so-called First Bishops’ War between the English and the Scots took place without actual combat in May and early June 1639 and was concluded with the pacification of Berwick. It had, however, its sequel in the Second Bishops’ War, in which Arundel did not participate, from August to October 1640, when the English were defeated and Scotland occupied northern England. Cf. Smith (1997:223, 288–89), Trevor-Roper (1940: 338–45, 362–72, 394–95), Hervey (1921:411–15, 419–20).

- c** If the Scottish troubles take a turn for the better, I will be happy to know.
Yours by ancient right, H. Grotius.

125 39 02 28 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO GROTIUS (PARIS)

- A** To the most illustrious Mr. Hugo Grotius, ambassador of the kingdom of Sweden to the most Christian king, in Paris.

- a** Widely renowned sir,
I believe I owe you so much as is difficult to settle. For this reason, as soon as your letter had been delivered to me, I also made nothing be wanting in the haste due to such a great affair, but, laying aside useless tarrying and enduring hardly an hour's delay, I immediately hastened hurriedly to Mr. Patrick Young. But, with particular and hardly consolable grief valuing the hope of uniting the kingdoms, which has rashly been disturbed by estranged hearts on both sides, he visibly suffered from the fact that all his studies, all concerns, all diversions had been wholly snatched away and sent forth by the horrible thought of threatening calamities.
- b** Finally, after many sorrows, which the sharpness of justified grief prompted to him as he lamented, he said, heaving sighs of a briefly recovered breath from the bottom of his heart, "It were wrong for me indeed to fail such a great man, who cares for the public affairs of especially the Christian world. I have promised it, and it is certain that I keep the promise. I had the Letters, which had quite carefully

¹ *o*: BN, NAF 14823, f. 77; address lost but copied in an unidentified hand, "inscriptio erat [A]." In the top margin, in Grotius' hand, "acceptae 19 Martii 1639." *e*: BWGrotius 10.3996. *acceptae*: *e* *receptae*.

² Cicero, *Epistolae ad familiares* 11.11.2.

³ In **124a**, Grotius had asked Patrick Young for variant readings in the Gospels in the *Codex Alexandrinus*.

⁴ The First Bishops' War between England and Scotland was on the verge of breaking out; the king was in northern England by the end of March, **124c**.

⁵ Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 19.15.11, **65b**.

⁶ *e* has failed to notice that most of **b** is a paraphrase of Young's direct speech, so that the first person and other circumstances refer not to Junius, but to Young instead.

est servare fidem.⁷ Epistolas sollicite satis collatas exscribi curaveram, quod in iis maiores passim difficultates occurrere putarem, quaeque illum aliquantisper distinere possent.⁸ Evangeliiis nunquam adhuc parem curam impendi, existimans pauciora in iis notatu digna deprehendi.⁹ Ego totus nunc sum in collatione LXXII interpretum.¹⁰ Abest adhaec adolescens iste cuius opera in conferendo ac describendo uti soleo; propediem spero reversurum.¹¹ Satisfaciam itaque prima quaque occasione magni viri desiderio. Gratum interim erit quandoque recurrere ad codicem regium, si clarissimus vir non gravabitur nobis per litteras significare quae loca propter aliquam °lectionum varietatem aut ambiguitatem consulenda maxime putet.¹² Fiet id a me sedulo, usque dum plenam pollicitationis nostrae fidem praestare valeamus.” Haec summa responsi.

c Scio vera esse quae affert; quin etiam spatium aliquod (quantum ego iudico) interponi maluisset. Nihilominus tamen fide mea spondeo facturum quod recepit, si indicem locorum quorundam ad ipsum transmiseris.¹³ Quo festinantius hoc quaecumque est nuntio, ut desiderio tuo quoquo modo satisfiat.

d Dominus Seldenus etiam atque etiam rogare me non destitit ut te quam diligentissime resalutarem.
Ocyssime; °in aedibus Arundellianis, anno MDCXXXIX, 18 Februarii.
Tuus omni officio, °F.F.F. Iunius.

b lectionum: *e* lectionem | **d** in . . . Iunius: *e* Tuus . . . Iunius. In . . . Februarii | F.F.F.: *e* F

⁷ Grotius was preparing his *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum* (1641), **119c**, **152g**. Meanwhile, Johannes Fredericus Gronovius managed to acquire variant readings from the New Testament of the *Codex Alexandrinus* for Claudius Salmasius, cf. Dibon and Waquet (1984, nos. 2, 10, 43).

⁸ Young had already used variants occurring in the Letters in the *Codex Alexandrinus* for his own edition of Clemens Romanus' *Ad Corinthios epistola prior* . . . (Oxford, 1633), and had also sent them to Daniel Heinsius in 1633, **119c**. Cf. Kemke (1898:xvii–xviii, nos. 109, 111), Sellin (1968:108–09).

⁹ The quality of the Gospels of the *Codex Alexandrinus* is not high; moreover, the codex lacks most of the Gospel of Matthew, **123a**.

¹⁰ Young planned to publish an edition of the Septuagint of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, but did not manage to do so due to the troubles of the Civil War. His transcriptions and annotations have been preserved as BL, Hl. 7522A and B. Cf. Kemke (1898:xviii–xxv) Kenyon (1909:5).

¹¹ Young's amanuensis unidentified; he was not Christian Ravius, which *BWGrotius* 9:135n6 suggests. He was probably ill, for several months later, Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, **126c**, wrote to Claudius Salmasius about the amanuensis, “quem doc-

been collated, copied, because I thought rather great difficulties, which could engage him for some time, occurred in them throughout. I have never yet spent similar care on the Gospels, judging that rather few matters worthy of note were to be found in them. I am now wholly applying myself to a collation of the 70 translators. Furthermore, the young man whose assistance I usually enjoy in collating and transcribing is absent; I hope he will return soon. So I will fulfil the great man's wish at the first possible opportunity. Meanwhile, it will be a pleasure to return to the Royal Codex some time, if the widely renowned gentleman does not feel troubled to indicate to us in a letter which passages he thinks must be consulted most because of a variant reading or ambiguity; I will carefully do so, until we are capable of fulfilling the whole pledge of our promise."

c This is the chief point of the answer. I know that what he adduces is true, and that he had also preferred some time to pass in between (as far as I see). Nevertheless, on my faith I pledge that he will do what he has promised if you send him a list of passages. All the hastier I tell you this trifle, that your wish will be gratified in whatever way.

d Mr. Selden does not cease to ask of me again and again to return greetings to you as diligently as possible.

Very quickly; at Arundel House in the year 1639, 18 February.
Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

tum et diligentem nuperrime per santicum et desperatum morbum amisit" [a learned and diligent gentleman, whom (Young) has very recently lost through a critical and irremediable disease], 39 08 15, Dibon and Waquet (1984, no. 21).

¹² Young also offered this to Grotius via the German Vincentius Fabricius (1612–1667), a German tutor making a tour in England at the time, as Gronovius informed Salmasius in a letter dated 39 [05] 25. Cf. Dibon and Waquet (1984, no. 10).

¹³ The material from Young was finally sent to Grotius in the Spring of 1640 enclosed in an unretrieved letter from Junius to Grotius, which also informed the latter of Junius' intention to go to Holland, **137b**. Grotius accordingly sent his thanks for the material to Vossius, "Si scirem ubi esset nunc *vir nobilis* Franciscus Junius, mihi et paterno et suo et tuo nomine carissimus, gratias ei agerem maximas nec minores ei cognomini Patricio, quod hic ex vetustissimo codice, qui ex Graecia in Angliam venit et rumore augente vetustatem Theclae esse dicitur, variantes scriptiones in usum meum ac publicum describi permiserit, ille autem et descriperit mihi que miserit. Cum autem ex literis ipsius Francisci Iunii cognoverim iter ab eo cogitatum in Bataviam, si et iam venit, rogo, ut gratias agendi officio pro me defungaris ac pro me spondeas quicquid ipsi gratum a me proficisci potest. Feci ex illis variantibus scripturis aliquam προσθήκην ad nostra Annotata ad Evangelia; ea ad fratrem misi" [If I knew where the noble gentleman Francis Junius, who is most dear to me because of both his father's and his own, and your name, would be now, I would give him the greatest thanks, and no less thanks to his namesake

126 39 04 11 ISAAC VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Clarissimo et nobilissimo viro Francisco Iunio, Londinum.

a Clarissimo et maximo viro Francisco Iunio, avunculo; *salutem plurimam*.

Vix dixerim quantum mihi desiderium inieceris, charissime avuncule, °codicum Ptolemaei de quibus scripsisti in literis ad parentem.² Non possem non immortales referre gratias illi, per quem mihi illorum copia facta fuerit.³ Codicem Pircheimeri esse optimum et praesantissimum ex versione patet.⁴ Neque dubito quin etiam ex altero illo codice multa bona hauriri possint.⁵ A Claudio Salmasio nactus sum collationes codicum Palatinorum optimas et locupletissimas.⁶ Aggressus sum ornare illum librum novis tabulis, versione et libro commentario.⁷ Utinam hoc illustrissimus Comes °in tuam faceret gratiam et tu in meam, ut vel menstruam °concederet usuram.⁸ Totum me hac aestate decrevi dare illi geographo.

a codicum: [+ c]odicum | in: [+ in] | concederet: [+ co]ncederet

Patrick, because the latter had variant readings be copied from the very ancient codex which came from Greece to England and is said to have belonged to Thecla—rumour increasing its antiquity—for my use and that of the public weal, and the other one copied them and sent them to me. But since I understood from Francis Junius' own letter that he considered making a trip to Holland, if he has already arrived, I ask you to perform the duty of giving thanks on my behalf and to promise on my behalf everything welcome to him that can be done by me. From those variant writings I made an *appendix* to our *Annotations to the Gospels*; I sent it to Brother (Willem de Groot), 40 05 12, *BWGrocius* 11.4645. Since he had not yet mentioned the material in his previous letter to Vossius dated 40 02 02, Grotius presumably received it later than that date, cf. *BWGrocius* 11.4499.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 101. Although it reads 1638, the year should be 1639 for the following reasons: Gronovius went to England in 1639, not 1638, c; Isaac's *Scylax* appeared in 1639—cf. the present tense “do” in **b**; the borrowing of Arundel's Ptolemy codices took place in that year, **127b**, **128b**, **129g**. Isaac was notoriously careless in the dating of his letters, cf. Blok (1999:51, 80).

² Junius' letter to either his sister Elizabeth or to Vossius unretrieved; uncertainty about the addressee precludes translating “parentem” precisely. In reply to Vossius' entreaty in **118i**, Junius presumably indicated in it that Arundel's library possessed two Ptolemy manuscripts, which he might borrow for Isaac, cf. below. It may have been in the same letter that Junius promised to lend a manuscript from the library to Christian Ravius, as the latter was to write to Isaac from Constantinople, “Item mihi ad *excelentissimi* patris tui literas promisit Franciscus Iunius, *quod* MS.ta Bibliothecum Arondelliana promisit, idque Graecum” [Likewise, Francis Junius has promised to your most excellent father's letter that he has promised manuscripts from the Arundel library, and this a Greek one], 40 04 13, UBA III E 10, 347; I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer. If so, “parentem” would refer to Vossius.

126 39 04 11 ISAAC VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the widely renowned and noble gentleman Francis Junius, London.

a Warmest regards to the widely renowned and great gentleman Francis Junius, Uncle.

I could hardly say, dearest Uncle, what a great desire you have created in me for the Ptolemy codices about which you wrote in a letter to my parent. I can only give everlasting thanks to him through whom I will be given access to them. It is obvious on account of the translation that the Pirkheimer Codex is very good and excellent. And I do not doubt that many good matters can be drawn from that other codex as well. I have received very good and ample collations of Palatine codices from Claudius Salmasius. I have begun to supply this book with new maps, a translation and a commentary. I hope that the most illustrious earl would do this for your sake, and you for mine, to allow even one month's enjoyment of them. I have decided to devote myself completely to that geographer this summer.

³ Isaac probably meant he would make his acknowledgements to Junius in his publication.

⁴ The German humanist Willibald Pirkheimer (1470–1530) had prepared a Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Geography* possibly based on the text in the codex mentioned, which had first appeared in an edition of Ptolemy of 1525, and was probably best known in the two-volume Basle edition of 1541 and 1551. While on a diplomatic mission in Germany in 1636, the earl of Arundel had bought a large number of objects of art, manuscripts, incunables and sixteenth-century books from the Pirkheimer collection in Nuremberg. Evidently, among them was a manuscript of Ptolemy's *Geography* (unidentified), **129g**. Cf. Ebert (1830, no. 18230, 18213), Springell (1963), Pilz (1970:105–07).

⁵ William Petty had brought this copy for the earl of Arundel from Greece, **129g**.

⁶ Claudius Salmasius was Isaac's preceptor and stimulated him to prepare editions of Greek texts by providing him with material he had collected himself, cf. Blok (1999:27–44), ter Horst (1938, esp. 9, 13–14). Salmasius had frequented the Palatine Library in Heidelberg in search of rare manuscripts in 1606–09, cf. Leroy (1983:24), when he had probably collated the Palatine Ptolemy codices, now Vatic. Palatinus 314 and 388. He had also provided Isaac with transcriptions from the Palatine Library for his *Scylax* (1639), **b**.

⁷ Isaac did not publish Ptolemy. Having worked on the geographer for some time, he put his studies to rest for several years and had to admit upon resuming them in 1647 that he felt unable to provide an edition and commentary. In 1659, Isaac seems to have intended to resume his Ptolemy studies once again, **201e**. The current Ptolemy edition was one by Petrus Bertius (1618/9), **118i^a**. Cf. Blok (1999: 43–44).

⁸ Junius borrowed the codices for Isaac, **129g**.

- b** Interim tamen alia quoque facessere non intermitto. Et ecce, iam do Scylacem Caryandensem et alium hactenus ineditum, quamvis illos ab aliquot annis paratos habuerim.⁹ Brevi habebis Iunioris Xenophontis κνηγετικὸν ineditum itidem, nisi tu editionem, quod spero, adventu tuo praevenieris.¹⁰ Scylacis duo mitto exemplaria; unum tibi, alterum, si tanti visum fuerit, illustrissimo Comiti aut filio.¹¹ Vale, charissime et observande avuncule, et ne quaeso frustreris spem tui °totius, ex animo, Isaaci Vossii, cognati. Amstelodami, °MDCXXXIX, III idus Aprilis.
- c** Qui has literas defert est Fredericus Gronovius, vir doctissimus, quem ex scriptis nosti optime.¹²

b totius: [- an] toti | MDCXXXIX: MDCXXXVIII

⁹ Isaac Vossius, *Periplous Scylacis Caryandensis cum tralatione et castigationibus Isaaci Vossii. Accedit anonymi periplus Ponti Euxini, e bibliotheca Claudii Salmasii, cum eiusdem Is. Vossii versione ac notis* (Amsterdam, 1639), dedicated to Claudius Salmasius. The Persian Scylax of Caryanda's account of a sea-voyage, preserved in a version from the fourth century B.C., is the earliest example of the *periplus*, a genre of descriptive geography of voyages around a sea following the coastline. The anonymous Greek "Fragmentum Periplus Ponti Euxini et Maeotidis" (p. 55), an account of a voyage round the Black Sea, but actually a compilation from several accounts, was edited from Salmasius' transcript of the incomplete version in Codex Palatinus Gr. 398, ff. 11r–16v, as indicated by Isaac in the preface, **a**. According to Diller (1952:60), "(Isaac Vossius') whole edition is remarkable as the work of so young a scholar." The copy now UBL, 757 D 16, contains notes in Isaac's hand. His preparations for the edition of the "Periplus ponti Euxini" are preserved in UBL, Voss.Gr. 71, ff. 48–71. Junius' copy not found in UBL. Cf. *OCD* (1996:1141, 1374), Diller (1952: 3, 9, 52, 59–60, 102).

¹⁰ This *Cynegetics*, a technical treatise on hunting, was not Xenophon's but Arrian's, in Salmasius' transcription from Cod. Palatinus Gr. 398, ff. 17r–30r. The title in the Palatine codex originally read "Ἀρριανοῦ κνηγετικός," but a later hand had erased "Ἀρριανοῦ" and replaced it with "ξυνοφώντος ἀθηναίου τοῦ δευτέρου." Isaac's preparations for the edition of the *Kynegetikon* have been preserved in UBL, Voss.Gr. 71 ff. 3–47, giving both Xenophon the Younger and Arrian as author. Isaac did not publish the text. Junius planned to come to Holland, but had to postpone the trip until the summer of 1640, **131a**, **137b**. Cf. Diller (1952:52, 59).

¹¹ In **129f**, Junius attested to having presented copies of *Scylax* to Englishmen, but did not mention his former pupil William Howard.

¹² The German Johannes Fredericus Gronovius (1611–1671) had moved to the

- b** Meanwhile, I do not forget to accomplish other matters as well. See, I have published Scylax Caryandensis and another as yet unpublished text now, although I had them ready several years ago. You will soon get Xenophon the Younger's *Cynegetics*, likewise unpublished, unless you will anticipate its publication by your coming, as I hope. I am sending two copies of Scylax; one for you, the other one for the most illustrious earl or his son, if it seems to be worth that much. Farewell, dearest and honourable Uncle, and I pray you not to disappoint the hope of
Isaac Vossius, your nephew from the bottom of his heart.
At Amsterdam, 1639, on the third before the Ides of April [11 Apr.].
- c** He who brings this letter is Fredericus Gronovius, a most learned gentleman whom you know well from his books.

Low Countries in 1634 upon Grotius' instigation, whom he had met in Hamburg. Through Grotius' recommendation, he met Vossius, who somewhat later managed a position for him as a tutor to the patrician Michiel Pauw's son and nephew. Hence, he became friends with Isaac Vossius, as well as with Daniel and Nicolaas Heinsius, **170b**, and Claudius Salmasius. From the end of April 1639 until January 1642, he accompanied as a tutor two Amsterdam patricians, the brothers Laurens and Steven Gerard on a tour of England and subsequently France, Italy, southern Germany and Switzerland. They stayed in London from 5 May, left for Oxford on 17 June and returned again to London in August, before sailing to France. Except for such scholars as Junius, John Selden, Meric Casaubon and Patrick Young, England in general made an unfavourable impression on Gronovius. On his return to the Low Countries, Gronovius became professor of eloquence at the Athenaeum Illustre in Deventer, until succeeding Daniel Heinsius as professor of Greek and history at Leiden in 1658. In 1661 he was to become librarian as well. Gronovius was an outstanding scholar, who published many philological studies. The publications from which Junius was supposed to know him were *In Papinii Statii silvarum ll. V diatribe* (The Hague, 1637), and especially his edition of Isaac Casaubon's *Epistolae* (The Hague, 1638)—the research which had brought him into contact with many scholars. Gronovius had hoped Junius' *De pictura* (1637) would provide him with material for the former book, "Iunii De Pictura Veterum an absolutum sit aveo scire. Esset forte ubi is liber usui mihi esse posset in Statianis meis" [I want to know whether Junius' *On the Painting of the Ancients* has been published. There might perhaps be a place where this book could be of use to me for my Statius], 36 08 29, Colomesius 2.238. Cf. Dibon and Waquet (1984:1–36), *NNBW* 1.989–92.

127¹²⁸ 39 06 19 JOHANNES F. GRONOVIVS (OXFORD) TO JUNIVS [LONDON]¹

- a** °Nobilissimo viro Francisco Iunio Iohannes Fredericus Gronovius salutem plurimam dicit.
 °Clarissime vir, negotia quae sub ipsum momentum profectionis °meae et paullo ante me implicuerunt, fecerunt me malum nomen et non immemorem quidem promissi, sed repraesentandi eius potestatem absciderunt.² °Et si quando vacabat, te reperturus domi non eram, °quem ivisse peregre in foro intellexeram; ubi te °reperiri posse credibile erat, minime °vacabat mihi.³ Sed totum hoc damnum meum est, qui honore unius officii meritissime °praestandi tibi deficio; tu nulla re cares, qui molestiam tantum sensisses interpellationis et de animo meo tot humanitatis tuae exemplis addicto tibi °haut ambigis, gnarus inter bonos bene agier.⁴
- b** Libros ex bibliotheca illustrissimi vestri Comitiss, spero, tuto satis, quantum humane provideri potest, misimus.⁵ Interposuit nomen auctoritatemque suam illustris Dominus Legatus, et °tum ipse, tum per secretarium suum fideliter latori hoc depositum commendavit.⁶ Ut, nisi intervenit Θεοῦ βία, ipseque ille nobilis in rebus suis perierit, quod per divinam gratiam minime veremur, omnino exspectem °optime curatum iri.⁷ Scripsi eodem die ad optimum Isaacum per tabellarios ordinarios, ut curae habeat quamprimum clarum Rivetum °monere, quem tamen scio negligentem non futurum, tum quia amicitiam Vossii τοῦ πάνυ sanctissime colit, tum quia nos apud eum aliquo

a Nobilissimo . . . dicit: *e* - | Clarissime vir: *e* - | meae: [- ..] meae | Et si: *e* Etsi | quem: *e* quum | reperiri: *e* reperire | vacabat: *e* vacabas | praestandi: *e* praestanti | haut: *e* hanc | **b** tum: *e* - | optime: [... > optime] | monere: [*monendi* > monere]

¹ *o*: UBA, M 89a. *e*: Dibon and Waquet (1984, no. 14).

² As part of a tour of England, Gronovius had been in London until 17 June, 126c. Probably by 24 May, he had met Junius, as appears from his letter to Nicolaas Heinsius, 170b, "Casaubonum, Seldenum, Fr. Iunium vidi" [I have met (Meric) Casaubon, (John) Selden, and Fr. Junius], 39 [05] 24, Dibon and Waquet (1984, no. 8). On his return from Oxford he met Junius again, 128a.

³ Junius may have been in the country at one of the Arundel estates.

⁴ "inter bonos bene agier," 66a.

⁵ Junius had entrusted two Ptolemy manuscripts from the Arundel library to Gronovius to have them forwarded to Isaac Vossius, 126a, 129g.

⁶ Albert Joachimi (1560/1–1671), the Dutch ambassador in England, had the parcel entrusted to Louis de Corduan, Sieur de Moyre, a military man in the ser-

127 39 06 19 JOHANNES F. GRONOVIVS (OXFORD) TO JUNIVS [LONDON]

a Johannes Fredericus Gronovius gives warmest regards to the most noble gentleman Francis Junius.

Widely renowned sir, the affairs that entangled me at the very moment of and shortly before my departure have given me a bad name and made me actually not unmindful of the promise, but they deprived me of an opportunity to fulfil it immediately. Even when I had time, I would not find you home, because in the street I heard that you had gone away; when it was conceivable you could be found, I did not have time at all. But all this is my loss, who fail you in the honour of deservedly doing a single favour; you, who would have felt only the trouble of interruption, miss nothing and do not doubt at all that my heart is devoted to you by so many examples of your kindness, knowing that one should behave thus among good people.

b We sent the books from the library of your most illustrious earl safely enough, I hope, as much as could be humanly provided for. The illustrious Mr. ambassador gave his name and authorisation and then both personally and through his secretary he faithfully commended that deposit to the bearer, so that, unless *God's power* interferes and this nobleman died in his actions—which we fear the least through divine grace, I wholly expect that it will be best cared for. On the same day, I wrote through the usual couriers to the excellent Isaac to take care of reminding the renowned Rivet as soon as possible, whom I know, though, not to be neglectful, both because he solemnly cherishes the friendship of *many-sided* Vossius and because

vice of the future William II (1626–1650), Prince of Orange. No secretary of Joachimi is mentioned for the period 1635–1641 in Schutte (1976:94). Cf. Dibon and Waquet (1984:57n1), Schutte (1976, no. 56), Worp (2.192n, 536).

⁷ Although the books arrived in Holland alright, **131d**, this was by chance, for André Rivet, cf. below, informed Gronovius that “libros illos per eum qui talia non noverat et qui videbat se moram adhuc tracturum in Anglia, fuisse commissos mercatori cuidam nostro qui se et sua omnia, non sine maximo periculo, mari exposuit in navicula piscatoria” [(de Moyre), who did not know of the (valuable contents of the parcel) and who noticed he would still make delays in England, entrusted the books to some Dutch merchant, who exposed himself and all his goods to the sea in a small fishing boat at the greatest hazard], 39 08 19, Dibon and Waquet (1984:26, 80n2). Nevertheless, de Moyre's casual change of plans happened to mean that the manuscripts were not taken as booty by the privateers who captured the fleet with which they would originally have been transported, **129j**.

loco sumus.⁸ Laetor profecto, me quoque vile quamvis instrumentum fuisse huius negotii, cum nihil sit tam magnum, quod aut Vossiiis, °aut tibi debere nolim.

- c Martialem tuum ex domestico vestro, homine Germano, ut ex sermonibus eius colligebam, recepisse te puto.⁹ Vale, vir magne, et me ama. Scripsi ὡς τάχιστα et misi per illum virum qui tuo favori cupit humillime commendari.¹⁰

Oxonio, V eidus Iunii Iuliano anno MDCXXXIX.

- d Si videris maximum Seldenum, rogo a me illum observantissime salutes, excusesque quod vale illi dicere nequiverim.¹¹ Post reditum videbo illum cui ingratum esset ex hoc regno discedere ante illum omni studio salutatum.

b aut: [. . . > aut]

⁸ Gronovius informed Isaac, “Hodie commissi sunt duo mss Ptolemaei Arundelliani viro nobili Gallo ex ministerio parvi principis Auriaci, cui nomen Mons. De Moyre. Interposui auctoritatem illustrissimi legati Ioachimi, qui bono publico hoc tribuit ut ceu suum homini militari et thesaurum quantum vohat ignaro commendaret. Inscriptus a me et literis destinatus est fasciculus reverendo et *claro* Riveto. Itaque tu vide ut ipsum, simul has acceperis, moneas aut adeas; nam cras, ni fallor, de Moyre proficiscetur. Non credis quam ultro citro mihi fuerit cursitandum priusquam hanc occasionem aut inveni aut commodam, ut spero, reddidi . . . Nobilissimus Iunius qui vos salutatur amantissime et vehementer laetatus est posse tuis se studiis inservire, per festinationem scribere non potuit” [Today two Ptolemy manuscripts from the Arundel library have been entrusted to a French nobleman in the service of the young Prince of Orange, whose name is M. de Moyre. I gave the authority of the very illustrious ambassador Joachimi, who gave it for the public weal, as if he entrusted his own deposit to the military man, who does not know what a great treasure he is carrying. The parcel has been addressed and directed in a letter by me to the reverend and renowned Rivet. So, see to it that you warn him or go to him as soon as you have received this, for de Moyre will leave tomorrow, if I am not mistaken. You will not believe how I had to run hither and thither before either finding this opportunity, or creating a convenient one, as I hope . . . The most noble Junius, who greets you most lovingly and is exceedingly happy he can be of service to your studies, could not write due to haste], 39 06 16, Dibon and Waquet (1984, no. 13). André Rivet (1572–1671) was professor of theology at Leiden, and from 1636 also tutor to the future William II. From 1646 until his death he was headmaster

we have a place with him. I am really glad to have also been a humble instrument of this affair, for nothing is so great that I would not want to owe it to the Vossiuses or to you.

- c I believe you received your Martial from your servant, a German, as I gathered from his words. Farewell, great sir, and love me. I have written this *as fast as possible* and sent it through this gentleman who humbly desires to be recommended to your favour. At Oxford on the fifth before the Ides of June, Julian style, in the year 1639 [19 Jun.].

- d If you see the greatest Selden, I pray you to salute him obligingly from me and excuse me that I could not say farewell to him. After my return I will see him to whom it were unwelcome that I leave this kingdom before having greeted him with all devotion.

of the Illustre School in Breda. Gronovius gave brief information of the nature of the parcel to Rivet in the letter, dated 39 06 14, accompanying it, and later gave fuller explanation to Rivet why he had sent the manuscripts via him. Cf. *NNBW* 7.1052–3, Dibon and Waquet (1984, nos. 12, 15).

⁹ Gronovius had borrowed a Martial manuscript from the Arundel Library, presumably the fifteenth-century manuscript now BL, Ms Ar. 136, known as Ms 'Q' in stemmata, which he used for his commentary to be appended to Cornelis Schrevelius' edition of Martial's *Epigrammata* (Amsterdam, 1656). Gronovius testified to the borrowing of the manuscript to Claudius Salmasius, "Qui in decantata illa Bibliotheca Bodleiana, ne Martialem quidem . . . inspicere possum . . . Bene sit Comiti Arondellio cuius libros *manuscriptos* licet optimo Fr. Iunio commodare etiam extra domum amicis" [I, who cannot even examine Martial . . . in that praised Bodleian Library . . . May the earl of Arundel fare well, whose manuscript books the excellent Fr. Junius is permitted to lend to friends even out of the house], 39 07 06, Dibon and Waquet (1984, no. 16). The use of "tuum" should therefore not be taken literally, but it does suggest that Junius was closely connected with the Arundel Library, **131a**. Otherwise, Gronovius might have borrowed Junius' own annotated copy of Martial, *Epigrammaton libri XII* (Leiden, 1606), now UBL, 755 H 35 (from Isaac Vossius' collection). It has collations, underlined text and a list of some seventy epigrams identified by catchwords on the front fly leaves in Junius' hand. German servant unidentified. Cf. Dibon and Waquet (1984:28), Shackleton Bailey (1990:v, xii), Bremmer (1998b:232).

¹⁰ Bearer of the letter unidentified.

¹¹ John Selden was to write in Gronovius' "Album amicorum" on 39 08 03, cf. Dibon and Waquet (1984:172).

¹²⁷ 128 39 06 24 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHANNES F. GRONOVIVS (OXFORD)¹

A °Clarissimo viro Iohanni Frederico Gronovius, Oxoniae.

a °*Salutem plurimam*, vir clarissime.

Quamquam iam olim persuasissimum semper habuerim eos demum vere amare qui sic se amari putant ut ob neglectiōem levis alicuius officii non vereantur offensam, faveo tamen huic tuae, qua in excusando uteris, diligentiae—dicam—an sollicitudini.² Nempe non latuit te quam sit amor iniquus interdum, impotens saepe, μῖκράτιος semper; atque hoc illud erat, quod metuebas nequicquam.³ Dominus enim Seldenus iuxta mecum hoc te liberat metu.⁴ Quin etiam °utrique nostrum adventus tuus longe futurus est gratior post apertissimam tenerioris affectus testificationem.⁵

b De cura quam impendisti codicibus ad Isaacum nostrum tuto transmittendis, hoc tantum habeo dicere, me beneficii tui mensura penitus perspecta⁶ (utut alioqui verba °rebus facilia soleant esse), magnitudinem tamen eius dictis assequi °minime posse.⁷ Et quamvis impudentior °dici merear, si adhuc aliquid optem, unum tamen hoc, veluti immodicus voti, non possum non adiicere, °ut huius tui beneficii memoriam in me atque in Isaaco nostro porro diligere °ac pluribus insuper prolixissimae humanitatis tuae officiis fovere nunquam desinas. °In aedibus Arundellianis, °MDCXXXIX, °14 Iunii. Tuus toto animo, °F.F.F. Iunius.

A: *d* Domino Iohanni Frederico Gronovio | *Salutem* . . . clarissime: *d* Clarissime vir | utrique . . . tuus: *d* adventus tuus utrique nostrum | **b** rebus facilia soleant: *d* soleant rebus facilia | minime: *d* [*non* > minime] | dici merear: *d* [*videri possim* > dici merear] | ut: *d* [*Ut porro in me atque in Isaaco nostro tuum hoc beneficium diligas.*] ut | ac: *d* [*atque aliis insuper*] ac | In . . . Iunius: *d* Tuus . . . Iunius. In . . . Iunii | MDCXXXIX: [*- ..*] MDCXXXIX | 14 Iunii: *d* XV kal. Iul. | F.F.F. Iunius: *d* -

¹ *o*: UBM, Cod. mix. 617, f. 33. *d*: UBA, M 73a, on the same sheet as 132 and 138. The draft is dated 39 06 27.

² Cf. Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 8.21.5.2-3, a favourite of Junius, 26a.

³ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 2.2.1.1-3, "scis, quam sit amor iniquus interdum, impotens saepe, μῖκράτιος semper."

⁴ John Selden, 127d.

128 39 06 24 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHANNES F. GRONOVIVS (OXFORD)

A To the widely renowned gentleman Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, Oxford.

a Warmest regards, most illustrious sir.

Although I have already long before always held it as settled that precisely they love truly who believe themselves to be loved in such a way that they do not fear offense due to the neglect of a slight obligation, I still favour your carefulness, let me say, or concern, which you use to excuse yourself. To be sure, it has not escaped you how unjust love may be from time to time, how immoderate often and how *reprimanding* always. And it was this you feared without reason, for Mr. Selden, as well as I, releases you from this fear. Your coming will actually be even much more pleasing to both of us after your manifest testimony of tender affection.

b As for the care you took in sending the codices safely to our Isaac, I just have to say that having wholly conceived the measure of your kindness, I am not capable at all to catch its size in words (although words are otherwise usually easier than deeds). Although I would deserve to be called impudent if I still wish anything else, I could not refrain from adding, as if immoderate in my wishes, that you will never cease further to cherish the memory of your benevolence for me and our Isaac and, moreover, to favour it with more obligations of your abundant kindness.

At Arundel House in the year 1639, 14 June.

Wholeheartedly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

⁵ After Gronovius' return to London, on 39 07 26, Junius wrote in his "Album amicorum," **App4**. In Dibon and Waquet (1984:172), the listing of Junius' London entry in the "Album" in between Oxford entries is probably due to a confusion of old and new style dating.

⁶ Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 10.51.2.1–2, "mensuram beneficii tui intellego."

⁷ Gronovius had arranged the forwarding of two Ptolemy manuscripts from the Arundel library to Isaac Vossius for Junius, **127b**.

129 39 07 02 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]¹

A Affini Vossio.

a Coniunctissime affinis,

Iamdudum homini cuidam non nisi leviter mihi cognito, sed ab amicissimo quodam prolixè satis commendato, uberiores ad te litteras commiseram, quoniam per agrum Nortfolciensem recta Bataviam atque in ea Amstelodamum petere in animum induxerat.² Caeterum nunc ab eodem amico certior sum factus moram itineri iniectam esse atque eum etiamnum in Nortfolcia a consanguineis detineri. Dum itaque litteras istas repetet amicus eo forte excurrrens, pauca haec omnino exaranda esse videbantur.

b Perlato ad me nuntio de morte Iohannis, Cantabrigiensem illam, cuius id scire plurimum intererat, certiore statim feci, tanquam de secundis forte nuptiis cogitaturam.³ Non destitit interim per fratrem atque alios agnatos sciscitari numquid de haereditate superesset, adiciens fieri non posse quin rem suam in tractibus illis interim auxerit.⁴ Haec atque id genus alia foeminae illius impulsu urgentibus, respondi quod res erat. Non acquiescit illa, sed ultimis litteris, quas ante triduum ad me Cantabrigiensis tabellarius detulit, neglectam se queritur ac praeter omne ius et aequum nullam sui rationem haberi; et quoniam modesta nimis expostulatione nihil hactenus profecisset, traiectionem mare atque coram experturam ecquid spei sit reliquum.⁵ Praemonendus itaque videbare, praesertim ipsa, ut hoc facerem, postulante. Crederem certe minacius eam quam factura est loqui, nisi

¹ *ca.* UBA, M 78c.

² Junius' friend and acquaintance unidentified. Junius' letter to Vossius unretrieved; it had probably been written several months before the present one and may have addressed most topics discussed in **b-f**, for these had to be written afresh when Junius heard the unretrieved letter had not been delivered, cf. below. This would explain why the topics in **b-f** cover a fairly lengthy period of time. Nevertheless, no letters seem to have been exchanged between Junius and the Vossius family for more than a year, after **126**.

³ Junius presumably knew of Joannes Vossius' death by March 1638, **118c**. His mention of it here suggests that they had not discussed the issue in the meantime. Possibly informed of her husband's death by Junius in an unretrieved letter, Prudence Greene claimed her share of the inheritance, first via relatives who asked Junius for it, then by threatening to go to Vossius herself or ask relatives of hers to go there, and finally via Samuel Collins' letter to Vossius and her own letters to Junius; but all to no avail, cf. below, **130b**, **100j**. Since Joannes' share of the family inher-

129 39 07 02 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]

A To Brother Vossius.

a Dearest Brother,

Long ago I had entrusted a rather long letter for you to someone only slightly known to me, but quite circumstantially commended by a good friend, because he had determined to go straight through the county of Norfolk to Holland and there to Amsterdam. But I have now been informed by this same friend that a delay has been caused to the journey and that he is still being engaged by relatives in Norfolk. So, since this friend, who may hasten there, will ask that letter back again, the following few matters absolutely seemed to need being written.

b When the news of Joannes' death had been brought to me, I immediately informed the Cambridge girl, to whom it was of great interest to know, because she may consider a second marriage. Meanwhile, she did not fail to inquire through her brother and other relatives whether anything had been left from the inheritance, adding that it was impossible that his possessions had not increased in those regions in the mean time. I answered what was the matter to those who urged this and other such matters at that girl's instigation. She is not satisfied, but in her latest letter, which a courier from Cambridge delivered to me three days ago, she complains that she has been neglected and has not been taken into account contrary to all right and justice, and because she has gained nothing yet by an exceedingly modest complaint, that she will cross the sea and personally find out what hope is left. So you seemed to need being forewarned, especially since she asked me to do so. I would certainly assume her to speak more menacingly than she will actually act, if I had not reckoned that, agitated by the sharp stings of extreme poverty, she could be driven to attempt

itance had been used to pay his debts, he left little inheritance, **101c**, **130b**. Moreover, Prudence would never be able to prove that she was a lawful heiress of Joannes, for when marrying they had entered the pseudonyms "Fox" and "Bridges" in the matrimonial register instead of their own names in order to keep their marriage secret, **104b**, **100j**. Junius had asked her about this in 1636, but only felt it necessary to inform Vossius of it now that Prudence was threatening to take measures against him, **1**, **105c**, **100j**. Junius finally asked John Francius to appease her, **130**.

⁴ Prudence Greene's brother and other relatives unidentified.

⁵ Prudence's letter to Junius unretrieved.

acribus extremae inopiae stimulis °exagitatam ad tentanda omnia impelli posse reputarem. Experiar interim an per *Dominum* Francium, virum nostri ac nominis vestri amantissimum, saniora consilia suggeri sibi patiat. ⁶ Neque enim est cur eam velim rationes fractas inutili impensa porro profligare et sibi atque aliis negotium facessere.

c Grave aes alienum nobilis illius familiae, in qua tot iam annos transigo, Scotiae expeditionis sumptus multiplicat, ac prope iam toto hoc biennio ne minima quidem portio annui illius, quod mihi debetur, stipendii ad me rediit. ⁷ Et quamquam plurium aliarum nobilium familiarum res importunitate motuum Scoticorum non minus turbatae concussaeque sint, in hac tamen nostra unum est quod mihi praeter caeteros grave accidit. ⁸ Eliensis certe episcopus re tota cognita, non modo °ipse rerum mearum satagit, sed et Archiepiscopo eandem iniecit curam. ⁹ | Uterque benigne pollicetur. Dabit Deus, spero, ut summorum hominum opera tandem aliquando rebus meis optime °sit consultum. Faciam te statim certiozem, si quid mihi commodi procuraverint.

d Middelburghensis ille Iohannes post duorum triumve mensium hic in Britannia moram petiit Gallias. ¹⁰ Sedulo ex iis qui in eodem hospitio diversabantur in vitam moresque adolescentis inquisivi. Nescio an praebuerit aurem, dum e longinquo eum et veluti aliud agens per ambages monui, quamquam enim mollioris atque delicatioris vitae illecebris non nihil mihi videatur irretitus, negant tamen ulla dissolutionis animi indicia comparere. Sensisse interim videtur in se dici quae a me afferebantur, nam et sua sponte aperiebat quid sinisteris quibusdam rumoribus praebuisset materiam ac facile id sibi expurgatu fore dicebat, si quid ex rumore statuendum putarem. Mihi de omni eius ingenio ac moribus iudicium censuramque ex sequenti vita

b exagitatam: exagitam | **c** ipse: [- ..] ipse | sit: [- *consulatur*] sit

⁶ For John Francius' response, cf. **130**.

⁷ The earl of Arundel had been Commander-in-Chief of the English forces in the First Bishops' War with Scotland during the preceding months, **124c**. His pecuniary condition, however, did not deter him from adding to his collection of art and considering a scheme for the colonisation of Madagascar during these years. Junius was entitled to an annuity of £50, **86a**^a. Cf. Hervey (1921:410, 416–19).

⁸ No details on the special reason alluded to found.

⁹ Evidently, Matthew Wren and Archbishop Laud were prepared to mediate for Junius with Arundel.

¹⁰ Jan de Brune had stayed in England from the end of 1638 or beginning of 1639, cf. Vossius to Grotius, "De affinis meae iunioris in Zelandia agentis filio,

anything. I may meanwhile try whether she allows to be suggested sounder advice through Mr. Francius, a gentleman deeply devoted to our and your name. For there is no reason why I wish her further to draw on her poor resources with unnecessary expenses and to drag on the affair for herself and for others.

c The expense of the expedition to Scotland increases the serious debt of this noble family with whom I have spent so many years now, and during almost these whole two years not even the smallest part of that yearly annuity which is owed to me has been paid out to me. And although the interests of several other noble families are no less disturbed and troubled by the importunity of the Scottish disturbances, in ours there is one matter which seriously affects me over others. Truly, having heard of it all, the bishop of Ely not only troubles himself with my interests, but has also urged the archbishop to a similar concern. Both are making kindly promises. God will grant, I hope, that thanks to the most high lords' assistance my interests will finally be taken best care of one day. I will immediately inform you if they have managed anything favourable for me.

d This Jan from Middelburg went to France after a two or three months' stay here in England. I carefully inquired after the young man's way of life and manners from people who stayed in the same lodgings. I do not know whether he listened when I warned him in circumlocutions from afar and as if I were doing something else, for although I think him somewhat entangled in the allurements of a rather tender and delicate way of life, these people denied that any signs of a licentious character were apparent. Meanwhile, he seemed to have noticed that what I said regarded him, for he also revealed spontaneously what had offered food for certain slanderous rumours, and said it would be easy for him to justify it, if I believed that anything must be concluded from a rumour. I will surely form a judgement and opinion of his whole character and manners from his future life. Still, just as you wrote, he seems to be held by a desire

... [v]idetur hinc in Britanniam, inde in Gallias recta Lutetiam iturus" [Concerning the son of my younger kinswoman who lives in Zeeland . . . , he seems about to go from here to England and from there to France and straight to Paris], 38 12 15, *BWGGrotius* 9.3887. He was still abroad by October and possibly much longer, 131b. Jan had also been with Junius in England in the spring of 1638, 121c. Junius may already have discussed Jan in the unretrieved letter mentioned in a. Cf. Worp (1890:90–91).

facere certum est. Videtur etiamnum, ut scripseras, aulicae vitae desiderio teneri.¹¹ Sperat se opera clarissimi Grotii Hughenio isti, qui Principi nostro a secretis, ac per eum ipsi Principi posse commendari.¹² Etiam in me non nihil sibi ad hanc rem conficiendam praesidii repositum esse putat.¹³ Caeterum qua occasione in hanc spem sit ingressus, non alienum erit altius repetere.

e Ausus sum post tot annos in Britannia traductos tenues reliquias linguae nostrae vernaculae, quae mihi tota pene effluxerat, undique colligere atque ad translationem nostrae illius commentatiunculae de Pictura advocare.¹⁴ Nuperrime opus illud absolvi, et quidem, nisi me fallunt amici, non infeliciter.¹⁵ Indulsi nimirum animo meo et plerisque in locis plus quam paraphrastica licentia sensum libri expressi, prout Belgicae linguae ratio ferre videbatur.¹⁶ Vidit ac

¹¹ Cf. **121c**.

¹² There is no indication that Jan went to see Grotius in Paris, cf. Worp (1890:90). He had hoped Grotius would commend him to Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), Frederick Henry's secretary, who might introduce him to the Stadholder himself. Jan is not mentioned in Huygens' correspondence as edited by Worp (1911–17).

¹³ Junius allowed Jan to dedicate his *Schilder-konst* to Frederick Henry, e.

¹⁴ Junius' Dutch translation of *De pictura* (1637), **93a**, appeared as *De Schilder-konst der oude begrepen in drie boecken* (Middelburg: Z. Roman, 1641). Having already expressed his intention to prepare the translation in **102c**, Junius seems mainly to have worked on it upon finishing preparing *Painting* (1638), **105a**, **116b**. Junius prefaced it with a dedicatory poem to Prince Frederick Henry, **App5**, and Jan de Brune wrote the dedicatory letter, cf. below. Wenceslaus Hollar, **131a**, provided an engraving of van Dyck's portrait of Junius, **110n**, and the prominent Dutch poet and playwright Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679), a friend of the Vossius family, contributed a couplet to the engraving, "Dits IVNIVS, Der Schilders Rechte hant,/Zijn Bloet is Eel, Noch Eeler zijn Verstant" [This is Junius, right hand of painters. His blood is noble, yet nobler is his mind], cf. cover illustration. *Schilder-konst* appears to be a free rendering of *De pictura* indeed, as Junius explained in this section. According to *Literature* 1.xln41, following Ingrid Jost, "the Dutch translation differs from the Latin original even more markedly than the English translation and, in places, addresses itself with a certain directness to the practice of the modern artist." *Schilder-konst* therefore deserves to be made the topic of a detailed study. It proved a source for Samuel van Hoogstraeten's *Inleyding tot de hooge schoole der schilder-konst* (Rotterdam, 1678), but in general it did not sell well. Copies were accordingly given fresh titles, an index and an extra engraving by Wenceslaus Hollar and brought out again, as *Schilder-boeck, behelsende de schilder-konst der oude, begrepen in dry boecken* (Middelburgh: Z. Roman, 1659) and *Begin, heerlyjcke voortganch, en grootdadigh vermogen der wijdberoemde schilder-konst der antycken* (Middelburgh: W. Goeree/Amsterdam: s. de Janssonien van Waesberge, 1675), respectively. Cf. *Literature* 1.xlin, Nativel (1996, fig. 11), Emmens (1968:54–55), *NBW* 4.1397–1409.

¹⁵ If this phrase is not just a form of speech, **100a**, Junius may be referring to

for court life. He hopes that with the help of the most illustrious Grotius he can be commended to the Huygens who is secretary to our prince, and through him to the prince himself. He even thinks that some support for accomplishing this is stored up for him in me. But it will not be unsuitable to ask again more deeply on which occasion he has nursed this hope.

e After so many years spent in England, I have tried to reassemble from everywhere the poor remainders of our vernacular tongue, which had almost entirely escaped me, and to summon them for a translation of our little treatise *On Painting*. I have recently finished this work and, unless my friends deceive me, actually not at all badly. I was surely indulgent to my inclination and rendered the sense of the book at many places with more than paraphrastic licence, just as the mode of the Dutch tongue seemed to bear. Jan saw and read through most of this book, and did not doubt (yet what I cannot

Anthony van Dyck, for whom he sat in this year, **110**, and Henry van der Borch the younger (1614–?1666), a painter and engraver of Dutch origin from Frankfurt, whom Arundel had taken into his service together with Hollar in 1636. Initially sent to William Petty in Italy, he had been keeper of drawings and prints at Arundel House from 1638. Arundel referred to him as “Henry van de Burg, my Dutch youth,” quoted after Hervey (1921:386–87). Cf. *Saur* 12.676, Springell (1963:100–04).

¹⁶ The paraphrastic translation is one of the two possible types of translation, as Junius explained in the introduction to his commentary on Tatian, **195a**, “Duobus tamen modis alterius linguae scripta transferuntur in aliam, nam vel ipsum tantummodo scripti sensum in aliam linguam liberiore et paraphrastica quandoque versione transfundimus; vel verbum verbo reddimus. Prior interpretandi ratio nusquam imminuit atque infringit nativam vim linguae in quam scriptum aliquod transfert, sed linguae suae phrasi ubique servata vertendi scripti phrasin quam proxime studet exprimere. At posterior illa quae verbum verbo κατὰ πόδα reddit, asperior plerumque est et hiulca, dum peregrinam phrasin retinere cogitur et insistere verbis quorum significationem compositionemque nulla patrii sermonis copia assequi se posse desperat” [now, the writings of one language are translated into another one in two ways, for we either just transfer the exact meaning of a writing into another language in a rather free and sometimes paraphrastic translation, or we translate word-for-word. The former manner of translating never impairs or diminishes the innate power of the language into which it translates a writing, but strives after expressing the diction of the writing to be translated as closely as possible by preserving the diction of its language everywhere. But the latter manner, which *closely* translates word-for-word, is often rather irregular and not well connecting, since it is forced to retain and follow a foreign diction with words the meaning and arrangement of which it has no hope of being able to match by any resources of the native tongue], BLO, Ms Jun. 13, f. 6. Cf. Horace, *De arte poetica liber* 133–34, “nec verbo verbum curabis reddere fidus/ interpres” [you must take care not to translate word-for-word as a faithful translator]. Quintilian, *Institutio oratoria* 10.5.3 and 10.5.5, emphasized the need to see the original as a stimulus and make a paraphrasis even its emulation, cf. Lausberg 1.1098–1103.

perlegit operis istius pleraque Iohannes, neque dubitat (quod ego tamen adduci non possum ut credam) quin me omnes patriam nostram linguam auxisse atque ornasse autument.¹⁷ Excursurus fueram ad vos maturandae editioni, nisi Iohannes commode satis ea cura defungi posse videretur, cui nihil gratius potuit obtingere, me praesertim acquiescente ut ipse institueret dedicationem Arausionensium Principi, a me solummodo destinata, quemadmodum ex versiculis operi praefixis liquebit.¹⁸ Haec res utique spem ei adipiscendae gratiae Principalis affirmat, ego vero nescio an quidquam profuturum hoc sit ipsi; minime tamen obfuturum confido. Fusius haec prosequor, ut tota re perspecta dispicias quid facto sit opus.

f °Accepi quatuor exemplaria Scylacis ab Isaaco nostro editi.¹⁹ Duo exemplaria inaurata et nitidius compacta erant, quorum unum Isaaci nostri nomine obtuli archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, alterum Eliensi

f Accepi: [- *Accepi*] Accepi

¹⁷ Junius had fewer written aids at his disposal for his Dutch translation than *Painting*, **116b^a**, and accordingly had to rely more on his own proficiency as a native speaker. Dutch translations from the classics, such as Cicero, Homer, Horace, Ovid, Pliny, and to some extent Quintilian, had been produced in the later sixteenth and the seventeenth century, for instance by Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert (1522–1590), but it is not known whether Junius had access to them in London. He may have had a copy of the acclaimed Dutch–Latin dictionary by Cornelis Kiliaan, *Dictionarium Teutonico–Latinum* (Antwerp, 1574) or *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae sive Dictionarium . . .* (Antwerp, 1599), **189e**. The translation process and a comparison of his English and Dutch translations may have roused Junius’ special interest in the Dutch language, which was to induce him to study the ancient Germanic languages, **164c**, **169d**, **189e**. The increase of the status of the vernacular, and its embellishment and purification for use in all stylistic registers on a level comparable to Latin, was an issue of great relevance to learned Dutchmen at the time. The language of *Schilder-konst* therefore deserves to be the topic of a linguistic study in order for the contributions Junius made to his native tongue to be appreciated. In his “Letter to the Reader,” *Schilder-konst* (1641:***iii v), Jan de Brune extolled the Dutch language and Junius’ achievements in translation much more than the actual topic of the book, “Onse Neerlandtsche tael, door ick weet niet wat natuerlijcke soetigheyt met haer ghebornen, is bequaem om te draghen de Majesteyt vande grootste invallen, die yemands herssenen kunnen beswangerhen, en soo wy neerstigh ghenoech waren om haer met een arbeysame vroetheyt te heghenen en te polijsteren, sy sou veel overvloediger vruchten draghen. Doch wy verydeltuyten ons veeltijds met soo een spitsvinnighe neugierigheyt aen uytheemsche Talen, dat wy onse moederlicke verwaerloosen . . . onsen Schrijver . . . Sijn twintigh-jarigh verblijf in Engheland, heeft hem de sucht tot het naeupuntighste verstand van sijn moederlijcke tael niet kunnen ontwingen. Een tastelijcke proeve hier van verstreckt het

be led to believe) that everybody will attest me to have embellished and adorned our mother tongue. I would have hastened to you to quicken publication, if Jan had not seemed able to acquit himself of this task skilfully enough. Nothing more pleasing could happen to him, especially when I assented that he make a dedication to the prince of Orange, which I had only intended, just as will be clear from the verse lines prefixed to the book. Anyway, this strengthens him in his hope of acquiring princely favour; I, however, do not know whether this will do him any good, yet trust it will do him no harm at all. I have described this rather at length, so that you see what needs to be done when you have seen through it all.

f I received four copies of *Scylax* published by our Isaac. Two copies were gilded and splendidly bound, and I offered one of them to the archbishop of Canterbury on our Isaac's behalf, and the other one

tegenwoordighe Boeck, gheschreven in sulcke termen dat thien regels daer van konnen grond-vesten d'achtbaerheydt van een Man die onse tael verstaet, niet in haer oppervlies, maer wiens kennisse dringht tot den grondt toe, als de schoonheid van een Diamandt. Men merckt in sijne woorden niet de minste schaduw van gemaectheit. Alles is glad, effen, eenparig; niet dat knobbelig, puttigh, afbreukig sy en vindt'er plaetse" [Our Dutch language, because of some natural sweetness with which it was born, is capable of bearing the majesty of the greatest ideas which can impregnate someone's mind, and if we were diligent enough to cleanse and polish it with industrious prudence, it would bear fruit much more abundantly. But we often dally away by such a sophisticated curiosity for foreign languages that we neglect our mother tongue. . . . Our writer's twenty years' stay in England has not been able to wrench from him a most accurate knowledge of his mother tongue. A tangible proof of this is furnished by the present book, written in such phrases that ten of its lines can underpin the respectability of a gentleman who understands our language not by its outer skin, but whose knowledge penetrates to the bottom, just as the beauty of a diamond. One notices in his words not the least shadow of affectation. Everything is smooth, even, uniform; nothing that is knobby, rough, (or) abrupt has a place in it]. Cf. *STCN, Literature* 1.xln42, van Romburgh (2001), van der Wal (1995, esp. 28–30, 36–39), van den Toorn *et al.* (1997:261–66), Dekker (1999:52–55).

¹⁸ In his dedication to Prince Frederick Henry, *Schilder-konst* (1641:***ii–***iii), Jan de Brune emphasized the bond between the Dutch United Provinces and England owing to the royal wedding between the future William II and the Princess Mary, **146a**, and the special bond between Frederick Henry and the Junius family, owing to Prince Maurice's concern for the family, for which Junius wished to show his thanks, **3aⁿ**. Obviously, since Jan was a member of the Junius family himself, mention of the bond between the family and the prince might turn out favourably for himself too. The poem "Ivnivs aen sijn Boeck" [Junius to his book], *Schilder-konst* (1641:***i v), is Junius' only attested Dutch poem, **App5**. It exhorts the book to please the prince and to acquire his favourable judgement.

¹⁹ Two copies of Isaac Vossius' *Scylax* (1639) were sent with **126**, but probably another two copies had been added to the same parcel, **126b**.

episcopo. Dici vix potest quam grate uterque primum hunc praegnantis potius quam praecocis ingenii foetum exceperit. Tertium obtuli Comiti Bathensi, viro erudito ac tui tuorumque amantissimo.²⁰ Quartum mihi adservo.

g Privatim certe ingratus atque in publicum iniquus dici mererer, si non laudabiles eius conatus pro viribus iuvarem. Tradidi itaque Domino Gronovio duo exemplaria *Geographiae Ptolemaei manuscripta* quandoquidem is fidem faciebat tuto ea cum quibusdam rebus Confoederatarum Provinciarum Legati ad Dominum Rivetum transmitti posse.²¹ Absente Comite ab insigni Heroïna Comitissa Arundelliae ac Surriae veniam non difficulter impetravi.²² Viderit Isaacus noster numquid in istis codicibus inveniatur quod editionem tanti operis ornare possit. Si quid occurreret, merito exspectat nobilis familia ut id bibliothecae Arundellianae referatur acceptum atque ut exemplar per fidum hominem remittatur. Exemplar maioris formae ac viridicorio obductum fuit quondam Pirkheimerianum; alterum Dominus Guilielmus Pettaeus advexit e Graecia.²³ Hoc tantum obiter monere visum fuit, quamquam utrumque nunc ex Arundelliana bibliotheca sit depromptum. Vale, atque omnes tuos meis verbis plurimum saluta.

Raptim; in aedibus Arundellianis, MDCXXXIX, X kalendas Iulii.
Tuus omni officio.

h Avidissime hic omnes exspectant opus tuum de *Theologia Gentium et Physiologia Christiana*.²⁴ Gratissimum erit, si per te licebit, ut exemplaria reverendo archiepiscopo atque Eliensi exhibenda ipse tradam, quandoquidem est e re mea, ut mei memoria in magnis viris gratissimorum munerum tuorum oblatione quandoque resuscitetur.²⁵

g veniam: [- non] veniam | advexit: [- [e Graecia]] advexit | obiter: \obiter/

²⁰ Henry Bourghier, earl of Bath, who had met Vossius on the latter's visit to England in 1629, **70b**. He had recently come into his estate. Cf. *CSPDS 1638-1639*, s.v.

²¹ The Ptolemy manuscripts from the Arundel library, which Junius had already described in the unretrieved letter to which Isaac Vossius replied in **126a**, had been sent by Johannes Fredericus Gronovius to André Rivet, to be forwarded to Isaac, in a parcel authorised by Albert Joachimi, the Dutch ambassador in England, **127b**.

²² The earl of Arundel was on campaign in the First Bishops' War, **c**, so that Countess Aletheia had granted Junius permission.

²³ The green manuscript was from the library of Willibald Pirkheimer, **126a**; the

to the bishop of Ely. It can hardly be said with what gratitude both accepted this first fruit of a pregnant rather than premature intellect. The third I offered to the earl of Bath, a learned gentleman who is deeply devoted to you and your family. The fourth I keep for myself.

g I would certainly deserve to be called ungrateful in private and unfair in public, if I did not support his praiseworthy efforts to the best of my ability. I therefore handed two manuscript copies of Ptolemy's *Geography* to Mr. Gronovius, since he guaranteed they could safely be sent to Mr. Rivet together with some possessions of the ambassador of the United Provinces. Since the earl was away, I obtained permission from the distinguished heroine, countess of Arundel and Surrey, without difficulty. Our Isaac will see whether in these codices he finds anything that can furnish the edition of such a large work. If anything comes of it, the noble family deservedly expects that it will be indicated that it was received from the Arundel library, and that the copy will be returned through a trustworthy person. The copy of larger size and bound in green leather once belonged to the Pirkeim collection; Mr. William Petty brought the other one from Greece. This, by the way, was only intended to inform you, while both are now borrowed from the Arundel library. Farewell and warmly greet all your family on my behalf. In haste; at Arundel House, 1639, 10th before the Kalends of July [2 Jul.].
Obligingly Yours.

h Everybody here is eagerly looking forward to your book *On Pagan Religion and Christian Natural Science*. It will be most welcome if you allow me to hand the copies to be presented to the reverend archbishop and to Ely myself, since it is in my interest that a memory of me is revived in the great men now and then by means of the presentation of your welcome gifts.

manuscript from Greece was presumably bound in red and of "charta bombycina," **201e**. Neither manuscript was identified in the list provided by W. Hübner (1998:xi-xvii); the Arundel Mss in the British Library do not include a manuscript of Ptolemy's *Geography*. They may have been lost in the 1640s and 1650s, **201e**. Cf. *IMBL* 8, Reicke (1956:128n6).

²⁴ Vossius, *De theologia gentili* (1641), **118i**.

²⁵ Vossius meant to dedicate the book to Archbishop Laud, which is why Junius particularly wished to present it to him and to his intimate Matthew Wren. However,

i [. . .]²⁶

j | Perscriptis hisce literis, necdum tamen obsignatis, ecce, advolat nuntius a Legato nostro, nuntians totam illam classem quae novissime solverat a Duynkerckanis captam esse, generosum itaque Gallum cui a Domino Gronovio libri fuerant commissi, una cum *manuscriptis*, in manus hostium devenisse.²⁷ Male sit importunissimis piratis, qui literarum commercia sic impediunt. Tentabimus interim an Comitum nostri autoritas tantum valeat in illa urbe, ut codices intercepti restituantur. Quod si sit, °nescio tamen qua fronte a nobili familia exigere ausim ut libros denuo mari atque hostibus exponat.

k Ex hac re venit mihi in mentem an non satius sit ea quae ad nos °aliquando missurus es, navibus Britannicis credere. Dominus Boswellus aut alius quispiam nobilis Britannus, cuius autoritas non nihil apud socios istos navales potest, non gravate hanc tibi operam praestabunt. Si nimium videtur negotii isthac dedere hominibus graviori aliqua cura distentis, vel solus Barthamius suffecerit, neque enim homini in ista urbe sollicitate captandae erunt occasiones, cum crebrae offerantur. Iterum vale.

j nescio . . . fronte: [*non ausim tamen* > nescio . . . fronte] | **k** aliquando: \aliquando/

by the time printing was nearly finished in 1641, Laud was in the Tower, **142a**, and neither he nor Wren considered it desirable that the book was dedicated to him, as Wren informed Isaac Vossius and Junius when they went to see him in May 1641. Vossius therefore dedicated the book to the clergy of the Church of England instead, **152a**. Vossius sent part of the work with **131** to Junius to present it to Laud, **131c**. Cf. Blok (1999:83).

²⁶ Pitch black deletion for several lines.

²⁷ Dunkirk privateers operated on behalf of the Spanish government in obstructing and maiming Dutch seafaring in the Channel during the Eighty Years' War. In 1639, though in a period of diminished privateering activities, 122 merchant and fishing ships were taken by Dunkirkers. In June, when this fleet was crossing, eleven privateering ships were roaming the Channel for Spain. However, M. de Moyre, to whom the manuscripts had been committed, had been prevented from sailing with this fleet, and had entrusted the Ptolemies to a merchant sailing with a fishing boat instead, **127b^a**. Gronovius anxiously wrote about the presumed loss to André Rivet from Oxford, "Vix ex itinere . . . me composueram in hac Academia, cum ecce nuntii Londino horribiles, Duynkeranos adeo θαλασσοκρατεῖν, ut brevissimo tempore quatuordecim et ultra naves, Dovovernia aut Caleto solutos, praedam suam

i [. . .]

j When I had written this letter, but had not yet sealed it up, look, a messenger came flying from our ambassador and reported that the whole fleet that recently set sail has been captured by the Dunkirkers, so that the generous Frenchman to whom the books and the manuscripts had been entrusted by Mr. Gronovius has fallen into the enemy's hands. Evil betide the troublesome pirates, who hinder the commerce of letters in this way! We will meanwhile try whether our earl's authority has such a great influence in that town, that the captured codices will be returned. If this happens, I do not yet know with what boldness I dare ask the noble family to expose the books again to the sea and enemies.

k On account of this, it occurs to me whether it is not better to entrust what you will send us now and then to English ships. Mr. Boswell or some other English nobleman whose authority has some influence with these naval associates will willingly do this service for you. If it seems too much trouble to give something to men engaged in more serious concerns in that way, even just van Bartem would suffice, for in this town the gentleman need not carefully look for opportunities, because they are offered frequently. Farewell again.

fecerint. Deus ne sinat, ut inter illos numeretur, qua vectus est cum caro deposito vester Morius" [Hardly had I settled myself at this University after the trip . . . when look, dreadful news from London, that the Dunkirkers are such *masters of the sea* that in a very short time they have captured more than fourteen ships that sailed from Dover or Calais. God forbid that the one on which your de Moyre was sailing with the precious deposit must be counted among them], 39 07 06, UBL, BPL 285 II, f. 83. A fortnight later, he comforted Junius that the manuscripts had arrived safely with Isaac Vossius, 131d, in a letter to Patrick Young, "Si videris Franciscum Iunium, rogo salutem ei meo nomine impertias humanissimam, nuntiesque tuto eum in utramque aurem dormire posse de Ptolemaeis. Ita enim ad me scribit Rivetus: "reddita mihi fuerunt duo exemplaria Ptolemaei . . . quae . . . illico ad Dominum Dubletium detuli, qui paulo ante inquisierat Vossii nomine an accepissem. Itaque scies esse in tuto." Hoc sine dubio virum clarissimum mirifice delectabit" [If you see Francis Junius, I ask you to impart to him kindest greetings on my behalf, and tell him he can sleep soundly on both ears concerning the Ptolemies, for Rivet wrote to me as follows, "the two Ptolemy copies were returned to me, which I immediately handed over to Mr. (George Rataller) Doublet, who had inquired a little before on Vossius' behalf whether I had received them. So you know they are in safety." This will no doubt enormously please the most renowned gentleman], 39 07 17, Dibon and Waquet (1984, no. 17). Cf. van Vliet (1994:179–207).

1 Recepisti aliquando literas meas datas anno MDCXXXV, pridie kalendas Ianuarii.²⁸ Inspice, si nondum conscidisti. Nam dum totam contracti matrimonii seriem in iis pertexo, breviter attigi unum aliquem scrupulum animo meo fuisse iniectum, plenissime tamen mihi Prudentiam rescriptis literis satisfecisse.²⁹ Satisfecit nempe, quia satisfaceri mihi cupiebam. Intererat certe non modo ipsius Prudentiae, quae mihi maiore afflictionum pondere non videbatur premenda, sed Iohannis quoque nostri, etiamnum vivi ac forte redituri, intererat ne tanta res in dubium vocaretur neve emanaret; tuis adhaec auribus parcendum putabam. Ne tamen molestia te afficiat odium ferocientis mulierculae, si forte ad vos advolarit, sic habe; ex nullo aut illius ecclesiae in qua matrimonium contractum dicunt, aut alterius alicuius ecclesiae syllabo liquido probari posse Prudentiam Green Iohanni Vossio denupsisse.³⁰ Fieri potest legitime initum esse matrimonium—per me licet, non ambigo, si tibi potest liquere. °Scripsi °aliquando ac si dubium non esset de contracto matrimonio; °intererat nempe °omnium sic existimari. Imo eadem mihi etiam nunc mens est. Huius tamen opinionis meae praeiudicium iudicio tuo officere in tanta re non debet, cum nihil aequius sit, quam ut genuino ecclesiae alicuius testimonio °evincat legitime nuptam ac nurum tuam esse. Inconsiderate certe atque °imprudenter transacta omnia. Incoeptio fuit amentium, haud amantium.³¹ °Huius rei cogitationem mihi in omnem eventum reservatam, non potui non hoc praesertim °tempore suggerere tibi. Vides quorsum tendat nuda haec relatio rei °[. . . iss]imae. Sed heus, mi affinis, Vulcano schedulam hanc lita.

1 Scripsi: Scri[+ psi] | aliquando: [+ aliq]uando | intererat: in[+ ter]erat | omnium: [+ omni]um | evincat: ev[+ in]cat | imprudenter: impr[+ ud]enter | Huius: Hu[+ ius] | tempore: tem[+ p]ore | [. . . iss]imae: [+ . . . iss]imae

²⁸ Letter 105.

²⁹ Cf. 105c.

1 One time you received my letter dated 1635, the day before the Kalends of January [10 Jan. 1636]. Please check if you have not torn it to pieces yet. For, when I went through the whole course of the conclusion of the marriage in it, I briefly mentioned that one doubt had been prompted to my heart, but that Prudence had wholly satisfied me in a reply letter. To be sure, she satisfied me because I wanted to be satisfied; it was certainly of interest that such a great affair would not be called in doubt nor would become known, not only to Prudence herself, whom I judged did not need to be pressed down by too great a weight of afflictions, but also to our Joannes, who was still alive and would perhaps return; besides, I thought of sparing your ears. Yet, so that the hatred of a furious common girl does not give you trouble, if she comes hastening to you, take the following: from no register, neither of that church in which they say the wedding was concluded, nor of some other church it can be manifestly shown that Prudence Greene married Joannes Vossius. The marriage can have been entered into legitimately; it is fine by me, I doubt not, if it is clear to you. I wrote one time as if there was no doubt about the conclusion of the marriage; to be sure, it was important that everybody thought so—well, even now I have the same viewpoint. Yet, the preconceived opinion of my judgement must not thwart your judgement in such an important affair, because nothing is more reasonable than for her to demonstrate with an authentic testimonial of some church that she is legitimately married and that she is your daughter-in-law. Everything has been done truly inconsiderately and imprudently. The enterprise was one of fools, not of lovers. Especially at this time, I could not refrain from suggesting to you the consideration of this, which I kept back in any event. You see where this simple report of a most [...] affair is tending to. But oh, my brother, sacrifice this sheet to Vulcan.

³⁰ Presumably because they had entered the pseudonyms “Fox” and “Bridges” in the matrimonial register instead of their own names, **b**, 104b.

³¹ Terence, *Andria* 218, “nam inceptiost amentium, haud amantium.”

⁰ 130 39 07 26 JOHN FRANCIUS (CAMBRIDGE) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

A *To my honoured freind, Mr. Franciscus Junius at Arundell house present these: London.*

a *Salutem plurimam dico.*

Clarissime Iuni, amicorum integerrime, litteras tuas 18 Iunii ex aedibus Arundellianis scriptas recte accepi.² Iis ^odispicere me volebas, an inveniam qui relictam Iohannis Vossii Prudentiam ad cautiore et tutiora traducat consilia.³ Quod cum efficere hactenus non potuerim, responsum procrastinavi. Stearnius, Collegii Iesu socius, Iohannis Vossii intimus erat, verum obiit, ut nosti.⁴ Praeter ipsum in Academia neminem novi, quo cum conferre ea de re valeam. Decretum quidem mihi erat expectare donec occurreret per quem commode quae volebas Prudentiae intimarem. Neque enim tuae videbantur requirere, eam ut adirem. Ac quemadmodum primum omnium, eam cum aliquot ante annos compellaturus esses Cantabrigiae nec faciem eius, nec domum qua degeret noram, ita non nisi tui causa eam postea accessi.⁵ Heri tum ad me cum mitteret seque ut accederem rogaret, ei non denegandum putavi, praesertim, quia cum matre denuo vivit intra oppidum.⁶

b Ad eam igitur cum venirem, quaesivit num a te accepissem litteras causam eius spectantes? Respondi quod sic. Dixi porro me ex te intellexisse quod rebus hisce te amplius immiscere nolles, quia cum sororis tuae eiusque liberorum futurum esset iniuria.⁷ Author insuper ipsi fui, ne abiret Amstelodamum, quia iter futurum esset cum sum-tuum iactura, postquam maritus omnia quae ex hereditate postulare poterat absumsisset. Ad quae illa, se Norwici habere consanguineum, qui subinde Amstelodami esset, et per plurimos annos mercaturam iis in locis exercuisset; illum accuratius inquisiisse in bona a Iohanne Vossio relictam, eumque paratum esse causam hanc agere Amstelodami.⁸

a dispicere: despicere

¹ o: UBA, M 86b.

² Junius' letter to Francius, dated 39 06 28, unretrieved.

³ Prudence Greene had threatened to go to Vossius to demand her share of Joannes Vossius' inheritance, 129b.

⁴ George Stearne had died of the plague in 1638, 91a.

⁵ Junius had gone to see Prudence in Cambridge in December 1635, 105b.

⁶ Prudence had meant to move in with her sister in Lincolnshire together with her mother, 105g.

130 39 07 26 JOHN FRANCIUS (CAMBRIDGE) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

A [See the original address.]

a I give warmest regards.

Widely renowned Junius, most virtuous friend,
I received your letter of 18 June written from Arundel House in good order. In it, you wanted me to examine whether I could find someone who may persuade Joannes Vossius' abandoned Prudence to more sensible and sounder advice. Since I have not been able to do so as yet, I have delayed an answer. Stearne, a fellow of Jesus College, was Joannes Vossius' intimate friend, but he died, as you know. Besides him I do not know anyone at the university to whom I can talk about this. I actually decided to wait until someone would turn up through whom I could easily intimate what you wanted to Prudence. For your letter seemed not to require me to go to her. And just as first of all, when you were about to address her in Cambridge many years ago, I neither knew her face nor the house where she lived, so I did not approach her later unless for your sake. Yesterday then, when she sent [a message] to me and asked of me to meet her, I felt I could not deny it to her, especially because she lives in town again with her mother.

b So when I went to her, she asked whether I had received a letter from you concerning her case. I answered that was so. I further said to have understood from you that you did not want to meddle any more with these matters, because it would be with injustice to your sister and her children. In addition, I advised her not to leave for Amsterdam, because the journey would be with a loss of expenses, after her husband had consumed everything she could demand from the inheritance. To this she [said] that she had a relative in Norwich who had often been in Amsterdam and had practised trade for many years in those regions; that he had inquired quite accurately after the possessions left by Joannes Vossius, and that he was prepared to plead this case in Amsterdam. She also said that she had a relative at Lincoln's Inn in London with a position as counsellor to

⁷ Joannes was the only child of Vossius' first marriage. Since Joannes' debts were paid from his share of the inheritance, any money given to Prudence would have to come from the shares due to the children of Vossius and Elizabeth Junius, 101c.

⁸ Prudence's relative in Norwich unidentified.

Item habere se referebat in Lincolniensi hospitio Londini consanguineum professione inter Leguleios Consiliarium, qui in Archiepiscopi curia suam agere posset causam ob separatum a se maritum, si per benignam compositionem impetrare nihil posset.⁹ Doctorem Colinum quidem causa eius secundas scripsisse litteras, quas per mercatorem clarissimo Vossio transmisisset; tertias quoque ab eodem se impetrare posse litteras, sed nec illum hucusque quicquam impetrare respondi.¹⁰ Tandem petiit a me, ut litteras impositas tibi transmitterem, dixitque se nunquam posthac molestias tibi se creaturam flagitando a te litteras, modo semel adhuc scribas ipsi quid *clarus* Vossius Amstelodamo in causa eius rescribat.¹¹

- c Tu facias quod tibi optimum videtur. Si quid sit, quo opera mea uti velis, tibi ius iubendi in me est. Pro arbitrato tuo habebis me ad omnia tua paratissimum obligatissimumque Iohannem Francium.

E Collegio *Sancti Petri*, Cantabrigiae; raptim; Iulii 16, anno 1639.

131 39 10 05 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

- a Francisco Iunio Fr.F. Ger.Io. Vossius salutem plurimam.

Plurimum gaudeo te recte valere et a prioribus curis liberum Arundeliana bibliothecae praesse, totumque te dare studiis et cudendis egregiis ingenii doctrinaeque monumentis.² Nihil enim non horum

b impetrare: [.. > impetrare]

⁹ Prudence's relative in London is unidentified.

¹⁰ Samuel Collins' letters to Vossius is unretrieved. Vossius had received the first one in June or early July 1637, **113e**.

¹¹ Prudence Greene's letter to Junius is unretrieved.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 100h; part of the bottom and of the left margin (hence the right margin on the verso) torn off. *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 69.

² This is the earliest attested reference to Junius' librarianship of the Arundel library. Probably because his tutorship of Arundel's grandchildren came to occupy him less, **122a**—which may also have inspired his hope to be able to visit Holland soon, cf. below—and the Arundel library had acquired such a size that a keeper was desired, Junius became its librarian for the rest of his service to the Arundel family. However, in the relevant literature and biographies, Junius is often simply identified as "Arundel's librarian" also for the period prior to 1639. Whereas his earliest biographer Joannes Georgius Graevius (1694), **224a**, and Anthony à Wood (1721:402) following him, did not indicate the nature of Junius' service to Arundel,

the pettifogging lawyers, who could plead her case at the archbishop's court, because her husband had been separated from her, if she could bring nothing to pass through a kindly arrangement; that for her sake Dr. Collins had actually written a second letter, which he had sent to the widely renowned Vossius through a merchant; that she can also get a third letter from him, but that he had not received any answer as yet either. Finally, she asked of me to send you the enclosed letter, and said she will never after cause trouble to you by demanding a letter from you, if only you write still one time to her what the renowned Vossius writes back from Amsterdam concerning her case.

- c You must do what you think best. If there is anything for which you wish to use my assistance, you have the right of commanding me. You will have me prepared and obliged for everything to your inclination,

John Francius.

From Peterhouse, Cambridge; in haste; 16 July in the year 1639.

131 39 10 05 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

- a Ger.Jo. Vossius [gives] warmest regards to Francis Junius Fr.F. I am glad that you are doing well and superintend the Arundel library, free from previous cares, and devote yourself completely to studies and to publishing excellent documents of your intellect and

more recent biographies do, such as *Literature* 1.xxxi, *DNB* 30.228, *BWN* 10.254, *BWPGN* 4.619. Nativel (1996:55; 1997:440) acknowledges that Junius' librarianship was mentioned in 1639, but does not draw any conclusions. The source of this tradition seems to be de Crane (1821:28), who concluded that "[h]uic . . . Maecenati Iunius a Bibliotheca fuit . . . eiusdemque filio Equiti Guilielmo Howardo a studiis" [Junius was librarian to this Maecenas and a tutor to his son Sir William Howard], on the basis of two letters. One of them dates from late August 1639, and in it Johannes Fredericus Gronovius wrote to Nicolaas Heinsius, **170b**, "Pirkheimeri codicem saepiuscule a Fr. Iunio poposci, sed negavit inveniri. Nec verbis eius indubito propter summam comitatem, qua omnibus quae vellem Arondellianae bibliothecae uti me facillime permisit" [I have quite often asked the Pirkheimer codex from Fr. Junius, but he said that it was not found. And I do not doubt about his words because of his great friendliness, with which he has easily permitted me to use anything of the Arundel library that I would want], 39 08 27, Dibon and Waquet (1984, no. 23). For Gronovius' use of the Arundel library, cf. **127c**, Dibon and Waquet (1984, no. 13). The other letter dates from 1641, and in it Daniel Sachsius—not Junius himself, which de Crane (*ibidem*) suggests—wrote to Vossius,

significavit ornatissimus Hollarius.³ Ex quo etiam intellexi, prope diem, ac fortasse Octobri hoc ipso, te in Hollandiam venturum.⁴ Utinam id fiat!

b Quod non solum optamus hic omnes amore videndi tui, sed etiam °quo ex communi consilio aliquid statuatur de rebus carissimae sororis Brunaeae.⁵ Filius eius iam ante biennium spem nobis iniecerat adventus tui.⁶ Sed hactenus, ut scis, frustra. Ubi is nunc sit, an in Anglia vel Gallia nescio.⁷ Saltem in Zelandia non esse, Amstelodamensi hac in urbe retulit mihi eius °patruus.⁸ Et aiebat idem, imminui a sorore nostra bona ab avia relicta. Praetexi a sorore auctoritatem nominis mei, qui nunquam in hoc consensi. Sed rogatus ab ea nomen meum subscripsi isti postulato, ut liceret in ius vocare liberorum suorum patrum, qui iniquissime, ut aiebat, retineret bonorum partem. Haec se petere °dicebat ex consilio prudentium hominum ac Iuniani nominis amantium. Scis quam omnia metiri soleam commodis eorum, quos amo. Sed existimant plerique, si mater pergat ita facilis esse in filio suppeditandis pecuniis de sorte sororum, fore fortassis ut in me cudadur faba ubi adoleverint.⁹ Sed de isto et aliis multis coram melius loquemur. Literis enim omnia committere nec velim, nec possim.

b quo: \quo/ | patruus: [.. > patruus] | dicebat: \dicebat/

“cumque multum mihi ad hanc rem adiumenti adferre possit eminentia tua, si efficiat apud *clarum* Dominum Franciscum Iunium, ut interdum unius atque alterius auctoris antiquioris usus ex Bibliotheca Arundeliana studiis meis concedatur, ne in hoc mihi desit obnixe rogo” [since your eminence could offer me much assistance for this (my studies), if it brought to pass with the renowned Mr. Francis Junius that the use of the one and other ancient author from the Arundel library is permitted for my studies, I strenuously ask of it not to fail me in this respect], 41 07 12, Colomesius 2.462. Any evidence that Junius was Arundel’s librarian before 1639 is yet to be found. Junius was meanwhile preparing *Catalogus artificum*, **58b**.

³ Wenceslaus Hollar (1607–1677), an eminent Bohemian etcher and draughtsman, whom Arundel had taken in his service in Germany in 1636. Hollar was capable of making anything, from landscapes to fur trimmings, the object of a fine and detailed work of art. At Arundel House, where he came to live, he was engaged in copying objects from the art collection and in drawing views from the house and other parts of London. He was also made drawing master of the future Charles II. He moved to Antwerp due to the Civil War presumably in 1644, but returned to England again in 1652. Sir William Dugdale became his patron and had him illustrate his antiquarian publications, **190A**. Apart from a journey to Tangier in 1668 as “His Majesty’s scenographer” in the company of Henry Howard, Hollar stayed in London until his death, half a year before Junius’. Hollar made two copperplates from van Dyck’s portrait of Junius, **110**, and one of Junius the Elder

learning. For the most excellent Hollar intimated all of this. I also heard from him that you will come to Holland soon, and perhaps this very October. I hope that it happens!

b All of us here desire so not only out of love of seeing you, but also so that something can be arranged for the interests of dearest Sister de Brune by joint advice. Her son had already given us hope of your coming two years ago, but so far in vain, as you know. Where he is now, whether in England or France, I do not know. That he is not in Zeeland, at least, his uncle told me in this town of Amsterdam. He also said that the possessions left by his grandmother are decreased by our sister; that the authority of my name, who never consented to this, is made up as an excuse by Sister. At her entreaty, I signed my name to the request that she were permitted to take to court her children's uncle, who held back part of the possessions unjustly, as she said. She said she asked so on the advice of wise men who are devoted to the Junius name. You know how I usually measure everything in accordance with the interests of those whom I love. But many people think that if the mother continues to be so easy on her son in supplying money from his sisters' capital, it may happen that the bean falls on me when they scent it. But about this and many other matters we better speak face to face. For I neither wish to nor can commit everything to paper.

in the present year. Cf. Springell (1963:136–67), Godfrey (1994), Griffiths and Kesnerova (1983), Parthey (1853, nos. 1430, 1431, 1429); cover illustration.

⁴ Junius had to postpone his trip to Holland until the summer of 1640, probably until his tutorship over Arundel's grandchildren had officially finished, **137b**.

⁵ Johanna Junius had created problems over the inheritance of her mother-in-law, Francijntgen Labyns, as explained in this section. First, upon the presumed authority of Vossius, she had accused Johan de Brune of having kept back the inheritance too long, and secondly, she was too munificent towards her son Jan in supplying the money for his tours from the inheritance, thus injuring her daughters Maria and Johanna. Cf. Worp (1890:90–91).

⁶ Junius had probably told Jan de Brune of his intention when Jan was with him in the spring of 1638, **121c**.

⁷ Jan had crossed from England to France in the spring, as Junius had already informed Vossius in **129d**. This may be an indication that Vossius had not yet received letter **129**.

⁸ Johan de Brune.

⁹ Terence, *Eunuchus* 381, "at enim istaec in me cudetur faba." Jan favoured a courtly lifestyle, **121e**.

- c** Mitto ad te partem operis nostri de Theologia Gentili et Physiologia Christiana; Sive de Idololotriæ Origine et Progressu, et ex Naturæ Mirandis Adscensu Hominis ad Deum.¹⁰ Hoc autem fine mitto, ut tradatur reverendissimo et illustre Domino Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.¹¹ Puto interim satius esse, detineas donec literas ad eum addidero, quas nunc exarare non conceditur, Hollario abutum parante et me ad nuptias intra horam ituro.¹² Quae partem istam antecedunt iam antea Domino Archiepiscopo misi.
- d** Ptolomaeum utrumque ex Arondeliana bibliotheca filius Isaacus accepit, ac totus °iam est in conferendis codicibus.¹³ Bene °pudiceque uterque adservatur, nec remittet, °nisi per hominem fidissemum. Optime per te id °fiet, si nos beare adventu tuo voles, °quod ut facias quantum possum rogo, oroque.
- e** | Vale optime et carissime affinis °et ab uxore et a liberis salve; °quorum Gerardus °Vellium suum ad te mittit.¹⁴ Gratum fore confido. °Propediem et Isaaci Iustinum videbis, sed quae ad eum °annotavit non ita multa sunt, minime tamen °aspernanda meo quidem iudicio.¹⁵ °Consequetur Valerius Flaccus Gerardi.¹⁶ Si manuscriptum °nancisci possis quaeso ne negligas.¹⁷ Iterum °vale. Amstelodami, °MDCXXXIX, III nonas Octobris, stylo °Gregoriano.

d iam: ia[+ m] (*Text lost in o completed by text from c*) | pudiceque uterque adservatur: [+ pudiceque uterque ad]servatur | nisi... fidissimum: [+ nisi... fidi]ssimum | fiet... adventu: [+ fiet, si nos beare adventu] | quod... possum: [+ quod ut facias, quantum poss]um | e et... a: [+ et ab uxore et a] | quorum: [..] quorum | Vellium... te: Vell[+ ium suum ad te] | Propediem et Isaaci: Propedie[+ m et Isaaci] | annotavit: [+ annotavit] | aspernanda: [+ aspernanda] | Consequetur Valerius: Conseque[+ tur Valerius] | nancisci possis: na[+ ncisci possis] | vale: val[+ e] | MDCXXXIX: MDCXX[+ XIX] | Gregoriano: G[+ regoriano].

¹⁰ Vossius, *De theologia gentili* (1641), **118i**.

¹¹ Junius had wanted to present a copy to Archbishop Laud, **129h**, but this need not be Vossius' response to that request.

¹² Vossius wrote to Laud only much later due to bad health, **136c**. Wedding unidentified.

¹³ Junius had borrowed two Ptolemy manuscripts from the Arundel library for Isaac Vossius, **127b**, **129g**.

- c I send you part of our book *On Pagan Religion and Christian Natural Science; or, On the Origin and Progress of Idolatry and Man's Ascension to God from the Miracles of Nature*. But I am sending it to the end that it will be handed to the right reverend and illustrious lord archbishop of Canterbury. Meanwhile, I think it is better for you to keep it until I have added a letter to him, which I am not granted to write now, because Hollar is preparing his departure and I am going to a wedding in an hour. What precedes this part I sent to the lord archbishop already before.
- d My son Isaac received both Ptolemies from the Arundel library and is already wholly devoting himself to collating the manuscripts. Each is guarded well and humbly, and he will only send them back through a trustworthy person. This will be done best through you, if you wish to delight us with your coming, which I pray and beseech you to do as much as I can.
- e Farewell, excellent and dearest Brother, and my wife and children wish you well. Of them, Gerardus sends you his Velleius. I trust it will be welcome. Soon you will also see Isaac's Justinus, but what he annotated to it is not that much, yet must not at all be disregarded in my opinion. Gerardus' Valerius Flaccus will follow. If you are able to obtain a manuscript, I pray you not to fail to do so. Again, farewell.
Amsterdam, 1639, on the third before the Nones of October, Gregorian style [5 Oct.].

¹⁴ Gerardus Vossius, *Velleius* (1639), **106a**.

¹⁵ Isaac Vossius, *Iustinus Historiarum ex Trogo Pompeio libri XLIV. Cum notis Is. Vossii* (Leiden, 1640), Justin's compendium (2nd–4th c. A.D.) of the otherwise lost history of the world, "Philippic History," by Pompeius Trogus, dating from the reign of Augustus (c.30 B.C.–A.D. 14). According to Ebert (1830, no. 11144), Isaac made many good corrections to the text and added illuminating annotations. The latter have been preserved in manuscript in UBA, RK Bc 14, Cat. 398. Junius' copy not found in UBL. Cf. *OCD* (1996:802, 1217), Rademaker (1981:396).

¹⁶ Gerardus' transcript of Valerius Flaccus, *Argonautica*, an epic poem on the Argonauts' travels in search of the Golden Fleece, has been preserved in UBA, RK III D 21–22, Cat. 403. His annotations were included in the edition of Valerius Flaccus by Petrus Burmannus (Leiden, 1724). Cf. Rademaker (1981:397), *OCD* (1996:1578), Courtney (1970:lvii).

¹⁷ No indication that Junius helped Gerardus to manuscripts was found.

132 40 02 07 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO CHRISTOPH TIMPLER (BREMEN)¹

A Eruditione ac probitate conspicuo *Domino*, *Domino* Christophoro Timplero, Medicinae in inelyta Bremensium republica doctori vigilantissimo.²

a Amicissime Domine, non te latet, scio, quam bene tranquillitati suae in hac vita, praecipue tamen in fatali illa decursi mortalis aevi catastrophe, consulant quotquot unicuique suum tribuunt.³ Nullus adhaec dubito, quin vel invito tibi subinde veniat in mentem nummorum Lutetiae a me promptissime suppeditorum tibi carcerem et vincula iamiam subituro.⁴ Appello fidem illam, quam dabas lachrimabundus et moesti pectoris singultus ex imo trahens.⁵ Nihil addo gravius, ne isthaec commemoratio quasi exprobratio sit immemoris beneficii, quin potius arbitrari libet nihil eorum, quae receperas, hactenus praestitisse, quod incertum habueris, num in vivis etiamnum essem et ubi terrarum degerem. Visum est itaque e re pariter mea tuaque esse, ut certiozem te faciam, me adhuc versari Londinii in aedibus illustrissimi Arundelliae ac Surriae Comitum. Gratum erit, si praeteritorum memoriam nondum penitus tibi effluxisse intellexero. Non desunt apud vos mercatores, qui mihi hic refundere possint, quod maxime necessario tempore humanarum rerum memor propter communia Musarum sacra, nec non propter inelytam paternae vestrae familiae famam lubens meritoque tibi impendi. Vale. In aedibus Arundellianis, anno 1640, 5 kalendas Februarii. Tuus omni officio.

¹ *ca.* UBA, M 73b, on the same sheet as letters 128 and 137.

² Christopher Timpler (d. c.1636), German doctor of medicine, a son of the philosopher Clemens Timpler, who had invited Vossius to a professorship in Steinfurt in 1615, 11d. There is hardly any information on Christopher available besides what may be deduced from the present letter, letter 137, and 144a. He seems to have received private tuition from Vossius together with his brother Rudger (1602–1655), presumably from 1615, and to have matriculated at Groningen in 1628 to study medicine. Obviously, he had also been in Paris, where Junius had met him, probably in 1631, a. Timpler seems to have died already in about 1636, 144a, so that Junius actually wrote this letter and 137 to no-one, and the form of address was no longer current either—as Freedman, who did not know 144a, failed to realise. Cf. Freedman (1988, esp. 42, 483–84), *ADB* 38.355, *ASG* (1915, s.v.).

³ “Tribuere suum cuique” occurs several times in Cicero. Junius probably referred to his having just turned forty-nine on 29 January, 221c, a multiple of seven and consequently an “annus climactericus,” which was considered a critical moment in human life, not only in Chaldaic astrology, as noted by Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*

132 40 02 07 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO CHRISTOPH TIMPLER (BREMEN)

A To the gentleman conspicuous for his learning and integrity, Mr. Christoph Timpler, the most vigilant doctor of medicine in the celebrated town of Bremen.

a Dearly beloved sir,

It is evident to you, I know, how well all those who give every person their due care for their own peace of mind in this life, yet especially at that fated turning point of a temporal lifetime that has been passed through. Furthermore, I do not at all doubt that even unintentionally the money I quite readily offered to you in Paris, when you were just about to suffer imprisonment and fetters, repeatedly crosses your mind. I make an appeal to that pledge which you gave, bursting into tears and letting out sobs from the bottom of your afflicted heart. I add nothing more severe, so that this reminder is not almost a reproach for a forgotten favour, since I would rather believe that you have not yet returned anything of what you received, because you were uncertain whether I were still alive and where I lived. So it seemed to be equally in your and my interest to inform you that I am still staying in London at the house of the most illustrious earl of Arundel and Surrey. It will be welcome to me to understand that the memory of past events has not yet completely flown from you. There are merchants in your place who can refund me here what, considerate of human circumstances at a most needful moment, I willingly and deservedly expended on you because of our joint cult of the Muses and also because of the celebrated reputation of your father's family. Farewell.

At Arundel House in the year 1640 on the 5th before the Kalends of February [7 Feb.].

Obligingly Yours.

3.10.9, but also by Vossius, for instance. Cf. *LSJ*, s.v. κλιμακτήρ, Rademaker (1981:338).

⁴ Junius had presumably met Timpler in Paris during his stay there in the summer of 1631, **83**. Reason of Timpler's imprisonment unidentified.

⁵ Cf. Quintilian, *Declamationes maiores* [sp.] 19.15.11, **65b**; Seneca the Younger, *Dialogi* 11.18.6.7–8, "fluant lacrimae . . . trahantur ex imo gemitus pectore."

133 40 [05 00] ISAAC VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

- a** Non potui omittere, *charissime* avuncule, quin oblata occasione °per hunc iuvenem aliquid ad te literarum mitterem; eo ipso praesertim id a nobis exigente. °Is autem est Gentius, iuvenis pius et in Hebraicis exercitissimus, quique etiam Arabicis animum applicavit, °adeo ut nihil °iam aliud nisi Constantinopolim °cogitet, qua in re non leviter quoque tuam °sibi profuturam operam confidit, si per negotia °licuerit.²
- b** Tristitiam et luctum °nostrae familiae sine dubio °iam °intellexisti vel ex materteris vel aliunde.³ Ignoscas iusto dolori, si non tunc, cum oportet, id est, quamprimum, certiorum te °fecerimus. Vix enim credas quam nos omnes insperatus et acerbus ille casus affligerit, excessus inquam sororis Ioannae et fratris Gerardi. Non unquam alias ita nos invisit Deus, ut geminum familiae nostrae funus immitteret, bina carissima pignora idque tam arcto temporis spatio, adimendo; °haereditate nobis relicta dolore. Vix tres hebdomades sorori supervixit frater. Quantum °in eo *Respublica* amiserit literaria scripta eius posthuma, me edente, testabuntur.⁴
- c** °Pater °etiam °aliquamdiu podagra decubuit.⁵ Iam tamen melius se habet. Liber eius de Idololatria absolutus excepto indice et titulo operis.⁶ Annalium Matthaei tomus alter intra paucos, °ut puto, dies

a per: [- *aliquid ad te*] per | Is: [- *Est*] Is | adeo ut: [*qua etiam de* > adeo ut [- *nihil causa*]] | iam: [*iam* > iam] | cogitet: cogit[*a* > e]t | sibi: [- *p*] sibi | licuerit: [- *tu*] licuerit | **b** nostrae: nostr[*am* > ae] | iam: [- *i aliunde*] iam | intellexisti: inte[*x* > ll]existi | fecerimus: f[*a* > e]cerimus | haereditate: [- *Vix enim frater sori tres hebdomades supervixit*] haereditate | in: [*e* > i]n | **c** Pater: [- *Patris liber de Idololatria absolutus est*] Pater | etiam: [- *eius*] etiam | aliquamdiu: [- *d*] aliquamdiu | ut puto: \ut puto/

¹ *d.* BL, Hl. 7012, f. 458. Written in May 1640, slightly earlier or contemporaneously with letter **134**, on the occasion of Georg Gentius' journey to England, **a**, **134a**.

² Georg Gentius (1618–1687), German Orientalist. He had studied under the Orientalists Jacobus Golius, Ludovicus de Dieu (1590–1642) and Constantinus l'Empereur (1591–1648) at Leiden from 1638, and had published a translation of Maimonides, *Canones ethicae* (Amsterdam, 1640), under the direction of Menasseh ben Israel, **186c**, in Amsterdam. With support from several Dutch dignitaries, and probably from Englishmen, **136b**, he travelled to Constantinople to stay with the Dutch resident for some years. He returned to Amsterdam in 1648 and made several more publications before returning to Germany. Notwithstanding being a Lutheran, **136b**, he praised Maimonides and was the only seventeenth-century

133 40 [05 00] ISAAC VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

- a** I could not omit to send you a letter, dearest Uncle, now an opportunity has presented itself through this young man, especially since he himself asked so of us. He is Gentius, a pious young man well versed in Hebrew, who has also devoted his attention to Arabic to such an extent, that he is thinking of nothing else now but of going to Constantinople, for which he believes that also your efforts will greatly benefit him, if your occupations allow so.
- b** Without doubt you have already heard of our family's grief and mourning either from Aunt or otherwise. Forgive justified grief, if we did not inform you then, when we should have done so—that is, instantly. For you can hardly believe how that unexpected and tragic disaster has stricken us all; I mean the passing away of Sister Johanna and Brother Gerardus. Never else did God try us in such a way, that he sent two funerals to our family by taking away two dearest children, and this within such a brief period of time, leaving us sorrow as inheritance. Brother outlived Sister hardly three weeks. How much the Republic of Letters lost in him will be testified by his posthumous writings, which I will publish.
- c** Father also suffered from gout for some time. But he is feeling better now. His book *On Idolatry* is finished, except for the index and the title of the book. The second volume of Matthaeus' *Annals* will be submitted to the press in a few days, as I think. I am engaged

Christian for whom two Dutch rabbis composed commendatory poems. Cf. *NNBW* 9.277–79, Katchen (1984:247–59), Juynboll (1931:215–17).

³ Johanna and Gerardus Vossius had died of measles on 3 and 27 March 1640. Johanna Junius may have informed Junius of this, but no letter of hers to him was retrieved. Isaac probably repeated the news here because the Vossius family had not received a letter of condolence from Junius, **134a**, **136a**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:337–38), Blok (1999:69).

⁴ Isaac intended to supervise the publication of Gerardus' annotations on Valerius Flaccus, **131e**, and on Censorinus, *De die natali*, a book on human life and the division of time, but nothing came of it. Cf. Blok (1999:69–70), *OCD* (1996:308).

⁵ Vossius was suffering from gout; according to Castellus (1713, s.v.), “podagra is properly gout of the feet, although it is commonly accepted to use this word generally for all gout” (my trsl.).

⁶ Vossius, *De theologia gentili* (1641), **118i**.

praelo subiicietur.⁷ Ego in Ptolomeio °versor.⁸ Scriptos illustrissimi Arundelliae Comitis codices °ipse, ut spero, hac aestate in Angliam referam.⁹ Sin minus, fida aliqua oblata occasione remittam. Amstelodami, °1640.

134 40 05 15 MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Nobili et clarissimo viro, Francisco Iunio, °in aedibus Arundelianis, Londinum.

a Charissime avuncule, *salutem plurimam*.

Calamitatem domui nostrae inflictam haud dubio ex fratris Isaaci iam intellexeris litteris; °quam °cogitationem revocare nolim, ne dolorem, cuius te participem ob sanguinis communionem scio, °simul refricem.² Et ut ego °vix iis de rebus scribere °possum, ita et te non lubenter °pro certo habeo °auditurum. Dei facta voluntas, cui animam non commendavit modo, sed devovit iuxta sororem frater °piae memoriae Gerardus. Faxit Deus omnipotens talem ut possimus sortiri °exitum, ne °solliciti simus °amplius de °meliori post hanc °vita, quam merito tanquam summam felicitatem °concupiscimus; °quando non ob aliam nos putem natos causam. °Sed quid ego hac de re °ad eum longe ista melius me intelligentem? Ad alia igitur transeo.

b Est hic qui hasce ad te defert iuvenis °pictoriae arti graviter °incumbens, ut videre poterunt, °et simul iudicare illi, qui opera ipsius uti

c versor: [- etiam] versor | ipse: [- ul] ipse | 1640: \16/40

134A in: [in a > in] | **a** quam: qu[e > a]m | cogitationem revocare: [renovare > cogitationem revocare] | simul refricem: [exuscitem > simul refricem] | vix: [non lubenter > vix] | possum: \possum/ | pro certo habeo: \pro certo habeo [- pro]/ | auditurum: auditurum [- puto] | piae: pie | exitum: exitum \[- et offere animam]/ | solliciti: sollici\ti/ | amplius: \amplius/ | meliori: meliori | vita: [- amplius] vita | concupiscimus: concupis[s > c]imus | quando: [Felicitatem nuncupo quia > quando] | Sed: [- quam ut illam adipisci queramus.] Sed | ad... intelligentem?: [tali, cui satis cuncta satis perspecta > ad eum longe ista melius me intelligenti?] | **b** pictoriae: [- qui] pictoriae | incumbens: incu[buit > mbens] | et: [- illi] et

⁷ Matthaeus Vossius, *Annalium... pars altera* (1641), **152c**.

⁸ Isaac was preparing a new edition of Ptolemy, **126a**.

in Ptolemy. I will return the most illustrious earl of Arundel's manuscript codices to England myself this summer, as I hope. But if not, I will send them back when a reliable opportunity presents itself. Amsterdam, 1640.

134 40 05 15 MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the noble and most distinguished gentleman Francis Junius, at Arundel House, London.

a Warmest regards, dearest Uncle,

Without any doubt you have already heard of the disaster that has stricken our house from Brother Isaac's letter; which thought I do not want to recall, in order not at the same time to refresh the grief, which I know you to share because of our bond of blood. And just as I can hardly write about this, so I likewise know for certain that you will not gladly hear about it. God's will was done, to whom Brother Gerardus of blessed memory, besides Sister, not just commended but sacrificed his soul. May God Almighty grant us to be able to receive such an end and no longer to be concerned about the better life after this one, to which we are justly aspiring as to the highest happiness, for I think we were not born for any other reason. But what [am] I [saying] about this to someone who understands this much better than I do? I therefore turn to other matters.

b He who hands this letter to you is a young man who seriously devotes himself to the art of painting, as those who wish to use his service could see and judge at the same time. I have never heard gossips speak ill of his way of life. As long as he was in Amsterdam,

⁹ Junius had borrowed two Ptolemy manuscripts for Isaac from the Arundel library, **129g**. Isaac had already intended to visit England in the train of Johannes Polyander à Kerckhoven, lord of Heenvliet, **139a**, at the end of 1639, but had fallen ill. He finally went to England in April 1641, **143a**. No details were found as to why Isaac did not accompany Junius back to England in the autumn, **137b^a**, nor Heenvliet, together with Coenraad Burgh, in early January 1641, **139a**. Cf. Blok (1999:75–76).

¹ *d*: UBA, D 96d.

² Johanna and Gerardus Vossius had died of measles, as Isaac Vossius had informed Junius in **133b**. Matthaeus probably repeated the news here because the Vossius family had not received a letter of condolence from Junius, **133b**, **136a**.

velint.³ Maledicos de vita °eius nunquam male loqui audivi. Quamdiu Amstelredami fuit nihil etiam parenti visum quod non probaret.⁴ Angliam nunc petit, quia artem °suam in pretio haberi ibi °non dubitat. Et idcirco postulavit a me epistolam, °tua ut opera videre posset °picturas et sculptilia quae in illustrissimi Comitis Arundelii aula adservantur.⁵ Conaminibus talis qui ad virtutem altioraque adscendere °studet, °defuturum te ductorem pro comperto °non esse dubitet ille qui °facilitatem ignorat tuam. Ignosces, charissime avuncule, meae libertati, et condonabis si °quid commissum. Facile peccamus amore; qui ubi semel animum occupavit, verba extorquet. Humanitati interea tuae confidens haec exaravi. Vale, charissime avuncule, plurimumque salve a parentibus totaque familia.⁶ Amstelredami, MDCXL, XV Maii.
Tuus merito tuo addictissimus et °ad qualibet obsequia paratus, M.V.

- c Frater Franciscus De Victoria navali adversum Hispanos parta duo °transmisit per Gentium exemplaria, unum ut reserves, alterum ut tradere illi velis °cui argumentum °non fore °ingratum putes.⁷

135 40 05 23 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHN FRANCIUS (CAMBRIDGE)¹

A Cantabrigiam.

a Domino Iohanni Francio salutem plurimam.

Facio rem cum tuis moribus tum meo studio consentaneam, quum bonos °literatosque viros academiam vestram lustrare cupientes ami-

b eius: \eius/ | suam: [pictoriam > suam] | non dubitat: [pro certo putat > non dubitat] | tua ut: [ut per te vi > tua ut] | picturas et: \picturas et/ | studet: [conatur > studet] | defuturum: [- non] defuturum | non: \non/ | facilitatem: [humanitatem > facilitatem] | quid: \[- in sermonibus]/ quid | ad: \ad/ | c transmisit per Gentium: trans[mittit > misit per Gentium] | cui: [quem te non, quia > cui] | non: [- forsan \[.]/ Anglia [. . .] \minus/ placet, offensum] \non/ | ingratum: \ingratum/

135a literatosque: [- bonos] literatosque

³ Painter unidentified; he was not of Amsterdam origin, cf. below. Possibly he went to England in the company of Georg Gentius, whom Matthaëus mentioned in c, Isaac Vossius commended in 133a, and Vossius in 136b.

⁴ This may be an indication that the painter had studied at the Athenaeum Illustre.

⁵ The Arundel collection of marbles and paintings was an attraction to visitors, 56b.

Father did not see anything of which he did not approve either. He is going to England now, because he is convinced that his skill is esteemed highly there. For this reason he asked a letter of me, so that with your assistance he could see the paintings and statues which are kept at the court of the most illustrious earl of Arundel. Someone who endeavours to ascend to virtue and rather high concepts by such support, and who does not know your ease, may doubt whether you will not be wanting as a guide for certain. Dearest Uncle, you must forgive my impertinence, and pardon [me] if I have done anything wrong. We easily sin because of love, which wrenches words from the heart, once it has occupied it. Meanwhile, I have written this trusting on your kindness. Farewell, dearest Uncle, and my parents and the whole family are wishing you very well.

Amsterdam, 1640, 15 May.

Your M.V., who is most dedicated to your merit and prepared for any services.

- c Brother Franciscus sent two copies of *On the Naval Victory Inflicted against the Spaniards* through Gentius, in order for you to keep one and be willing to give the other one to someone to whom you think the topic might be welcome.

135 40 05 23 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHN FRANCIUS (CAMBRIDGE)

A To Cambridge.

- a Warmest regards to Mr. John Francius.

I do something in accordance with both your manners and my consideration, when I recommend right-minded and literate gentlemen, who wish to visit your university, as of superior quality to my best friend. I really could not deny this insignificant service to a gentleman

⁶ The phrase “tota familia” referred not only to Isaac and Franciscus Vossius, but probably also to Franciscus Junius F.N. and his sister Maria, who seem to have both been staying with the Vossius family at the time, **137b^a, 152f.**

⁷ Franciscus Vossius, *Carmen de victoria navali . . . ductu . . . Martini Heriberti Trompii* (Amsterdam, 1640), a poem singing the praises of the celebrated triumph of the Dutch admiral Maarten Harpertsz. Tromp (1598–1653) over the great Spanish armada in October 1639. In it, Franciscus called himself “Franciscus Iunianus Vossius.” Junius’ copy not found in UBL. Cf. Israel (1995:537).

¹ ca: UBA, M 70a; on the same sheet as **141, 148, 149, 154, 155, 156.**

corum optimo veluti de meliore nota commendo. Non potui sane hanc qualemcumque operam denegare homini, qui cum magna mihi iam inde usque a pueritia intercessit familiaritas. Is est *Dominus Ver Laen*, *Harlemensis*, qui non modo a perenni contestataque antiquae et consularis familiae virtute non degeneravit, verum etiam alia cultioris animi ornamenta ad avitam generosae stirpis gloriam adiunxit.² Vereor ne me iniurium dicas, si multis verbis a te pertendam efflagitare, quod satis prolixè tua sponte soles praestare. °Breviter itaque sic habe. Hunc abs te nollem suscipi, nisi mereretur probari; et, si bene aestimo, °ingenuitatem viri vel prima facies, caetera politissimae mentis bona modicus tibi statim usus expediet. Vale.
Datum in aedibus Arundellianis, anno 1640, 13 Maii.

136 40 05 25 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Francisco Iunio Francisci F., Londinum.

a Coniunctissime affinis, anno hoc integro, qui partim morbis variis, partim mortibus meorum transactus mihi, avide, ut semper, expectavi vel tuum in has terras adventum, vel aliquid saltem literarum.² Sed spes me fefellit, sive aut valetudo te impediit, aut occupationes, sive sic natura est tua, ut nihil aeque facias invitus, quam ut literas scribas. Equidem nec ipse in literario hoc negotio valde sum munificus. Tu tamen, ni fallor, longe magis parcipromus.³ Sed huiusmodi ambo in altero capere in meliorem partem debemus.

135a Breviter: Brevi[- ..]ter | ingenuitatem: [- *ingenit*] ingenuitatem

² Possibly Nicolaus Verlaen, or van der Laen, who had matriculated at Leiden in October 1611, aged thirteen (and possibly again in 1613, aged sixteen), and may have met Junius there. From then on, Vossius also corresponded with members of the Haarlem magistrate family van der Laen, who had furnished the town with several burgomasters; Niklaes van der Laen, for instance, had been a burgomaster in 1572/3, and again in 1581, and another Nicolaus Verlaen was a burgomaster in 1612. Cf. *ASL* (1875, s.v.), *ICVossius* (1993, s.vv.), *Ampzing* (1628/1974:180, 470, 3013).

¹ c: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 70; heading in Vossius' hand.

² Vossius had suffered from gout, a fever, and colic; Elizabeth Junius and Matthaëus

with whom I have cherished a strong friendship ever since childhood. He is Mr. Verlaen, from Haarlem, who not only has not degenerated from the enduring and testified virtue of an ancient and burgomaster's family, but has also joined other ornaments of a refined heart to the ancestral glory of the noble family. I fear you may call me unfair, if I continue to request in many words what you are used to do abundantly enough of your own accord. So, have it in short as follows. I would not want him to be cared for by you, unless he deserves to be approved of—and, if I judge well, even a first appearance will immediately reveal the man's ingenuity to you; limited communication the other qualities of his sophisticated mind. Farewell.

Written at Arundel House in the year 1640, 13 May.

136 40 05 25 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To Francis Junius, Franciscus' son, London.

a Dearest Brother,

This whole year, which passed for me partly with various diseases, partly with my children's deaths, I have, eagerly as always, awaited either your coming to this country, or at least a letter. But hope deceived me, be it that either your health or your occupations prevented you, or that your character is such, that you do nothing as reluctantly as writing letters. To be sure, neither I myself am most generous in this commerce of letters, but if I am not mistaken, you are a much greater niggard. But since both of us are such, we should think about the other in a better manner.

and Isaac had been seriously ill, and Johanna and Gerardus had died of measles, **133b–c**. Wenceslaus Hollar had suggested Junius might come to Holland the previous October, **131a**. Furthermore, Vossius had probably just received Grotius' letter dated 40 05 12, in which Grotius wondered whether Junius was already in Holland, as the latter had informed him of his plans in an unretrieved letter written earlier in spring, **125c**³. Possibly, Junius had not written to the Vossius family after letter **129**. Vossius must have been particularly disgruntled that Junius had not sympathised with him on his children's deaths, **133b**, **134a**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:337–38n).

³ "Parcipromus" is a word from Plautus, cf. *Truculentus* 183, "qui cum geniis suis belligerant parcipromi;" *Pseudolus* 1266, "parce promi."

b Qui has tibi literas tradit, Gentius est, iuvenis pius et doctus, praecipue in literis Hebraicis, nec Arabicarum ignarus, quarum ardore Constantinopolim cogitat.⁴ Exoptat, ut legato Constantinopolitano in urbe serenissimi Regis Britannici nomine agenti possit commendari.⁵ Puto, hoc non difficulter consecuturum ab uno altero, cui cum eo notitia sit. In his a nobili Equite Boswello, ad quem et literas habere intelligo.⁶ Aliud etiam optat, ut maecenatis alicuius sumptibus ex parte saltem sublevetur.⁷ Hic haereo, nec sic sunt temporum mores, ut liberales adeo homines esse soleant, praesertim in exteris iuandis. Optabat, ut aliquid sui causa scriberem ad reverendissimum et illustrissimum Dominum Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem. Sed pro extero tale quid poscere non erat mei pudoris. Et scio illum, ut sunt nunc res Britannicae, curis longe aliis distineri.⁸ Metuo etiam, ne apud alios quosdam obstare ei possit, quod sit Confessionis Augustanae.⁹ Faveo interim iuveni, tum quia illum Theologi Bremenses aliquando mihi per literas commendarunt, tum etiam quia mores eius honestos et ardorem in studiis perspexisse mihi satis videor.¹⁰ Si possis, consilio iuva. Pergratum erit. Sin nihil videas, quo prodesse queas, ipse viderit, quorum consilio Angliam petierit. Nisi hoc solatii sufficiet, quod interim viris aliquot doctis et Orientalium linguarum amantissimis potuerit innotescere; fortasse et aliquid literarum Constantinopolim ad commendationem sui impetrare.

b eo: [*etiam* > eo]

⁴ Georg Gentius, **133a**. His intended journey and wish for support is reminiscent of Christian Ravius', **118a-b**.

⁵ Sir Sackville Crowe, the English ambassador at Constantinople, who provided Gentius with a passport for his return. When he was in Constantinople, Gentius stayed with the Dutch resident instead, **133a**. Cf. Beyer (1733: 35–36), personal communication Gerald Toomer.

⁶ Sir William Boswell, the English resident in The Hague, who was staying in England for a year until July 1640, cf. Schutte (1983, no. 79).

⁷ Gentius made his journey to Constantinople with support from several Dutchmen, **133a**, and, as he later claimed to Boswell, with support and advice from archbishops Ussher and Laud, cf. Beyer (1733:22).

⁸ After the inconclusive First Bishops' War in 1639, **124c**, order and power in England were steadily reversing. From 1629 to April 1640, the so-called years of personal rule, Charles I had reigned as an absolute monarch without calling Parliament once, depending principally on the advice and executive capabilities of Archbishop Laud and Thomas Wentworth (1593–1641), earl of Strafford, lord deputy of Ireland. However, Charles had felt forced to summon Parliament to try and raise support for his intended second war against the Scots in the summer—the meeting of the armies having been planned for within a fortnight after the present letter. Convening only for three weeks in April and early May, and thus known as the Short Parliament,

b He who delivers this letter to you is Gentius, a pious young man, and learned, especially in Hebrew, but he also knows Arabic; out of love for them he considers going to Constantinople. He much wishes that he can be commended to the Constantinople ambassador residing in the town on behalf of the right serene king of England. I think this will easily be acquired from the one or other who knows him; among them, from the noble sir Boswell, for whom I understand he also has a letter. He also wishes something else, to be at least partly supported by a patron's contributions. Here I am at a loss, nor are the manners of the times such, that people tend to be generous, especially in assisting strangers. He wished me to write something for his sake to the right reverend and illustrious lord archbishop of Canterbury. But it was not in accordance with my decency to beg such a matter for a stranger. And I know him to be occupied by most different concerns, such as the English circumstances are now. I also fear that for some other people it can impede him that he is of the Augsburg Confession. But I favour the young man, both because Bremen theologians commended him to me in a letter one time, and also because I think I have sufficiently perceived his upright manners and love for his studies. If you can, assist him with advice. It will be most welcome. If you see nothing to which you can be of use, he will notice on whose advice he left for England. Unless it suffices as a comfort that he can meanwhile become known to some learned men who are deeply devoted to Oriental languages and perhaps obtain a letter to his recommendation for Constantinople.

the Houses refused to grant Charles the necessary funds, but did take the opportunity to voice numerous grievances, notably on their not having been called for such a long time, and on the imposition of the High Church policies championed by Laud. Nevertheless, Charles and the Scots met in the Second Bishops' War, but the Scots won and, occupying northern England, forced Charles to pay them £850 a day. Parliament consequently had to be called again in November. This so-called Long Parliament, which officially lasted until 1660, continued to voice grievances. It impeached Laud on the charge of high treason on 28 December and tried Wentworth several months later, **142a, c**. Cf. *DNB* 60.268–83, Smith (1997:279–95), Fritze and Robison (1996: 284–85, 391–94, 494–95, 514–15), Trevor-Roper (1940: 378–404), Sharpe (1992:851–95).

⁹ The Augsburg Confession is the principal declaration of the Lutheran doctrine, cf. *ERE* 3.845–50.

¹⁰ Gentius had been commended to Vossius by the Bremen theologian Ludovicus Crocius, **143c**, in a letter dated 38 04 28, and possibly also by Balthasar Wille, **137a***, in a letter dated 38 04 19, not seen. Cf. Colomesius 2.265, *ICVossius* (1993:239).

c Ad alia venio. Iam diu est, quod misi ad te partem operis nostri De Theologia gentili, et physiologia Christiana | sive De Idololatriae origine et progressu °ex naturae mirandis.¹¹ Eam, °spero, partem tradideris reverendissimo Domino Archiepiscopo. Literas decreram ad ipsum scribere. Sed morbus, qui consecutus mox, impediit. Nunc mitto pene quicquid °superest, et literas adiunxi.¹² °Trades ipse simulac poteris. Nisi forte sic res °sunt Britannicae, ut pauxillum esse differendum hoc negotium existimes. Omnem rem tui facio arbitrii. Et ut certius videas, quid factu opus exemplum eorum, quae raptissime in hoc corporis languore ad eum perscripti, transmittendum putavi.¹³ Simulac legeris, concerpes. Quaeso paullo diligentius ad me deinceps scribe. Scio non tutum satis esse literis °omnia committere. Sed exarare licet ex quibus etiam epistola intercepta nihil fuerit periculi. Vale carissime affinis.
Amstelodami, MDCXL, idibus Maii stilo vetere; τάχιστα.
Tuus totus, Ger.I. Vossius.

d Tu quoque exemplum imitere. Nec enim curam ullam in literis alter ab altero exigere debemus.

137₀ 40 08 13 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO CHRISTOPH TIMPLER [BREMEN]¹

A Eidem.²

a Certior factus ex ipso, qui eas tibi tradidit, mercatore, meas ad te litteras iam dudum recte perlatas, mirari satis nequeo te nihil adhuc

c ex: e[t > x] | spero: [quaeso > spero] | superest: [supe > superest] | Trades: [T..des > Trades] | sunt: \sunt/ | omnia: \omnia/

¹¹ Vossius had sent part of *De theologia gentili* (1641) with letter **131**, requesting Junius to present it to Archbishop Laud, and expressing his intention to add a letter, **131c**.

¹² Vossius' letter to Laud is dated 40 05 08. When handing Laud the remainder of the book and Vossius' letter, Junius received two publications from the archbishop to present to Vossius, which he brought along when visiting Amsterdam in July, **137b**^a. Cf. *ICVossius* (1993:261), Colomesius 2.300.

¹³ Vossius' letter to Laud, written during his sickness, is unretrieved, cf. *ICVossius* (1993:462).

¹ ca: UBA, M 73c; on the same sheet as letters **128** and **132**. Sent only in March

c I turn to other matters. It is already long ago that I sent to you part of our book *On Pagan Religion and Christian Natural Science; or, On the Origin and Progress of Idolatry from the Miracles of Nature*. You have delivered that part, I hope, to the right reverend lord archbishop. I had decided to write a letter to him. But an illness, which followed soon, prevented this. Now I send almost all that is left and have added a letter. You must deliver it yourself as soon as you can. Unless the English circumstances are perhaps such, that you judge this duty must be somewhat postponed. I leave it all to your judgement. In order for you to see more certainly what must be done, I thought I should send a copy of what I wrote to him in great haste during that bodily weakness. You must tear it to pieces as soon as you have read it. I pray, write to me somewhat more diligently from now on. I know it is not safe enough to commit everything to paper. But you can write news from which comes no danger even if the letter is intercepted. Farewell, dearest Brother.

Amsterdam, 1640, on the Ides of May old style [25 May]; *in great haste*.

Yours Truly, Ger.J. Vossius.

d You, imitate the example as well. For we should not require each other to take any trouble over letters.

137 40 08 13 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO CHRISTOPH TIMPLER [BREMEN]

A To the same.

a Having been informed by the very merchant who gives you this one that my letter had been delivered to you in good order long before, I am incapable of being sufficiently amazed at your having not at all considered answering yet. If you value the little [sum of] money which I quite readily poured in your purse at a most needful moment, taking into account the rate of exchange, which you

1641, enclosed in Vossius' letter to Ludovicus Crocius dated 41 03 07, **143c**. Replied by an unretrieved letter from Timpler's brother, **144a**.

² Christoph Timpler, the addressee of letter **132**, which preceeds on the same sheet.

de respondendo cogitasse.³ Si habita ratione collybi, quod meminisse potes tum temporis Lutetiae gravissimum fuisse, si considerato adhaec tanti temporis intervallo, aestimes pecuniolam istam, quam tempore tibi maxime necessario in sinum tuum promptissime effudi, vix centum imperialibus obvium illud benevolae mentis obsequium rependi posse iudicabis.⁴ Caeterum de hoc ipse dispicies. Mihi satisfactum abunde putabo, si qualicumque grati animi testimonio probes me tibi indignum videri, | cuius facilitati usque adeo turpiter illudas; si vero amice modesteque submonentem porro negliges, ipse mihi sane non deero. Senties libera et erecta ingenia non ferre damnum cum contumelia.⁵ Secundis hisce litteris meis iterato privatim videbare mihi monendus; quandoquidem nolim te pertinacia pudendi silentii magis etiamnum alienare animum quondam tibi devinctissimum. Tertias, si opus erit, litteras non iam amplius ad te, sed coniunctim ad alios viros magnos (quales multos habet Brema) dabo, qui meam apud te causam agere non gravabuntur, tergiversantemque ingrati animi criminis damnabunt.⁶

- b** Nunc versor hic Amstelodami in aedibus affinis mei Vossii; propediem tamen, Deo dante, recurram in Britanniam.⁷ Si quid interim habebis quod respondeas, non desunt apud vos mercatores, quibus ob mutua cum Londiniensibus commercia grave non erit tibi mihique operam hanc navare, meque in aedibus illustrissimi Arundelliae Comitis ^otuis verbis compellare.⁸ Vale.
Raptim; Amstelodami, anno 1640, 13 Augusti.

b tuis: [- aedibus] tuis

³ Merchant who delivered letter **132** unidentified. Timpler, however, was dead, **144a**.

⁴ "imperial:" "a former Flemish coin the value of 212 rix-dollars," cf. *OED*.

⁵ Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 6.8.8.3–9.1, "non feret magnum et liberum ingenium cum contumelia damnum."

⁶ Junius must have meant Ludovicus Crocius, to whom this letter was forwarded enclosed in Vossius' letter to him, **143c**, and Balthasar Wille (c.1606–1656), professor of philosophy and theology and minister in Bremen, who also corresponded with Vossius. Cf. *ADB* 43.254–55, *ICVossius* (1993, s.v. Willius).

⁷ Resolved to go to Holland already much earlier, **131a**, **136a**, Junius presumably had the opportunity to carry out his plan only in the summer of 1640, when his tutorship over Arundel's grandchildren Thomas, Henry and Philip Thomas had officially finished, probably at their becoming pensioners at St. John's College, Cambridge, on 14 July 1640, under William Beale's mastership, **122a**, **131a**. In Amsterdam, Junius met Johan Casimir Junius' daughter Maria and son Franciscus Junius F.N. possibly for the first time. The latter returned to Groningen to matriculate at the university two days after this letter had been written, **142a**, **152f**. They

can remember to have been quite unfavourable in Paris at the time, and furthermore, considering the lapse of so much time, you must judge that this complaisance of a kind heart can be recompensed with hardly one hundred imperials. But you will think of this yourself. I will consider myself abundantly satisfied, if with a testimony of a grateful heart you show that you believe me unworthy of ridiculing my ease to the point of dishonour; but if you further disregard me when I remind you in a friendly and modest way, I will truly not neglect myself. You will feel that free and upright intellects do not bear injury with affront. You seemed to need being personally admonished by me once more with this second letter, since I do not want you even more to estrange a heart which was most dedicated to you once by the obstinacy of shameful silence. A third letter, if need be, I will no longer write to you [alone], but at the same time to other great men (such as there are many in Bremen), who will not be annoyed at managing my affairs with you and accusing you of the fault of an ungrateful heart, because you are shuffling.

b I am now staying here in Amsterdam at my brother Vossius' house, but very soon, God granting, I will return to England. If you have anything to answer in the mean while, with you are merchants to whom it will not be hard to do this service for you and me, because of joint commerce with Londoners, and to speak to me in your words at the house of the most illustrious earl of Arundel. Farewell.

In haste; In Amsterdam in the year 1640, 13 August.

had been in each other's company long enough for him to recall how Junius had shown his affection to him from day to day, **158a**. Obligations, presumably to the Arundel family, forced Junius to return to England in the second week of October, as Vossius explained to Archbishop Laud in a letter dated 40 10 08, which Junius was asked to deliver—just as Vossius' letter to Meric Casaubon of the same date, “[v]ellem, redeunte ad vos affine, per eum mittere licuisset operosissimos labores meos de deorum rerumque natura. Verum is aiebat, se promissis obstringi, quo minus diutius hic liceret commorari . . . Pro me melius omnia referet Iunius, qui vivae erit epistolae loco” [I wished I could have sent my most laborious exertions on the gods and natural science (*De theologia gentili* [1641]) with Brother-in-law, now that he is returning to you. But he said to be obliged by promises, so that he could not stay here longer . . . Junius, who will take the place of a living letter, will better report everything for me], Colomesius 1.395. Vossius had been Timpler's preceptor, **132A**^a. Cf. ARA, p. 3, Baker (1869:222, 279).

^b Since he did not know that this letter was included only in Vossius' letter to Ludovicus Crocius dated 41 03 07, Junius had already expressed his surprise at getting no response from Timpler in an unretrieved letter to the Vossius family written before this letter was actually sent to Bremen, **143c**. Timpler's brother Ruderger replied; his letter to Junius is unretrieved, **144a**.

138 0 40 [10–12 00] GEORG GENTIUS (OXFORD) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A *To his very loving and much respected friend F. Junius give this with care and trust delivere this letter at My Lord Arundels his house In London.*

a Nobilissime Iuni, paucis post diebus °literis tibi traditis, Londino discessi Cantabrigiam, ubi vidi comitia academica; quibus peractis Oxonium petii ibidemque idem videri licuit.² At finitis et ibi comitiis Bathoniam abii ubi thermas vidisse non poenitet; inde ulterius Bristoliam urbem portus commoditate insignem adire placuit; nec et ibi quidem fiximus, sed montem quoque qui gignit adamantes lustrare voluimus.³ His omnibus observatis, non sine delectatione reversi sumus Oxonium, ubi et hunc in diem usque agimus. Brevissime tamen Londinum reversurus, vel iamiam reversus hoc ipso cum tabellario fuisset, nisi quorundam precibus fuisset retentus; non tamen sine meo incommodo, quia quo hic vivo diutius, plures facio sumtus, imo et spe et opinione maiores.

b Quod unicum scribendi fuit argumentum, scilicet mihi haud tantum restare ut ad vos redire possim. Qua de re maximopere rogo et obtestor, id mihi ab animo tuo liceat impetrare benevolo, ut mihi sesquilibram vel ad minimum unam libram mutuo mittere velit, idque primo tabellario, qui nobis huc Oxonium die Sabbathi revertitur, discedit Londino ut puto die Veneris.⁴ Fecerit mihi rem longe gratis-

a literis: [- ..] literis

¹ *o*: UBA, M 87. Written in 1640 not too long before the end of Gentius' tour of England early in 1641, and after Junius had returned to London by mid October, **137b**, so that he was able to comply with Gentius' request, **a**^a. Presumably replied by an unretrieved letter enclosing the money Junius lent to Gentius, **b**^a.

² Gentius must have presented Junius with letters **133** and **136**, which were written for his recommendation. In Cambridge and Oxford Gentius had attended the degree ceremonies, the public disputations enlivened with comic acts, during which candidates received their master of arts' insignia. These celebrations were traditionally held in Cambridge on the first Tuesday of July, and in Oxford on the Monday following 7 July. Since Gentius was still in Leiden on 12 June, he accordingly met Junius in the second half of June. Cf. **16a**, Leader (1988:104–05), McConica (1986:197–98), Frank van Westrienen (1983:247), Gentius to Isaac Vossius, 40 06 12, UBL, BUR F 11, Tom. I, f. 16v and 106.

138 40 [10–12 00] GEORG GENTIUS (OXFORD) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A [See the original address.]

a Most noble Junius, a few days after I had delivered the letters to you, I left London for Cambridge, where I saw the university acts; these having passed, I went to Oxford and was allowed to see the same there. But the acts having finished there too, I left for Bath, where it was good to have seen the *thermae*; from there it pleased to continue further to Bristol, the town distinguished for the convenience of its port, and we did not even stay there either, but also wished to visit the mountain where iron is mined. Having seen all this, we returned with great delight to Oxford, where we have also been staying up to this day. But I will very shortly return to London, or would already have returned together with this very courier, if I had not been restrained by the entreaties of some people, yet to my great misfortune, for by staying here longer, I make more expenses, even greater ones than both my hope and conjecture.

b This was the only reason for writing, that is, that I have not at all enough left to be able to return to you. Therefore I urgently ask and beseech you that your friendly heart allows me to achieve that it is willing to send me a pound and a half, or at least one pound, on loan, and this with the first courier, who returns to us here in Oxford on Saturday and leaves London on Friday, as I think. It will do me a most welcome favour, which must be returned by a grateful

³ The extension of a tour of England beyond London, Cambridge, Oxford and neighbouring places to the Roman baths in Bath, the port of Bristol and, probably, the Mendip Hills, was unusual among travellers, who were given the impression by the current *Itineraria* that England was only interesting enough for a short trip at the beginning of one's grand tour of southern Europe. Some travellers did push to the West, however, such as Lodewijck Huygens (1631–1699), who described in his *Journal* how Bath was "full of houses which nearly all offer lodgings to tourists who come here in great numbers," Bachrach and Collmer (1982:118). He continued to Bristol, Wales, Wells, Wookey Hole and lead mines near Wells during his English tour in 1651–52. Cf. Robson-Scott (1953:78–91), Bachrach and Collmer (1982, esp. 118–34), Frank van Westrienen (1983:160–63, 243–48).

⁴ Junius lent Gentius £1.2, 144b. This implies that Junius had returned to London again, 137b. Probably he sent a letter or a note to Gentius with the money (unretrieved), c.

simam grato animo referendam meque ad omnia porro officia paratissimum reddet. [R]efundam autem aes die, deo favente, Martis vel Mercurii futurae hebdomad[os], sic *enim* cum primo tabellario qui hinc discedit die Lunae rediturus sum.⁵ Alioquin certe nescio honeste revertendi viam nisi hoc mihi officium praestiterit, quod non dubito [quaeso] maturet factum fac[ie]ndum, ut praenominato die adesse tibi que aes mutuo acceptum refundere possim. Semper me °tui studiosissimum habebis, atque ad perferendas literas ad Vossium paratum, modo [interea] temporis illasipsas pares; brevi *enim* me recepturus sum Amstelodamum.⁶ Vale et me ama,
Tuum ex animo Georgium Gentium.
Dabam Oxonii, die Mercurii, anno 40.

- c Literae sine mora perferantur ad domum M. Iansons, ubi vivunt Germani et ego, aesque includi vel pro prudentia tua per tabellarium mihi dari poterit.⁷

139 40 12 24 JOHAN VAN HEEMSKERCK (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

- a Vir doctissime ac amicissime,
Qui tibi hasce perlaturus est Conradus Burgius, consobrinus est uxoris meae, filius consulis Alberti Conradi Burgii, quem urbs nostra in consilio Ordinum Hollandiae ordinario assessorem °hodie habet dignissimum; eruditum certe ipsum, et omnium eruditorum fautorem egregium.² Iuvenis °autem hic optimae indolis nuper parenti optimo

b tui: [.. > tui]

139a hodie: \hodie/ | autem: \autem/

⁵ Gentius paid Junius back only upon Vossius' request in Amsterdam, **143b, d, 144b**.

⁶ Gentius returned in Amsterdam early in 1641, **143d**. No such letter to Vossius was retrieved.

⁷ Mr. Janson kept a boarding house frequented by German students in Oxford, as appears from the letter Gentius sent to John Selden from Oxford, "in aedibus M. Ianson ubi Germani vivunt studiosi" [in Mr. Janson's house where the German students live], 40 07 29/08 08, BLO, Ms. Selden supra 108, f. 89; I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 90.

² Coenraad Burgh (1623–1669), future lord of Kortenhoef, the cousin on mother's

heart, and it will make me most prepared for all further services. But I will refund the money, God willing, on Tuesday or Wednesday of next week, for then I will return together with the first courier, who leaves here on Monday. Otherwise, I really do not know a way to return honourably, unless your heart does me this service, which I am convinced, [I pray], will accelerate a deed to be done, so that I can be with you on the aforesaid day and refund the money borrowed. You will always have me deeply devoted to you and ready to deliver a letter to Vossius, providing you prepare it in the mean while, for I will soon return to Amsterdam. Farewell and love me, From the bottom of my heart, your Georg Gentius.
I wrote at Oxford on Wednesday in the year 40.

- c The letter may be brought without delay to Mr. Janson's house, where the Germans and I live, and the money can be enclosed or given to me through a courier in accordance with your discretion.

139 40 12 24 JOHAN VAN HEEMSKERCK (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

- a Most learned and beloved sir,
He who will deliver this letter to you is Coenraad Burgh, my wife's maternal cousin, the son of burgomaster Albert Coenraads Burgh, who is a most worthy assessor of our town in the ordinary council of the States of Holland nowadays; really learned himself, and a distinguished promotor of all scholars. This young man of excellent character recently joined his excellent father as a companion in a

side of Alida van Beuningen (1620–1657), who had become Heemskerck's wife the previous April. She was the elder sister of Isaac Vossius' future friend Coenraad van Beuningen, **214c**. Coenraad Burgh's father, Albert Coenraads Burgh (d. 1647), held various offices in the Amsterdam magistracy, among which that of burgomaster in 1638, and was school inspector of the Latin School and one of the trustees of the Athenaeum Illustre. In 1631 he been ambassador of the United Provinces to Czar Michael III Fjodorowitz in Moscow, and in 1639 he had gone as a representative of the States General and the administration of the West Indies Company to Christian IV of Denmark, on which latter journey his son had accompanied him, according to this letter. Albert Coenraads died during a second embassy to Moscow in 1647, and was succeeded by his son, who had again accompanied him. On his return from Moscow, Coenraad held several offices in the Amsterdam magistracy as well, until being appointed Chief Treasurer of the Union in 1666. Cf. **143e**, **169g**, *BWN* 3.1585–87, Elias 1.158–59, 327–31, Smit (1933:16, App. 2, App. 5).

in legatione Danica comes adhaesit, °ac nunc in comitatu Domini Heenvlietii ad visendam Angliam emittitur.³ Ut per te marmora Arundeliana, et quidquid in ea domo venerandae antiquitatis congestum est, plene et cum fructu videat, summopere in votis habeo; utque in coemenda supellectile libraria tuo consilio uti possit, etiam atque etiam rogo.⁴ Vale vir doctissime, et me amanter tui redama.

Amstelodami, 24 die Decembris 1640.

Tibi addictissimus, I. v. Heemskerck.

140₁₄₃ 41 02 15 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM)¹

A Aen de eerbaere deughden-rijcke juffrouwe Elizabeth du Jon, huysvrouwe van den hoogh-gheleerden heere Gerardus Vossius, professor. woonende op d' oude sijdsche achter-burghwal, bij 't Oude-manhuys, tot Amsterdam.

a Waerde suster, verhopende eer langhe, achter-volghens mijn voorigh versoeck, eenighe goede ghewenschte tijdingh van uwer aller gesondheyd te ghenieten, so dient desen V.L. te verstaen te geven dat ick de voor-leden weke aen V.L. eenen wijd-loopighen brief door een Portugiis jonghman Mr. Ferdinando Dort hebbe toe-ghesonden, met t' saemen Matth. Paris, die neef Matheus op mij versocht had hem te willen oversenden.² Wensche te hooren of V.L. mijnen brief met den boeck

139a ac: [et > ac]

³ Johan Polyander à Kerckhoven (b. 1594), lord of Heenvliet in Sassenheim, chief forester of Holland and West-Friesland, who was sent to England as one of the ambassadors of the States General to negotiate the marriage between Prince William of Orange and the Princess Royal, **146a**. He had probably been one of Junius' fellow students in Dordrecht, **1a**, where his father Johannes Polyander (1568–1646), who had studied under Junius the Elder at Heidelberg, was Vossius' friend and colleague as teacher of ethics and logic, and minister of the Walloon Church. In 1611 Polyander the Elder became professor of theology in Leiden, and Junius may have studied under him. Cf. *BWN* 15.389–393, Rademaker (1981:59n, 72, 275), Schotel (1857:41–42).

⁴ The Arundel collection of marbles and paintings was an attraction to visitors, **56b**. Van Heemskerck had possibly seen the Arundel collection himself in 1634, when picking up letter **93** and Junius' manuscript of *De pictura* (1637), **93a**, **107d**. They may have refreshed their friendship several months prior to this letter, when Junius visited Amsterdam, **137b**.

Danish embassy and is now sent out to visit England in Mr. Heenvliet's retinue. I deeply wish him fully and fruitfully to see through you the Arundel marbles and whatever venerable antiquity has been collected in that house, and I pray over and again that he can make use of your advice for the purchase of library furnishings. Farewell, most learned sir, and love me, who love you, in return.

In Amsterdam on the 24th day of December 1640.

Dedicatedly Yours, J. v. Heemskerck.

140 41 02 15 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM)

A To the honourable, virtuous Mrs. Elizabeth du Jon, wife of the most learned Mr. Gerardus Vossius, professor, residing at the *Oudezjyds Achterburgwal*, near the *Oudemanhuis*, in Amsterdam.

a Honourable Sister,

In the hope of enjoying some good, desired, news of the good health of you all before long, in accordance with my previous request, this letter serves to indicate that I sent to you a circumstantial letter through a Portuguese young man, Mr. Ferdinando, to Dordrecht last week, together with Matthew Paris, which Nephew Matthaeus had asked me to be willing to send over to him. I would like to

¹ *o*: BL, HI. 7012, f. 97. Replied by a letter from Vossius.

² Neither Junius' letter containing his previous request, nor the one written in the first week of February 1641 to Elizabeth or the Vossius family were retrieved, yet they seem to have been delivered correctly, **143c^a**. The letter with the previous request may have been the one which the Vossius family had received between mid-November and mid-December 1640, as indicated by Vossius to Jacob van den Corput, "[e]x literis ab affine meo Iunio missis Londino intelligo, iam ante annum non unum testamenti Bulliani exemplar authenticum missum esse ad amplissimum consulem Wittium, qui ad usque excessum cognatae Bulliae annuos reditus bona fide illi transmiserit ex sorte florenorum 3417" [from a letter sent from London by my brother-in-law Junius, I understand that already a year ago more than one authentic original of (Anthonina) Bull's will was sent to the most distinguished burgomaster (Jacob) de Witt, who had sent to him (Junius) the annuities from the capital of 3417 guilders in good trust until kinswoman Bull's death], 40 12 15, BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 86. Vossius had not yet received Junius' letter when writing his previous letter to van den Corput, dated 40 11 12, cf. Rawl. 84c, f. 84. One of Junius' letters presumably contained a reference to the money he had lent to Georg Gentius, **138b**, **143b**. In both letters, Junius wondered why he had heard nothing yet from Christopher Timpler, **143c^a**. In either of them Junius probably also asked his family for pulses and other goods, **144b**. Mr. Ferdinando is unidentified.

wel behandicht is.³ desen voorschreven jonghman sprack als of hij met den eersten weder-om in Engheland meynde weder te keeren met de vlote die onsen jonghen prince van orangien over-brenght, twijffele niet of hij sal V.L. voor sijn vertreck aen-spreken, en ghewiligh sijn om mij 't een of 't ander, 't welck V.L. hem betrouwt, behandighen.⁴

- b** 't gheviel noch gister-avond dat ick bij de gravinne van Arundell sijnde versocht wierd om een mart-korfken, ghelijck de juffrouwen in ons land teghen-wordighlick ghebruyken, te willen °ont-bieden; want nae dat haer ieman gheseyt heeft dat daer nu eenighe nette stroye korfkens swart gheborduurt, ende wat blecks van binnen hebbende, ghebruyckelick sijn, so ist dat sij °een verlanght te hebben.⁵ indien V.L. sulcken korfken wil voor mij koopen ende monsieur Ferdinand mede geven, wij sullen 't aen malckander vergoeden; ofte indien hij op sick neemt een voor mij te koopen, ick sal hem 't wt-gheleyde geld daedelick weder-geven. doch het soude wel dienen op-ghepackt te sijn, om 't blecke stoffeersel van binnen °niet te blutsen, ten eynde dat het sijn fatsoen behield.
- c** nae 't schrijven van mijnen laetsten quam monsieur Hooft 's anderen daeghs bij mij, ver-toonende een °briefken daer in broer Vossius aen doctor Casaubon de wete doet van 't laetste vieren-deel jaers aen Mr Hooft te betaalen; waer wt ick verstaet dat broer Vossius den voet bij ons ghenomen niet quaed en vindt.⁶ doctor °Casaubon had hier een seker drucker Mr Legat bescheyden aen wien hij 't geld t' elcken soude over-senden, 't welck ghedaen sijnde, 't en sal aen monsieur Hooft niet ont-breken of hij sal 't daedelick over-maeken; maer die van Canterbury sijn altemets wat traegh.⁷

b ont-bieden: [*senden* > ont-bieden] | een: \een/ | niet: \niet/ | **c** monsieur: [- *mijnen*] monsieur | briefken: [- ..] briefken | Casaubon: Casabon

Matthaeus Vossius had probably asked for a copy of Matthew Paris, *Historia maior, iuxta ex. Londin. 1571 verbatim recusa, et cum historiis chronicisque mss collata...* Editore Will. Wats... (London, 1640), a new edition of the acclaimed Greater Chronicle of events in England and abroad from 1235 until 1259 written by the English monk and historian Matthew Paris (d. 1259). The period described in it corresponded with part of the first volume of Matthaeus Vossius' *Annalium* (1635), **99d**. A copy of the voluminous book, now UBL 406 A 6, stems from Isaac Vossius' collection, but it does not have annotations. Junius made use of the 1640 edition in his annotations to Chaucer, **216b**. Cf. Luard (1872–83), Bremmer (2001:51, 69n48).

³ Isaac Vossius may have informed Junius of this in person when he came to see him in May, **143a**.

hear whether my letter with the book has actually been handed to you. This aforementioned young man spoke as if he intended to return to England again as soon possible with the fleet which brings across our young prince of Orange. I do not doubt that he will address you before his departure and be willing to hand to me the one or other thing which you entrust to him.

- b** It happened just yesterday night that, being with the countess of Arundel, I was asked to be willing to send for a market basket such as the ladies are using in our country nowadays, for after someone had told her that some neat little straw baskets embroidered in black and having some bleached linen on the inside are in use now, it is thus that she desires to have one. If you buy such a little basket for me and send it with Mr. Ferdinando, we will refund it to each other, or if he takes it upon himself to buy one for me, I will return the outstanding money to him immediately. But it would have to be wrapped, in order not to dent the white soft furnishing on the inside, so that it will keep its shape.
- c** After the writing of my latest letter, Mr. Hooft came with me the other day, showing a note in which Brother Vossius tells Dr. Casaubon to pay the latest quarter of the annuity to Mr. Hooft, from which I understand that Brother Vossius does not think the step we have taken bad. Dr. Casaubon had designated a certain printer, Mr. Legate, to whom he would send over the money each time; this having been done, as far as Mr. Hooft is concerned, he will not fail to transfer it immediately; but those of Canterbury are somewhat slow from time to time.

⁴ William, Prince of Orange (1626–1650), the future Stadholder William II, sailed to England in April to marry Mary, the Princess Royal (1631–1660), **143a**. Ferdinando did not need to deliver anything to Junius on Vossius' behalf, for Isaac Vossius sailed to England in the same fleet, **143a**.

⁵ Countess Aletheia asked for the fashionable basket possibly to include it among the "dutch basketts" in "the Dutch Pranketing Room" at Aletheia's favourite house Tart Hall, St. James' Park, London, as an inventory reads, cf. Howarth (1998:134–35).

⁶ Willem Willemsz Hooft may have had Vossius' letter to Meric Casaubon, dated 40 10 08 (not seen). Due to the troubles in England and King Charles' need of funds, payment of Vossius' Canterbury prebend of £100 a year, **66a**, had been incomplete in 1639 and 1640, and became irregular in the present year, **141b**. Junius seems to have suggested that the money was paid to Hooft. Through Casaubon's mediation, some of the money due was paid via Hooft at the end of this year, **152d**, and another £26 to Junius in February 1642. Cf. *ICVossius* (1993:264), Rademaker (1981:289), BL, Hl. 7012, f. 103.

⁷ John Legate the Younger (1600–1658), authorised London printer and freeman of the Stationers' Company, and from 1650 for five years one of the printers of Cambridge University, cf. *DNB* 32.406.

d noch hebben eenighe Heeren van 't Parliament op mij ver-socht wt d' een of d' ander vriend in Nederland te willen ver-nemen wat ghetal van °Engelsche wevers ende andere luyden van dien slagh sick t' Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leiden, Delft ont-houden, voor-naemelick 't ghetal der ghener die sick daer hebben neder-gheslaeghen tusschen Paschen en Paschen van 't jaer 1636 en 't jaer 1638, en offer oock een merckelick ghetal nae dien tijd is over-ghekomen.⁸ indien sulcks wt eenighe on-partijdighe en niet al te seer Brownist-ghesinde Engelsche konde worden gheweten, ende mij (van desen dagh af te rekenen) binnen den tijd van drij weken konde ver-wit-ticht worden, moght hier tot het ghemeyne beste dienen. dus beve-lende V.L. en alle d' uwe in de beschuttinghe des allerhooghsten, ick sal verlanghen eenighe goede gheleghenheyd 't ont-moeten om u nae mijn beste ver-moghen te dienen.
in Arundell-huys. Anno 1641. den 5 *Februarii stilo Angliae*.
V.L. dienst-schuldighen broeder F.F.F. Junius.

141 41 03 29 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM)¹

A °Aen den eersaemen, gheleerden Isaacus Vossius, sone van den vermaerden heere Gerardus Vossius, professor, woonende op d'oude-sijdsche achterburghwal, bij 't Oudemanshuys, tot Amsterdam port.²

d Engelsche: [- *wevers en*] Engelsche
141A: d Isaaco Vossio, Amstelodamum

⁸ Junius' request on behalf of the parliamentarians must have been related to the grievances against Bishop Wren, which were at present being collected by a committee of the House of Commons. From Spring 1636 until his translation to Ely in April 1638, Wren as bishop of Norwich had proceeded so drastically against the nonconformist congregations in his diocese in an endeavour to act out Archbishop Laud's church policies, that he had not only deeply antagonized them, but also caused dozens of mostly well-to-do manufacturers' families to sell their possessions and leave the country for New England or Holland. Two petitions of the city of Norwich to Parliament, the most recent one dated 41 01 22, were to be discussed in the committee on 24 April and 2 May. In the weeks running up to this prospective meeting, Junius must have been asked to verify the number of English immigrants in Holland, not in order to add to the complaints but rather to disprove them—considering Junius' sympathies towards Wren. By excluding the Brownists, **42f**, presumably used as a name for all English nonconformists in the Low Countries, as informants, Junius at the same time hinted to his family at the reasons why the information was needed. Vossius answered as desired, and just in time for the first meeting of the committee, **143h**, by noticing no significant increase in English settlers and by drawing attention only to a London minister. In July, however, twenty-

d Furthermore, some members of Parliament have asked me to inquire of the one or other friend in the Low Countries which number of English weavers and other people of that kind are staying in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Leiden and Delft, especially the number of those who settled there between Easter and Easter of the year 1636 and the year 1638, and whether a noteworthy number has come over after that time. If it is possible to inquire after such a matter from some impartial and not too much Brownist disposed Englishmen and to inform me within three weeks' time (calculated as from today), it could serve the common weal here. Thus commending you and all your family in the protection of the All-high, I will wish to meet with a good opportunity to serve you after the best of my ability. At Arundel House in the year 1641, 5 *February English style*. Your obliging brother F.F.F. Junius.

141 41 03 29 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM)

A *To the honourable, learned Isaac Vossius, son of the renowned Mr. Gerardus Vossius, professor, residing at the Oudezijds Achterburgwal, near the Oudemanhuis, in Amsterdam. Postage.*

five articles for Wren's impeachment were drawn up by both Houses, of which the sixteenth read that "[b]y rigorous Prosecutions, etc. he caused 3000 of the King's Subjects (many of whom using Trades, employ'd 100 poor People each) to go into Holland, and other Places beyond Sea, where they have set up, and taught the Manufactures, to the great Hindrance of Trade, and empoverishing the People of this Kingdom," Wren (1750:14). Wren responded in detail, denying, "that the Departure into Holland of such as used the Trades of Manufactures in Wool, did either begin with the Year 1636, at which Time this Defendant's (Wren's) Visitation of the Diocese of Norwich was held; or that it did end with the Year 1637 (1638 [SvR]) at which Time this Defendant was translated from that Diocese," Wren (1750:101). Nevertheless, Wren was sent to the Tower, together with eleven other bishops, on 9 January 1642, to remain there, except for a release from May to September that year, almost until the Restoration, yet continuing his episcopal duties at the same time. Parliamentarians who had asked Junius to fish out the information from Holland are unidentified; whether he knew any of the members of the committee is not known, except that he had befriended Sir Simonds D'Ewes (1602–1650) by 1648, **164d**. Cf. *DNB* 63.94–96, *CJ* 2.54–59, 66, 120, 126, 199, 363, Wren (1750:11–24, 73–114), Trevor-Roper (1940, s.v., esp. 313–14, 359), Evans (1979, s.v., esp. 89–90, 109, 112–14), *CJ* 2.56.

¹ *o*: UBA, I 89a. It lacks the postscript **b. d**: UBA, M 70b; on the same sheet as **135, 148, 149, 154, 155, 156**. It has a postscript, **b**. Isaac presumably did not receive this letter, for by the time it could have been delivered to him, he was already on his way to London, **143a**.

² The amount of the postage was "1 *stuiver*," added in an unidentified hand.

a Dilectissime cognate,
 Cum reversus in Britanniam nonnihil forte retulissem Domino Patricio Iunio de epistola Barnabae tua opera propediem proditura, ac simul adiecissem te lubenti animo, si per ipsum liceret, *Divi* Clementis epistolam additurum, nihil sibi gratius fore respondit, sed esse quae in tua editione correcta aut leviter immutata velit.³ Modico deinde intermisso temporis spatio annotatiunculas hasce per communem amicum absenti mihi commendavit.⁴ Quas ego receptas ea qua debui celeritate literis hisce inclusi. Nescio an voto tuo tardius affuturæ sint; ego tamen eas, ne aut tibi aut Domino Iunio deessem, hac ipsa qua tradebantur hora literis hisce praecipiti festinatione exaratis inserui. Plurimam meis verbis salutem dices optimis parentibus, fratribusque. Raptim; in aedibus Arundellianis, anno 1641, 19 Martii *stilo vetere*. Tibi addictissimus, F.F.F. Iunius.

b [*Magister* Legat typographus, Doctoris Casauboni negotia hic Londinii exequi solitus, notum nobis fecit nihil ante festum Paschatis, ob perturbatas totius regni rationes, de reditionibus Cantuariensibus expectandum esse.]⁵

142 41 03 30 JOANNES CORVINUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Clarissimo doctissimoque viro *Domino* Francisco Iunio, Theologo, in aula illustrissimi Comitatus Arundelii, Londinium.²

³ Isaac Vossius had received a Greek transcription and Latin translation of an unpublished letter mistakenly believed to have been written by St. Barnabas the Apostle from Claudius Salmasius. Isaac wanted to publish it together with St. Clement's letter, which Patrick Young had already published in 1633, **125b**^a. In London, **143a**, Isaac made arrangements with a publisher, but nevertheless gave the texts and his own annotations of Barnabas' letter to James Ussher for inclusion in his edition of St. Ignace's letters, which was to be published in Oxford in 1642. However, since the copies of Ussher's edition perished in a fire and Isaac acquired transcriptions of some other versions of Barnabas' letter in Florence and Rome, he later published the text as part of his own edition of Ignace's letters, *Epistolae genuinae S. Ignatii Martyris . . . adhaec S. Barnabae epistola . . .* (Amsterdam, 1646)—yet without Clement's letter. Junius had stayed in Amsterdam, when Isaac must have asked him to consult Young, in the summer of 1640 until mid-October, **137b**. Blok did not note that Isaac most likely did not receive this letter, and Young's enclosed corrections, **143a**. Cf. Blok (1999, s.v. Barnabas).

a Dearest Nephew,

After my return to England, when I somewhat casually told Mr. Patrick Young about Barnabas' letter which will soon be published by your diligence, and likewise added that you will readily add St. Clement's letter, if he allowed so, he answered that nothing will be more welcome to him, but that there are matters he wants to be corrected and slightly changed in your edition. Then, after the lapse of a short space of time, he entrusted these small annotations to me through a mutual friend in my absence. On receiving them, I have enclosed them in this letter with the speed which I owed. I do not know whether they will be brought to you later than you wish, but in order not to fail either you or Mr. Young, I have enclosed them in this letter written in hurried haste on the very hour that they were handed to me. You must give warmest regards on my behalf to your best parents and brothers.

In haste; at Arundel House in the year 1641, 19 March old style.
Dedicately Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

b [Master Legate, the printer who is used to transact Dr. Casaubon's business here in London, gave us notice that nothing from the Canterbury revenues must be expected before Easter, due to the troubled accounts of the whole kingdom.]

142 41 03 30 JOANNES CORVINUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the widely renowned and learned gentleman Mr. Francis Junius, theologian, at the court of the most illustrious earl of Arundel, London.

⁴ Young's enclosed corrections on his edition of St. Clement's letter are unretrieved. Friend is unidentified. Junius' absence may have been due to his duties to the Arundel family, **137b**^a.

⁵ **b** is lacking in *o*. Only part of Vossius' Canterbury prebend was paid, through Meric Casaubon's mediation via the printer John Legate, at the end of this year, **140c**, **152d**.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 83. Dated 1641, not 1642, as the cover in UBA suggests.

² The title "theologian," which seems somewhat curious for this stage of Junius' life, was no doubt used by Corvinus in reminiscence of Junius the Elder and of Junius' ministry, his resignation of it in 1619 due to Counter-Remonstrant objections, **25b**, and subsequent exile, **27c**, **35h**, all of which reflected Corvinus' own course of life.

- a** *Salutem plurimam.*³ Vir clarissime, nullas unquam ad te literas dedi, non affectus sed commoditatis defectu. Separavit nos de fato disputatio, non ipsum fatum, nec ut te, dum Gallias meditabar, °inviserem permisit metus.⁴ Equidem quantum vis Angliam videre desiderabam, ab aditu me absterrebat recens ab Anglis theologis etiam inflictum vulnus.⁵ Nescis quantum gavisus fuerim, cum te coram mihi liceret salutare in aedibus affinis Vossii, quem quanti faciam, et qualem amicum habeam, coram vidisti et intellexisti.⁶ Equidem non desinemus colere amicitiam veterem et excolere magis, non ex ipso tantum, sed et ex °pia clarissimi parentis tui, praeceptoris mei honorandi, memoria natam.⁷ Amicitiam cum defuncto fratre tuo cultam °in memoriam revocat filia eius nunc cum amita vivens.⁸ °Nempe ita nobis ex mutua visitatione non ingratum repetere ea quae veterem confirmant affectum. Quod °id ipsum cum hic esses erga te minus per occupationes factum, multum doleo. Quod omnino hac occasione testari volui, nec minus spondere futurum, ut scribendi non negligam arripere occasiones alias.
- b** Qui has defert juvenis est ex cognitione viri mihi amicissimi indole, quantum ego quidem percipere potui, bona, Angliam, ex qua rediit, meditans, ut invisens Dominum [Dorbury] veterem, et affectum

a inviserem: [- ..] inviserem | pia: [re. > pia] | in: \in/ | Nempe: [Ita > N]empe | id: \id/

³ Joannes Arnoldi Corvinus, or Ravens (1582/3–1650), a staunch Remonstrant and at the time a lawyer in Amsterdam and teacher at the Athenaeum without formal appointment. One of Vossius' fellow students at the Leiden States College and a predicant there during Vossius' regency of the College, he had become an ardent follower of Jacobus Arminius and signed the "Remonstrantie" in 1610. He played a conspicuous role in the ensuing strife between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants, defending the Remonstrants for Leiden at the National Synod of Dordrecht, **12a**, **25a**, **d**. For this reason dismissed from the ministry, he fled abroad and helped found and run the Remonstrant brotherhood in Antwerp in 1619. In the 1620s he resided in Paris, Charenton and East-Friesland (Germany), and obtained his doctorate in law. Vossius had urged him to move to Amsterdam in 1632. Shortly before his death, Corvinus converted to Roman Catholicism. As he remembered in **a**, he had studied under Junius the Elder and had been a friend, and presumably a fellow-student, of Johan Casimir Junius. Cf. *NWB* 2.1166–67, *Gedenkboek* (1932:573), Kamerbeek (1982).

⁴ The safest route from Holland to France was via England in order to avoid the privateers operating from the southern Netherlands by order of Spain, cf. **129j**, Blok (1999:84).

⁵ Impeached by Parliament on the charge of high treason on 28 December 1640,

a Warmest regards.

Widely renowned sir, I have never written you a letter, not due to lack of affection but to lack of opportunity. The debate about fate separated us, not fate itself, and fear did not permit me to go and see you when I intended to go to France. By all means, much though I wished to visit England, the recent blow inflicted by the English to theologians has frightened me away from coming now. You do not know how greatly pleased I was when I was allowed to greet you in person at your brother Vossius' house, and you have seen and noticed in person how much I esteem him and what a dear friend he is to me. By all means, let us not cease to cherish and further cultivate an ancient friendship, which originated not only from him, but also from the pious memory of your widely renowned father, my honourable preceptor. The friendship fostered with your deceased brother was called back to memory by his daughter who is staying with her aunt now. To be sure, on the basis of a joint visit it is quite welcome to us to repeat in this way what confirms an ancient friendship. I feel so sorry that I did exactly this less towards you, when you were here, due to occupations—which I absolutely wished to testify on this occasion and also promise that I will not neglect to seize other opportunities to write.

b The young man who delivers this letter has a good character, as far as I at least could notice on the basis of his acquaintance with a gentleman who is most dear to me, and intends to go to England, from which he returned, in order to go and see [Mr. Dorbury the

Archbishop Laud had been committed to the Tower three weeks before the present letter. His church policies and anti-Calvinist stance had made him popular with Dutch Remonstrants such as Corvinus. The Puritans had already made good use of their increase in power by having the canons of June 1640, which pronounced Laud's religious ideas, **136c**, declared illegal and by issuing the "Root and Branch Petition," which urged the renunciation of episcopacy. Laud was to be sentenced to death in 1644 and to be beheaded in January 1645. Cf. Smith (1997:292–93), Fritze and Robison (1996:70, 454–55, 284–85), Trevor-Roper (1940:398–430).

⁶ Corvinus and Junius must have seen each other during the latter's stay with the Vossius family in Amsterdam in the summer of 1640, **137b**.

⁷ Corvinus had evidently been a student of Junius the Elder at Leiden.

⁸ Corvinus and Johan Casimir had presumably been fellow students at Leiden. Johan Casimir's daughter Maria was staying with Elizabeth Junius—and the Vossius family, **152f**. Her brother Franciscus Junius F.N. had probably already returned to Groningen to matriculate at the university when Corvinus was with Vossius, **152f**.

tentet.⁹ Fortunam externam omnino aliquamdiu sectari studet. In arte sua profectus enim infinem maiores fecit. In favore tuo omnino confidit; quem si experiatur viri amicissimi nomine, nec mihi id ingratum erit.¹⁰

c De iis quae in regno vestro nunc geruntur, quia taces prudenter, nec ego quicquam dico, nisi quod cum pluribus eventum exspectamus avide.¹¹ Vale, vir clarissime, et te amore veteri prosequentem prosequere mutuo.

Amsterodami, 3 calendae Aprilis 1641.

Tui studiosissimus, Ioan. Arn. Corvinus.

¹⁴⁰ **143** 41 [04 01–10] VOSSIUS (THE HAGUE) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

a *Nobilis* et coniunctissime adfinis,
Concessi tandem filio Isaaco, ut iuniori Principe Arausionensi in Angliam ad pactam Britannam, Regiam Sobolem, proficiscente, inter tantum comitantium gregem conspiceretur.² Nempe et tutius nunc iter in tam potenti classe est futurum, et eadem potestas erit videndi sollemnem augustarum nuptiarum pompam.³ Pecuniae non multo amplius filio ad iter dedi, quam ad transmittendum requiri putarem. Nempe sic existimavi, ab Hoofdio posse accipere ex praebenda mea

⁹ Bearer of this letter unidentified; he may have been one of Prince William of Orange's train, **143a**. Corvinus' friend and Mr. [Dorbury] (or [Dorming]) unidentified.

¹⁰ Junius' friend is Corvinus himself.

¹¹ From its opening in November 1640, the Long Parliament had been sitting each working day to hear and discuss grievances and petitions from all over the country. Holding Laud and Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, responsible for the years of Charles' personal rule, they had impeached the former and were to begin the latter's trial three days after this letter. Wentworth was executed on 22 May 1641. Cf. **136b**, Fritze and Robison (1996:311–16, 545–46).

¹ *o*: UBA, M 100d. *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 121b. Written in early April, when Vossius had accompanied Isaac Vossius to The Hague in expectation of the latter's departure to England, yet before Vossius had returned to Amsterdam and written letter **144** at least two days later, for he wrote **144** at least one day after Georg Gentius came to him on the day after his return home, **a**, **144a–b**. Cf. Blok (1999:77).

² After an earlier attempt to go to England, **133c**, Isaac Vossius crossed the Channel in the fleet with which William, Prince of Orange, sailed to England to marry Mary, the Princess Royal, **146a**. Isaac left the house of George Rataller Doublet, where he and Vossius were staying, **f**, for Brill, the place of embarkation, on 19 April, and arrived in London on 30 April. Prince William and his train stayed at Arundel House, **147a**. This marked the beginning of Isaac's tour of libraries and scholars in England, France and Italy, which lasted until 12 October

Elder] and try his sentiment. He endeavours to pursue his fortune abroad for a while. For he has finally made rather great progress in his profession. He wholly relies on your favour, and if he experiences it on account of a dear friend, it will also be welcome to me.

- c Since you are prudently silent about what is happening in your kingdom now, I do not say anything either, except that, together with many people, we are eagerly awaiting the outcome. Farewell, widely renowned sir, and honour the one who honours you with ancient love in turn.

In Amsterdam on the 3rd before the Kalends of April [30 Mar.] 1641.

Devotedly Yours, Joan.Arn. Corvinus.

143 41 [04 01–10] VOSSIUS (THE HAGUE) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

Noble and dearest Brother,

- a I have finally allowed my son Isaac to be noticed among such a great band of companions to the younger prince of Orange, who is going to England to his English fiancée, the Princess Royal. To be sure, both the journey will now be safer in such a powerful fleet, and there will be an opportunity to see the solemn pomp of the royal wedding at the same time. I did not give my son much more money for the journey than I thought was needed for crossing. To be sure, I thought as follows, that he can get as much as would be needed from my Canterbury prebend from Hooft. But if Casaubon or the Canterbury treasurer is causing delays in paying, there is

1644, cf. **151a**, **152b**, Blok (1999:75–199), on whom the following summary has been based. During his tour, Isaac acquired numerous books and manuscripts for his own library, met many scholars, such as James Ussher, Patrick Young and Grotius, and copied and collated as yet unpublished versions of classical texts in various libraries, among which, in Paris, the Royal Library, the Petaviana and the Cabinet Dupuy, which was also a meeting-place of scholars, in Florence the Laurentiana, and the Barberiniana and Vatican Library in Rome. From September 1643 until his return home, he was Grotius' secretary—thus filling the post Grotius had offered to Junius in 1635, **101j**. The most important copy Isaac made was from the manuscript with six genuine letters of St. Ignace in the Laurentiana, which he published in 1646. Cf. **141a**^a, Blok (1999:136–37, 212–13).

³ The fleet consisted of some twenty warships under admiral Maarten Harpertz Tromp, cf. Blok (1999:76).

Cantuariensi quantum esset opus.⁴ Quod si Casaubonus, vel quaestor Cantuariensis, moras in solvendo nectat; alter est praeterea, cuius Ioannes Wykefortius, mercator mihi peramicus, indicium fecit.⁵ Nomen ex filio cognosces. Plane vero in cunctis homini adolescenti, nec rerum Britannicarum gnaro, tuo erit consilio opus, a quo totus pendebit. Commendari eum tibi opus non est, qui coram omnia benigne pollicitus es—et ut non esses, nobis etiam tacentibus, nulla in re defores.

b De Gentio sic habe; nunquam eum apud me fecisse mentionem de pecunia sibi a te credita, donec literis tuis edoctus ipse de ea compellarem.⁶ Ille non pernegare, sed dicere sese id persoliturum; addebat te chirographum non habere, sed sic quoque bonum se nomen esse; debere autem septem imperiales.⁷ Putabam ego 60 vel 70 esse florenos nostrates. Nolebam ad literas tuas recurrere, quia tum forem occupatissimus, et is diceret se postero die denuo me accessurum.⁸ Putabam igitur tum partem eam literarum qua summam praefinires posse ostendi; sed ille, postquam de pecunia aurem vellere coepi, non amplius domum meam venit. Omnino dolet, quod ei credideris tantum. Ab aliis etiam pecuniam mutuo petiit; sed, uti nararunt ipsi, debere fatetur, atque interim, non quidem solvere posse negat, attamen inanibus logis eludit. Simulac Amstelodamum rediero, inquiram ubi vivat, et, per Matthaeum, malum nomen urgebo.⁹

c Literas tuas Bremam misi meis ad Crocium Theologum inclusas; quod factum tardius a me ob morbum qui me diutius post discessum tuum afflixit—ut de adversa valetudine coniugis nihil dicam.¹⁰ Interim iam diu est, quod et Timplerus tibi, et Crocius mihi, rescribere

⁴ However, since the English troubles had made the payment of Vossius' Canterbury prebend irregular, **140c**, it is to be doubted whether Willem Willemsz Hooft would be so willing to give Isaac an advance on it.

⁵ Meric Casaubon mediated for the payment of Vossius' prebend, **140c**. The Canterbury treasurer and the unnamed merchant are unidentified. Johannes de Wicquefort was an Amsterdam merchant and Isaac's—and probably also Vossius'—banker, cf. Blok (1999, s.v.).

⁶ Georg Gentius had borrowed money from Junius in England, of which the latter had informed Vossius in an unretrieved letter, cf. below, **138b**.

⁷ Junius had lent £1.2, which Gentius claimed to be worth seven “imperialis,” **144b**.

⁸ Junius' letter to the Vossius family, referring to Gentius, is unretrieved; it was presumably one of the unretrieved letters mentioned in **140a**.

⁹ Matthaeus Vossius. Gentius actually solved his debt the day after Vossius had returned home from The Hague, **144b**. Vossius continued on Gentius' behaviour in **d**.

¹⁰ Letter **137** was enclosed in Vossius' letter to Ludovicus Crocius dated 41 03 07, “[i]am menses sunt aliqui, quod Londino nos Amstelodami invisit affinis meus Franciscus Iunius, Francisci filius. Is inter caetera retulit, iam diu esse, quod urbis

someone else besides, to whom Joannes Wicquefort, a merchant who is a good friend of mine, drew my attention. You will hear his name from my son. But by all means, in everything the young man, who does not know English circumstances, will need your advice, upon which he will wholly depend. There is no need to commend him to you, who have personally kindly promised everything—and even if you had not, you would never fail us in any respect, even if we had not asked anything.

b As for Gentius, hear the following; he had never made mention to me of the money he had borrowed from you, until I myself confronted him with it upon learning of it from your letter. He did not deny, but said to be about to solve it; he added that you do not have a receipt, but also that he is a good payer, and that he owed seven imperials. I believed them to be 60 or 70 of our Dutch guilders. I did not want to return to your letter, because I was most busy then and he said he would come to me again the next day. So I thought I could then show him that part of the letter in which you had determined the amount, but he did not come to my house anymore after I had begun to pluck his ear about money. It is most sorry that you trusted him so much. He had also asked money on loan from other people, but, as they themselves told me, he admits to owing it and meanwhile actually does not deny being able to pay, but nevertheless deludes them with empty talk. As soon as I return to Amsterdam, I will inquire where he lives and urge the bad payer through Matthaëus.

c I sent your letter to Bremen enclosed in mine to the theologian Crocius; I did this rather late due to a disease which plagued me for quite long after your departure—not to say anything about my wife's bad health. Meanwhile, it has already been a long time that both Timpler could have written back to you and Crocius to me.

vestrae medico *doctore* Timplero pecuniae aliquantum mutuo dedit; nec ea sibi refundatur. Eapropter literarum aliquid ad eum scripsit, quo aurem vellat satis hac parte oblivio. Receperam ego me literas eius inclusurum istis quas ad te daturus essem propediem . . . Caeterum sat peccatum adversus charissimum affinem, qui alteras iam ad me literas dedit, quibus miratur se nihil a *doctore* Timplero accipere responsi. Rogo igitur, per quempiam tuorum has tuis insertas deferri ad eum cures” [already several months ago my brother-in-law Francis Junius, Franciscus’ son, came from London to see us in Amsterdam. Among other things, he said that he had lent some money to Timpler, a doctor of medicine of your town, already long ago, and that it had not been returned to him. So he wrote a letter to him, in which he plucked the ear of this gentleman who is rather forgetful in that respect. I promised I would enclose his letter in this one, which I was about to write to you

potuit.¹¹ Utrum id fecerit Timplerus, plane nescius sum. Mihi quidem a Crocio nihil responsi. Quare simulac quid rei sit ex te cognoro, alteras ad Crocium literas dabo, ne ulterius lupum auribus teneas.¹² | Multum enim metuo, ne non Gentius solum, sed etiam Timplerus iste, trico nummarius sit.¹³ Ita mihi retulit quidam, qui ab adolescentia nosse aiebat.¹⁴ Haec edocere possunt, quam difficiles nos esse conveniat in pecuniis credendis.

d Caeterum, de moribus Gentii vel hinc cape exemplum. Ex Anglia reversus tandem, nempe post hebdomades aliquot, domum meam accessit. Id doluit, quia mihi obnoxius erat non uno nomine; inter alia, quod etiam consules nostros atque alios compellavi pro eo, ut urbis sumtibus Constantinopolim mitteretur, postea mercatoribus in transferendis Arabicis, imo et Illustri Gymnasio in docendis linguis Orientalibus inserviturus. Non quivi id nostris persuadere; feci tamen, quod potui. Ille tamen benefacta omnia ventis tradit, tibi in Anglia imponit, redux vix tandem convenit ut a te salutem dicat; imo ut conspexit, conqueri de me coepit. “Primum,” inquit, “tu me sic commendaras Iunio, quasi mendicabulum forem.”¹⁵ Nam de viatico procurando addideram, si non succederet de itinere Constantinopolitano. Viatica autem non nisi mendicis dantur. Quasi ego binos vel ternos solum florenos ei dari voluerim, ac non quinquagenos, vel centenos, liberalitate alicuius benigni literarum maecenatis. Addidit, me in causa esse, quod *Dominus* Archiepiscopus non egerit, ut mitteretur Constantinopolim.¹⁶ Se quidem meo nomine apud reverendissimum Archiepiscopum ursisse hoc iter. Sed petiisse eum, ut meas literas promeret. Quid responderim, longum sit referre. Abunde ex illis liquet, cautiores nos, me in commendando, te in credendis pecuniis, esse oportere. Plane siquidem, quantum videre possum, in segete ingrata, beneficia obsevimus gratuita.

soon . . . Still, this has sufficiently injured dearest Brother-in-law, who already wrote to me a second letter, in which he uttered his surprise that he has received no answer from doctor Timpler. I therefore ask you to let this letter enclosed in the one for you be delivered to him by one of your household], Colomesius 1.405. *ICVossius* (1993:269) failed to include Colomesius as a source for this letter. The two letters in which Junius referred to Timpler were probably the unretrieved ones mentioned in **140a**. Crocius (1585–1655), an irenic theologian in Bremen who strove to unite Lutherans and Calvinists, had befriended Vossius at the Synod of Dordrecht in 1619 and corresponded with him since. Diseases from which Vossius and Elizabeth Junius suffered are unidentified, but cf. **136a**. Cf. *ADB* 4.601, *NDB* 3.418, Rademaker (1981:222–23, 279).

¹¹ Vossius found a letter from Crocius, enclosing one from Timpler’s brother, on his return in Amsterdam, cf. **144a**.

Whether Timpler did so, I clearly do not know. I, at least, have no answer from Crocius. So, as soon as I have heard from you what is the matter, I will write another letter to Crocius, so that you no longer have a wolf by the ears. For I much fear that not only Gentius, but also this Timpler is a cheater. Someone who said to have known him from adolescence told me so. This may teach us how hard we should be in lending money.

d Otherwise, well, take an example of Gentius' behaviour here. After his return from England, he finally came to my house, that is, after several weeks. It hurt me, because he was obliged to me in more than one respect; among other things, because I had addressed our burgomasters and others on his behalf to send him to Constantinople on expenses of our town, so that he may later serve merchants in translating Arabic, and even the illustrious gymnasium in teaching Oriental languages. I could not persuade our people of it, but I did what I could. But he cast all favours to the winds, cheated you in England, and on his return it finally hardly suited him to give your regards; even, as soon as he saw me, he began to complain of me. "Firstly," he said, "you commended me to Junius in such a way, as if I were a beggar." For I had added something about acquiring travelling money, if it would not succeed concerning the journey to Constantinople. But travelling money is only given to the poor. As if I had wanted him to be given only two or three guilders, and not fifty or a hundred from the generosity of a patron generous towards literature. He added it was my fault that the lord archbishop had not arranged for him to be sent to Constantinople. He had even urged this journey on the right reverend archbishop in my name. But the latter had asked him to show my letter. It were long to tell what I answered. It is exceedingly clear from this that we should be more cautious, me in commending, you in lending money. Since, as much as I can see, we clearly sowed gratuitous favours in an ungrateful field.

¹² Terence, *Phormio* 506, "auribu' teneo lupum;" Suetonius Tranquillus, *De vita Caesarum* [life Tib.] 25.1.2, "saepe lupum se auribus tenere;" Terentius Varro, *De lingua Latina* 7.31.4, "auribus lupum teneo."

¹³ Lucilius, *Saturae* fragmenta 11.414–5, "magnus fuit trico nummarius, solvere nulli lentus."

¹⁴ Vossius also knew Timpler, for he had been his preceptor, **132A**.

¹⁵ Cf. **136b**.

¹⁶ Vossius had refused to ask Archbishop Laud to support Gentius for his journey to Constantinople, **136b**.

- e Dies ante aliquammultos domum meam venit amplissimus Albertus Conradi, vir consularis, et aliquando ab Ordinibus Belgicae faederatae ad magnum Moscoviae Ducem, postea etiam ad serenissimum Daniae regem missus, nunc inter Ordines Hollandiae deputatus, et nihilominus Illustris Gymnasii nostri Amstelodamensis curator, ut vel hinc satis videas, me omnia eius caussa cupere.¹⁷ Is a me petiit, ut ad te perscriberem (de quo iam ante tecum affinem suum Heemskerckium egisse | per literas aiebat), siqua in re utilis ei esse opera tua ad hoc posset, ut viris praeclari nominis innotesceret filius, adiutare commendatione tua ne graveris.¹⁸ Id sibi longe fore gratissimum. Siquem igitur notum Cantabrigiae, vel Oxonii, habeas, cuius °beneficio collegia, bibliothecas, aliave huius generis, lustrare liceat adolescenti, quaeso ne tribus *verbis* epistolium exarare ad eum grave ducas.¹⁹ Facturus hoc ipse eram, nisi iam magna esset facta immutatio dignitatum ab eo tempore, quo in Anglia fui.²⁰
- f Literas ad Duraeum me procuraturum recepi.²¹ Cuius sint, me etiam tacente ex manu agnosces. Quare si is Londini est, a te, filiove meo, accipiet. Sin alibi, per te poterunt tuto procurari. Nolim enim perire in via, vel in manus malas incidere; licet, ut arbitror, nihil contineant, quod nescire debeat quisquam. Longiori nunc esse nihil opus, quia filius viva erit epistola.²² Vale optime, et charissime adfinis. Hagae, in aedibus Dubletianis.²³ Amstelodami, MDCXL.²⁴
Tuus omni officio affectuque, Ger.Io. Vossius.

e beneficio: [– *ille*] beneficio

¹⁷ Albert Coenraads Burgh. Vossius' description of him corresponds to Heemskerck's in **139a**. The addition that Burgh was a trustee of the Athenaeum Illustre is a clear instance of the "do-ut-des" principle, in that Vossius, and through him Junius as well, were obliged to do Burgh a service, because Vossius' position as a professor at the Athenaeum obviously depended on Burgh's favour to at least some extent. Cf. Stegeman (1997:113–35, esp. 133), Introduction.

¹⁸ Johan van Heemskerck had commended Coenraad Burgh to Junius in **139**.

¹⁹ Junius commended Coenraad Burgh to John Francius in Cambridge in **148b**.

²⁰ Vossius had been in England—and visited Oxford and Cambridge—in 1629, **66**.

²¹ John Durie (1596–1680), irenic theologian and educationalist, who had made it his life project to negotiate with the Calvinist and Lutheran Churches for consensus on theological principles, for which he travelled through Germany, the Low Countries, Sweden, Denmark, France, and Switzerland for many years. He was tutor to Mary, the Princess Royal, when she had moved to the Low Countries, and subsequently a minister to the Merchant Adventurers in Rotterdam in 1642/3. In 1650 he became keeper of St. James library under Bulstrode Whitelocke, **199d**, until he began to travel again in 1654. On his way back to England in 1640, he had been with Vossius, who had reintroduced him to Grotius—who had already

e Quite many days ago, the most magnificent Albert Coenraads came to my house, a burgomaster, and once sent to the grand duke of Moscow by the States of the United Netherlands and later to the right serene Danish king, now a delegate in the States of Holland and even so a trustee of our illustrious gymnasium in Amsterdam, so that you may quite see from this that I wish everything on his behalf. He prayed me to write to you not to feel harassed to assist his son with your recommendation (about which he said his relative Heemskerck had treated with you in a letter already before), if it was possible for your assistance to be useful to him in any respect, in order for him to meet men of splendid name. This would be most welcome to him. So, if you know anyone in Cambridge or Oxford by whose favour the young man may visit the colleges, libraries and other such places, I pray you not to think it troublesome to write him a letter in a few words. I would do so myself, if there had not yet been great mutation in the high offices since the time I was in England.

f I received a letter to forward to Durie. You will recognize whose it is from the hand, even if I keep silent. So, if he is in London, he must receive it from you or my son. But if he is elsewhere, it can be forwarded safely through you. For I do not want it to perish on the way or fall into the wrong hands, although it does not contain anything anyone should not know, as I think. There is no need for a longer letter now, because my son will be a living letter. Farewell, best and dearest Brother.

The Hague, at Doublet's house; Amsterdam, 1641.

Obligingly and Affectionately Yours, Ger.Jo. Vossius.

corresponded with him in 1637—in a letter dated 41 01 14, which enclosed an unretrieved letter from Durie to Grotius at the same time. The letter enclosed with the present letter was Grotius' answer to Durie, dated 41 02 01, which Grotius had enclosed in a letter to Willem de Groot dated 41 02 02. In it, Grotius briefly touched on Durie's endeavours to unify Lutherans and Calvinists. Cf. **199d**, **200a**, *DNB* 16.261–63, *BWGrotius* 12.5011, 5037, 5039.

²² Vossius reversed the topical image of the letter as a spokesman for an absent correspondent here—as he also did in relation to Junius in a letter to William Laud, **137b^a**. For the regular topos, cf. **33d**. Besides the present letter, which Blok (1999:84n) seems not to have known, Vossius probably also gave letter **144** to Isaac to deliver to Junius.

²³ Vossius and Isaac were staying in the house of George Rataller Doublet, cf. Blok (1999:77).

²⁴ Vossius must have added Amsterdam as the place of writing out of sheer habit, for he gave this letter to Isaac when he left him in The Hague, cf. below, **b**, **144a**.

- g** Literas ad *reverendissimum* Archiepiscopum scribere animus est.²⁵ Eas relinquam non obsignatas, ut legas priusquam tradantur, ac deinde iudices utrum expediat offerri hoc tempore; tum autem dispicias, utrum a filio, an alio, sint tradendae.²⁶ Statum rerum Anglicarum non sat scio, proinde alieno a consilio pendere cogor. Ἐρωσο.
- h** En, aliud tandem in mentem venit. Quaesieras de numero et indole eorum, qui intra annos aliquot retro ex Anglia has in oras ad inhabitandum concessere.²⁷ Non potui satis de singulis civitatibus cognoscere. Non videtur tamen magnus admodum numerus. Ac si non omnes, de quo nihil dicere habeo, quam plurimi, sane longe maxima pars, dicuntur abhorrere plane a forma ecclesiae, quae non Eduardi modo, sed Elizabethae etiam et Iacobi temporibus, fuit.²⁸ Ecclesiastes, qui ante annos pauculos Amstelodamum venerat, ac ob facundiam mire Anglis gratus erat, solo hoc nomine fuit ingratus, quod nollet colere concordiam cum ^osequentibus ecclesiae formam hic ab Anglis et Belgis publice receptam.²⁹ Nova quaedam ut sibi introducere patenterentur, postulabat. Ideo, a faventissimis etiam reiectus, in Virginiam abiit. Puto fuisse Damportio nomen. Hic doctus erat. Alii fere indocti; sed nihil probantes, nisi Galliae Ecclesiae conforme, vel ne illi quidem probatum.

h sequentibus: \sequentibus/

²⁵ Vossius' letter to Archbishop Laud is dated 41 04 00, cf. *ICVossius* (1993:270).

²⁶ Laud had been imprisoned in the Tower since March, **142a**. Matthew Wren, on whom Junius and Isaac called in early May, saw to it that either he himself or Isaac would present Laud with the letter. Cf. Blok (1999:82–83).

²⁷ Cf. **140d**.

²⁸ During the reigns of Edward VI (1547–1553), Elizabeth (1533–1603) and James, the Church of England developed its Anglicanism as a form of Christianity distinct from both Roman Catholics and Protestants, yet to Puritans it had not reformed itself sufficiently. Cf. Fritze and Robison (1996:15–20).

²⁹ As Vossius mentioned in this section, this minister was John Davenport (1597–1670), a zealous puritan minister who had fled from London in 1633. In Amsterdam, he had come into conflict on the issue of infant baptism with John

g I intend to write a letter to the right reverend archbishop. I will leave it open for you to read before it is delivered, and on the basis of this to decide whether it is proper to present it at this moment and then to consider whether it must be delivered by my son or by someone else. I do not sufficiently know the state of the English affairs, so I am forced to depend upon somebody else's advice.
Farewell.

h There, finally something else crosses my mind. You had inquired after the number and nature of those who moved from England to this country to stay several years ago. I could not quite inform myself of the individual towns. But it does not seem to be quite such a large number. And if not all of them, about which I have nothing to say, then really many of them—truly, the greatest part by far—are said to be clearly averse to the form of the church which existed not only in Edwardian times, but also in Elizabethan and Jacobean times. The minister who came to Amsterdam several years ago and was wonderfully popular to the English because of his eloquence, was unpopular only because of the fact that he did not want to have concord with the followers of the form of the church which has been publicly received by the English and Dutch here. He asked them to allow him to introduce some novelties. Upon being rejected even by his greatest friends on that account, he left for Virginia. I believe his name was Davenport. He was learned. Others are usually uneducated, but they approve of nothing which is not in accordance with the Walloon Church, and not even of what has been approved by that church.

Page (d. 1640), minister of the English Reformed Church, who had at first intended to make him his assistant minister. There had been more the matter, however, than Vossius revealed. By spreading rumours that Laud wished to extend his jurisdiction over both the English and the Dutch Reformed Churches in Holland, Davenport had so much antagonized William Boswell, Stephen Goffe and Vossius—the three of them Laud's supporters—that they had exerted themselves to making the Dutch magistracy preclude Davenport becoming a minister in Amsterdam. Subsequently, in 1635, he had left for America to found the colony Newhaven, Connecticut. Cf. *DNB* 14.110–11, Rademaker (1981:286–87), Trevor-Roper (1940:250–53), Carter (1964, s.v.).

144 41 04 12 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

A Francisco Iunio F.F.

a Affinis coniunctissime, paucos ante dies filium Isaacum deduxi Hagam, inde in Britannias profecturum.² Ea occasione raptim literas ad te exaravi.³ Sed domum ut redii literas reperi a Doctore Crocio ad me missas.⁴ Iis narrat, ut debitor tuus iam obierit ante quin-quennium; sed frater sit sup̄stes, quem tamen eo compulerit, ut rescribere vellet.⁵ Eas Timpleri literas ad te mitto, argumenti ignarus, sed plane suspicans te excidisse argento.

b Postridie etiam ad me Gentius venit ac narrat, ut acceperit a te libram sterlingicam cum gemino ducato; id pretium aiebat mercatorum iudicio valere septem imperialibus, quos mihi annumeravit.⁶ Ac poteris eos ex proebenda mea Cantuariensi recipere, dum filius Isaacus apud vos agit.⁷ Nisi potius putes (ut se malle uxor aiebat) hinc emi illa, de quibus ad illam scripseras.⁸ [Ervilia] ante longum tempus missa, credo, iamdiu acceperis.⁹ Utinam in ulla re magna minuta medioxuma utilis tibi esse possit opera nostra.¹⁰ Iucundius mihi fuerit gratificari ulla in re tibi, quam ipse possis credere. Sed haec proletaria ad notae adeo fidei adfinem scribi non meretur.

¹ c: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 71.

² Isaac Vossius left The Hague for Brill on 19 April to cross over to England and thus begin his three years' tour, **143a**.

³ Letter **143**. Isaac probably also took the present letter to England, together with several other ones Vossius dated 41 04 12, cf. *ICVossius* (1993:270–71).

⁴ Ludovicus Crocius' letter to Vossius is dated 41 04 09—which shows how quickly letters could travel from Bremen to Amsterdam, cf. below.

⁵ Junius tried to get back the money he had lent to Christopher Timpler, **132a**, **137a**. Crocius informed Vossius, "Christophero Timplero inscriptas a F. Iunio affini tuo literas Rudgero fratri illius, reipublicae nostrae physico, homini Zelotas nostros in omni occasione in nos extimulanti actutum tradi curavi; qui non sibi, sed fratri ante quinquennium defuncto datas aiebat. Impetravi tamen responsum, quod hic inclusum accipies" [I immediately had the letter addressed to Christopher Timpler by your brother-in-law F. Junius be handed to his brother Rudger, a physician of our town, a gentleman who pricks up our radicals against us on every occasion, who said it was written not to him but to his brother who had died five years ago. I nevertheless received an answer, which you find enclosed here], 41 04 09, Colomesius 2.309. Rudger Timpler's letter to Junius unretrieved.

⁶ Junius had lent £1.2 to Georg Gentius, which Vossius tried to get back for him, **138b**, **143b**. Vossius' use of "the next day" indicates that Gentius' visit had taken place before the day Vossius wrote this letter, which implies that Vossius

144 41 04 12 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

A To Francis Junius F.F.

a Dearest Brother,

A few days ago, I brought my son Isaac to The Hague, from where he will go to England. On that occasion I wrote a letter to you in haste. But when I had returned home, I found a letter sent to me by Dr. Crocius. In it, he said how your debtor had already died five years ago, but that his brother is still alive, whom he had now induced to be willing to write back. I am sending this letter of Timpler to you, unaware of the contents, but I wholly suspect that you have lost your money.

b The next day, Gentius also came to me and told me he had received one pound sterling with two shillings from you; he said that after the opinion of merchants this sum is worth seven imperials, which he paid to me. You can get them back from my Canterbury prebend, when my son Isaac is staying with you. Unless you rather judge (as my wife said she preferred) that those matters about which you wrote to her are bought with it. You will have received long since the pulses which were sent a long time ago, I suppose. May our support be able to be of use to you for any great, small or medium sized affair. It would be more enjoyable for me to oblige you in anything than you yourself could imagine. But these trivialities deserve not to be written to a brother of such noted fidelity.

returned home from The Hague no later than 10 April, and must consequently have written letter 143 on or before that date.

⁷ One of Isaac's duties in England was to try make the payment of his father's Canterbury prebend be resumed, 143a.

⁸ On Countess Aletheia's behalf, Junius had asked of Elizabeth Junius to buy a fashionable Dutch shopping basket, 140b. Either of the unretrieved letters mentioned in 140a may also have contained requests for goods—which would explain the plural of "illa" and "quibus."

⁹ "Ervilia" is possibly a conflation of "ervilia," a feminine, and "ervum," a neuter, which both referred to the vetch used as horse fodder, cf. *LS*, s.vv., *LLNMA*, s.v. "(h)ervum." If Vossius did not use the word as a pseudonym for something it was too risky to write openly about, Junius may have asked his family, perhaps in one of the unretrieved letters mentioned in 140a, to send him bales of vetch, possibly at the request of the Arundel family. The fodder may have been similar to the horse-beans traded wholesale in Amsterdam from 1683. Cf. Posthumus (1943, Price Tables 1585–1914, no. 16).

¹⁰ Cf. Plautus, *Cistellaria* 512, "di deaeque superi atque inferi et medioxumi."

- c** Faxit Deus *optimus maximus*, ut laetiora ex Anglia intelligam, quam his sparguntur locis.¹¹ Vale, dilecte adfinis, et ut antehac semper amemus nos inter nos.
Amstelodami, MDCXLI, IV nonas *Aprilis* stylo *vetere*.
Tuus adfinis Ger.Io. Vossius.

145₁₄₇ 41 04 15 GEORGE RATALLER DOUBLET (THE HAGUE) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

- a** Si una mihi cura esset abeuntem ad vos in Angliam commendare harum latorem, *Isaacum* Vossium, iis qui illo in regno memores mei degunt amicis, tu mihi eras praetereundus, utpote qui ultro commendatum habeas satis tam arcto tibi sanguine iunctum.² Verum non ego amicorum tantum, sed et meam caussam apud amicos acturus, prae caeteris omnibus, te uti per litteras exoscularer, aequum putavi. Scilicet memorem me tui vivere scias oportet, si, ut memor vivas mei, ullo iure flagitare posse desidero. Id autem quam desiderem serio, non facile dixero; tu tamen etiam tacente me credes, si aequum me tuarum virtutum censebis aestimatorem. Iuvat subinde revolvere, quam tu amice ante annos prope viginti hospitem me illa ipsa in urbe Londiniensi hospes exceperis, quantum consilio tum iuveris iuvenem me et inconsultum, quamque non fucata sincerissimi erga me adfectus et tum et semper postea prodideris indicia.³ Exinde me tibi debitorem constituisti, et habes debitorem hactenus; nec facile futurum ut me isto liberem debito, nisi candida nominis agnitione, quae tua est humanitas, existimes deleri nomen de tabulis posse. Sed

¹¹ For a brief survey of the situation in England, **142a, c**.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 84.

² Isaac Vossius crossed to England at the end of April, which marked the beginning of his grand tour, and had stayed with Doublet until 19 April in expectation of the departure of the fleet of William, Prince of Orange, with which Doublet had suggested him to sail, **143a**. Doublet had visited England in 1621–22, **36a**.

³ During his stay in England, Doublet had often been with Junius, and had accompanied him to see Bishop Andrewes in his country residence, **36a**. In the

- c** May Allgood and Almighty God bring to pass that I hear happier news from England than what is reported in this country. Farewell, dear Brother, and let us always love each other as before. Amsterdam, 1641, on the 4th before the Nones of April old style [12 Apr.].
Your brother Ger.Jo. Vossius

145 41 04 15 GEORGE RATALLER DOUBLET (THE HAGUE) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

- a** Most noble sir,
If my only concern were to commend the bearer of this letter, Isaac Vossius, who is leaving for you in England, to those friends who live and remember me in that kingdom, I would have to leave you out, since you hold him, who is bound to you by such close kinship, sufficiently commended of your own accord. But because I am not only pleading my friends' but also my own cause with friends, I thought it justified to show my affection for you, before all others, in a letter. To be sure, you should know that I live and remember you, if I wish to be able to request with any justification that you live and remember me. But I cannot easily say how earnestly I wish so; still, you will believe me even when I keep silent, if you consider me a fair appraiser of your virtues. I take pleasure in frequently reflecting upon how amiably you as a host received me as a guest in the town of London itself some twenty years ago; how much you then assisted me, an inexperienced young man, with advice, and what a genuine signs of a most sincere affection you showed to me both then and always afterwards. Because of this you have made me your debtor and have me still a debtor, and I will not easily clear myself from this debt, unless you believe that my name can be erased from the tally by the frank acknowledgement of the name—considering the nature of your humanity. But I truly would not wish so, and much prefer to stay in your debt until good fortune enables

mean time, in 1640, Doublet had become a member of the Supreme Court of Holland, Zeeland and West-Friesland in The Hague. Cf. *NBW* 7.379.

vero ego istud non optarem; longeque malim in aere tuo remanere usque dum solvendo me faciat sors bona. Vale, vir nobilissime et amicissime, nec parce imperare, sicuti usui tibi esse posse iudicabis, Tuum G.R. Doublet.

Hagae Comitum, die 15^o Aprilis 1641.

146 41 05 17 MATTHEW WREN (LONDON) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A *To my very loving friend Mr. John Junius, at Arundell house, these L.*²

a Ornatissime Vir,

Accessit hesterno die ad me Legatus Dominus Joachimus, postularitque a me nomine legatorum vestrarium, ut ipsis quae in Sacello Divi Regis Die Dominico in nuptiis illis principalibus peracta sunt, brevi commentariolo perscriberem, manuque mea propria signarem.³ Promisi me (quamprimum per otium liceret) facturum Latine, verum ille videbatur Gallice potius aut Belgice expetere. Aderat cum eo quidam (ni fallor) e concionatoribus ecclesiae Gallicanae Londini, qui tantum non innuebat ope me sua uti posse in translatione.⁴ Sed nescio, an expediat homini vix de facie cognito hanc provinciam per me commendari. Ad te igitur virum quem optime novi et plurimi facio (si tibi vacat, et non nevis) mitto, translationi tuae (Gallicanae, Belgicaeve,) statim subscripturus, perque te (si ita volueris) promissi mei fidem Dominis legatis exoluturus.⁵ Sed utere tamen tuo ipsius arbitrio, et bene vale, ex voto

Aeternum tui Ma. Elie.

Ex aedibus meis Holburnianis, Mai 7 1641.

¹ o: UBA, M 93. On the inside is a report of the royal wedding, a, in Junius' hand, App6.

² Possibly Wren used to call Junius by his surname only, which would go some way to explain why he addressed him as "John" here. Junius and Isaac Vossius had even called on Wren in the beginning of the month, and Wren had been at Arundel House—although he need not have met Junius then—on 9 May, App6. The letter seems to be Wren's own hand, not a secretary's. Cf. Blok (1999:82–83), Wren (1750, reproduction at 72).

³ The wedding ceremony of Prince William of Orange and Mary, the Princess Royal, was held in the royal Chapel at Whitehall on 12 May 1641 and performed by Matthew Wren. The most detailed account of the ceremony seems to be Wren's report in Junius' hand written on the inside of this letter, App6. Albert Joachimi, the Dutch ambassador in England, had asked the report on behalf of himself and the other Dutch representatives, Johan Polyander à Kerckhoven, lord of Heenvliet, Joan Wolfert van Brederode (1599–1655), Master-General of Artillery, and François

me to redeem myself. Farewell, most noble and friendly sir, and do not refrain from commanding—just as you judge can be of use to you—

Your G.R. Doublet.

The Hague, 15 April 1641.

146 41 05 17 MATTHEW WREN (LONDON) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A [See the original address.]

a Most distinguished sir,

Yesterday, ambassador Mr. Joachimi came to me and asked of me on behalf of the ambassadors of your country to describe briefly what was performed in the Royal Chapel during the princely wedding on Sunday in a small commentary for them and sign it in my own hand. I promised to do so in Latin (as soon as I could in my leisure time), but he seemed to desire it rather in French or Dutch. Someone was with him from the ministers of the French Church in London (if I am not mistaken), who almost nodded I could make use of his assistance for the translation. But I do not know if it is proper for me to entrust this special duty to someone hardly known by face. For this reason I am sending it to you, someone I know well and make really much of (if you have the time, and are not unwilling), and will immediately endorse your translation (whether in French or Dutch) and fulfil the pledge of my promise to Messrs ambassadors through you (if you wished so). But please, still use your own judgement, and farewell, in accordance with the wish of
For ever your Ma. Ely.

From my Holborn house, 7 May 1641.

van Aerssen (1572–1641), lord of Sommelsdyck. Cf. below, Groen van Prinsterer (1859:714), *MNBW* 10.125–26, 3.10–12.

⁴ The minister of the French Church in London was either Nathaniel Marie (d. 1642), Gilbert Primerose (d. 1642) or Ezechiël Marmet (d. 1642). No indications were found that Junius himself was a member of the French Church in London. Since Junius the Elder had been a minister of the Walloon Church in Leiden, Junius' membership is likely, unless his position with Arundel prevented his joining the French Church. In his discussion of the French churches in England, de Schickler (1892:425) adduced Junius as an example of an "étudiant français" who left his manuscripts to an English university library. Cf. Gwynn (1979:7).

⁵ Presumably, Junius immediately provided a French or Dutch translation of the report, which itself must have been enclosed with this letter. The English report in

b Siquid erratum a me est in titulo Principis vestri, aut legatorum, corrigas, quaeso.

¹⁴⁵ **147** 41 06 21 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO GEORGE RATALLER DOUBLET
(THE HAGUE)¹

A Hagam.

a Nobilissimo, amplissimo, consultissimo Georgio Ratallero Dubletio, in suprema Hollandiae curia Senatori.

Quamvis adventu Principis nostri in maximam verissimamque spem videremur adducti, non contemnendam foederatorum sortem cum invictis florentissimi regni viribus certa pactione ac firma quadam societate aeternum coalituram; quamvis etiam in ipso, quo stipatus erat Princeps, electissimorum iuvenum choro quotidie occurrerent nobilia quaedam °insignium familiarum nomina, quae amicitiam nostram cum parentibus eorum a parvis inceptam grata recordatione quasi renovarent; quamvis denique inopinus Isaaci nostri adspectus °animum meum incredibili laetitia perfunderet; amoena tamen litterarum tuarum suavitas multimodis auxit insignem illam festae hilaritatis ac lubentiarum in domum Arundellianam undiquaque confluentium gratiam.² Seposito itaque multiplici atque a loco ac tempore ingesto confertim gaudio, totum animum litteris tuis iterum atque iterum recensendis usque ad memoriam tradidi; veluti repetita saepius lectione hoc potissimum assecuturus, ut pauca, quae scripseras, mihi essent multorum instar.

a insignium: insigini[-.]um | animum meum: \animum meum/

Junius' hand on the inside of this letter is most likely a copy of the text Wren had drafted, **App6**, and the Dutch ambassadors informed Prince Frederick Henry on the very day the present letter was written, "Nos espousailles furent célébrées dimanche passé publiquement en la chappelle du Roy par l'évesque d'Ely, selon les formes et l'usance de l'Église . . . Nous sommes après a lever l'attestation de l'évesque de la consommation du mariage, faict de l'autorisation et approbation de s. *majesté*, afin de former l'acte lequel elle a promis de nous en faire dépêcher et n'obmettrons rien de ce qui pourra servir à la seureté," 41 05 17, Groen van Prinsterer (1859:714). Junius' translation is unretrieved.

- b** If I have made any mistake in the title of your prince or ambassadors, you must correct it, I pray.

147 41 06 21 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO GEORGE RATALLER DOUBLET
(THE HAGUE)

A To The Hague.

- a** To the most noble, distinguished and experienced George Rataller Doublet, Senator at the Supreme Court of Holland. Although by our prince's arrival we seemed to be led to the highest and most genuine hope that the indescribable destiny of the United Provinces will for ever merge with the invincible forces of the most flourishing kingdom by a certain agreement and a firm alliance; although, furthermore, in the very band of the choicest young people with which the prince was surrounded daily appeared the noble names of distinguished families, which, as it were, renewed our friendship begun with their parents from childhood in dear recollection; although, finally, the unexpected sight of our Isaac filled my heart with inconceivable happiness, the charming sweetness of your letter nevertheless increased that immense delight of merry gaiety and cheerfulness flocking from everywhere to Arundel House in many ways. So, having set aside the varied happiness, densely heaped by the time and place, I devoted my whole heart to rereading your letter over and again until I knew it by heart, as if by rather often repeated reading I succeeded best in making the few points you wrote equivalent to many.

¹ *ca.*: UBA, M 68. Though very carefully written and with centred heading, it must be a copy, because it is not signed, because Junius wrote "*Hagam*" at the top and because it is in Junius' legacy.

² William, Prince of Orange, had crossed to England to marry Mary, the Princess Royal, thus creating a bond between England and the Dutch United Provinces, **146a**. He and his train stayed at Arundel House until early June. Prince William's train consisted of some four hundred gentlemen. Isaac Vossius had also crossed over in the prince's fleet, **143a**. He delivered letter **145**. Cf. Hervey (1921:431–32), *CSPDS* (1640–41:560, 1641–43:17).

b °Quemadmodum °vero praemonendum putabas, °[m]e litterarum tuarum latori, arctissimis mihi necessitudinibus devincto, nullam ex litteris tuis captasse commendationem, ita quoque ingenue fatebor, neque litteras latori, neque latorem litteris quidquam apud me attulisse commendationis; siquidem alicui tuorum atque in isthoc nobilissimae iuventutis flore praeter caeteros conspicuo (talis enim visus mihi esset, quisquis tuus) eas a te commissas maluissem; tuis, oblata °occasione tam commoda, tibi debita obsequia paratissime impensurus.³ Quod hodie non est, cras erit—sic vita truditur.⁴ Aliquando tandem accidet tempus, longiora modo vitae spatia largiatur Deus, quo tempore tuorum commodis in hoc regno inservire possim. Ex reliquo interim amantissimarum litterarum contextu, nec non ex plena indulgentia quam Iuniana Vossianaque familia tot ab hinc annis experta est atque etiamnum experitur, singularem benevolentiae | tuae mensuram iuxta intelligens, paremque gratiam referri posse desperans, id maxime nobis curandum video, ut iis, quae in nos assidue confers, non indigni existimemur. Vale, nobilissime atque amplissime vir, meque amore illo tuo singulari, quamdiu videbor mereri, proseguere. Raptim; in aedibus Arundellianis, 11 Iunii 1641. Tuus toto animo.

148 41 07 08 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHN FRANCIUS (CAMBRIDGE)¹

A Cantabrigiam, Domino Johanni Francio.

a Isaacum Vossium nostrum una cum Domino Huisvedelio Cantabrigiam sine meis ad te litteris excurrere nolui—non quod sperem te in tot ac tantis academicae procurationis negotiis vacare posse cuiusquam amicis, sed quod officium litterarium diutius utrumque

b Quemadmodum: [- et] Quemadmodum | vero: \vero/ | me: te | occasione: [- ..] occasione

³ Doublet's children were probably still of too tender age to accompany the prince. His three sons, names unidentified, were still alive in 1648 but had died by 1653, and his four daughters, of whom only Cornelia and Isabella survived, must have been born between 1629, when Doublet had married Maria van Schoterbosch, and 1639, when she had died. Cf. *NBW* 7.379, Fruin (1869:372, 374).

b But just as you thought that I must be warned not to derive any recommendation for the bearer of your letter from your letter, because he is bound to me by the closest bonds, so I will also sincerely admit that the letter did not provide to me any recommendation for the bearer, nor the bearer for the letter, since I had preferred it to have been entrusted by you to anyone of your family, who is conspicuous before others among this flower of most noble young people (for anyone of your family would have appeared to me thus), because I would readily bestow the favours due to you to your family, if such a convenient opportunity had presented itself. What does not happen today, will happen tomorrow—such is life. One day, provided God grants me a longer time of life, the time will finally come when I may serve the interests of your family in this kingdom. Yet, perceiving the extraordinary measure of your kindness from the remaining course of your sweetest letter and also from the profuse fondness which the Junius and Vossius families have experienced for so many years and are still experiencing, and despairing to be able to return an equal favour, I notice we must take utmost care that we are not considered unworthy of what you are assiduously conferring to us. Farewell, most noble and distinguished sir, and honour me with your extraordinary love as long as I seem to deserve it. In haste; at Arundel House, 11 June 1641. Wholeheartedly Yours.

148 41 07 08 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHN FRANCIUS (CAMBRIDGE)

A To Cambridge to Mr. John Francius.

a I did not want our Isaac Vossius to go hastening to Cambridge together with Mr. Huswedel without my letter to you—not because I may hope you to be able to spare time for somebody else’s friends among so many and such great occupations of the university proctorship, but because I felt that the duty of letter writing, which has

⁴ Petronius, *Satyricon* 2.2–3.1, “quod hodie non est, cras erit: sic vita truditur.”

¹ *ca*: UBA, M 70c; on the same sheet as **135**, **141**, **149**, **154**, **155**, **156**.

intermissum, tandem aliquando resumendum putaverim, °occasione praesertim usque adeo commoda oblata.²

b Meis quoque verbis *Dominationem* vestram salutabit Conradus Burgius, ab affine Vossio atque aliis quibusdam proceribus Batavis per litteras mihi commendatus.³ Filius is est Alberti Conradi, consulis quondam Amstelodamensis, atque ab Ordinibus °foederati Belgii ad magnum Moscoviae Ducem, nec non postea etiam ad serenissimum Daniae Regem legati, nunc vero deputati inter Ordines Hollandiae.⁴

c Quod si in provincia °tam exercita novos hosce Britanniae atque academiae vestrae hospites °alicui ex amicis, qui eos, consilio atque opera nonnihil iuvet, commendare dignaberis, me pariter atque illos aeternum tibi obstrinxeris.⁵ Ego certe, si minus referenda gratia humanitati tuae respondere potero, praedicanda tamen et habenda pro viribus satis esse facturum confido.⁶ Vale.

In aedibus Arundellianis, anno 1641, 28 Iunii *stilo* Angliae.

Tuus omni officio.

149₁₅₀ 41 07 18 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHN ROUS [OXFORD]¹

a Doctissimo humanissimo *Domino* Ioanni Rous, praefecto Bodleianae bibliothecae vigilantissimo.

Litteras clarissimi Vossii iam nunc ad me delatas tuae potissimum humanitati commendandas putavi; siquidem Oxonium propediem excurret, si nondum apud vos est, ornatissimus Isaacus Vossius, non parum forte interest eius ut statim tradantur.² Quare in adventum

148a occasione . . . oblata: \occasione . . . oblata/ | **b** foederati: foederati[- s] | **c** tam: [*usque adeo* > tam] | alicui . . . iuvet: [. . . *ex amicis alicui* > \alicui ex amicis, qui eos, consilio atque opera nonnihil iuvet/].

² Isaac Vossius had been on a tour of England from the end of April, **143a**. Johann Albert Huswedel (1618–1674), the future Hamburg physician, travelled with him from July until November, in Paris. He was a relative of Isaac's friend Johann Christoph Huswedel (fl. 1652), who was Vossius' amanuensis in Amsterdam. John Francius had been senior proctor from 1640, **91Aⁿ**. Cf. Blok (1999, s.v., esp. 92), *DBI*, s.v., Jöcher 2.1787.

³ Coenraad Burgh had been commended to Junius by Vossius in **143e** and by Johan van Heemskerck in **139a**. Coenraad, who had befriended Isaac, also travelled with him and Huswedel in England, and met Isaac again in France in 1643. Cf. Blok (1999:85183).

been neglected on both sides for too long, should finally be resumed, especially since such a convenient opportunity has presented itself.

b Coenraad Burgh, who was commended to me by Brother Vossius and some other dignitaries of Holland in letters, will also greet your lordship on my behalf. He is the son of Albert Coenraads, sometime burgomaster of Amsterdam and ambassador of the Provinces of the United Netherlands to the grand duke of Moscow and later also to the right serene Danish king, and now deputy in the States of Holland.

c Yet if, during such a heavy task, you deem it worthwhile to commend these visitors, who are new to England and your university, to one of your friends to assist them somewhat with support and advice, you will oblige both me and them to you for ever. For sure, if I am unable actually to return my gratitude for your kindness, I still trust to satisfy it by praising and feeling it to the best of my ability. Farewell. At Arundel House in the year 1641, 28 June old style.

Obligingly Yours.

149 41 07 18 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO JOHN ROUS [OXFORD]

a To the most learned, considerate John Rous, the most vigilant Head of the Bodleian Library.

I thought that the letter of the widely renowned Vossius, which has been delivered to me now, should be entrusted especially to your kindness; as the most distinguished Isaac Vossius will come hastening to Oxford soon, if he is not with you yet, it is perhaps of great interest to him that it is handed to him immediately. So I thought it must not be kept here until his arrival. Farewell, best man, and

⁴ Junius copied the description of Albert Coenraads Burgh's positions from **139a** and **143e**.

⁵ Complying with the invitations from Cambridge scholars, Isaac stayed in Cambridge for about a fortnight, cf. Blok (1999:92).

⁶ Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 1.10–2.1, "si minus referenda gratia satis facere potuerim, praedicanda et habenda certe satis esse facturum," **155a**.

¹ *ca.*: UBA, M 70d; on the same sheet as **135**, **141**, **148**, **154**, **155**, **156**.

² Vossius' letter to Isaac Vossius is probably the one dated 41 06 27. Isaac, who was on a tour of England, **143a**, intended to visit Oxford and its libraries, but a change in his travel route precluded his going there, and Rous accordingly returned

eius non putavi hic detinendas. Vale, vir optime, nostramque vicissim operam ac fidem quavis in re praesto tibi semper futuram confide. Raptim; in aedibus Arundellianis, 1641, 8 Iulii.
Tuus omni officio.

¹⁴⁹ **150** 41 08 08 JOHN ROUS (OXFORD) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Doctissimo viro et amico suo summe colendo *Domino* Francisco Iunio, in aedibus Arundelianis. *Leave theirs at Arundell howse.*

a Doctissime vir, *salutem plurimam.*

Literas amplissimi Vossii ad filium suum, quas mihi servandas in adventum suum commendasti, iterum (ita ut fit) tibi remitto.² Et doleo sane fortunam ita tulisse, ut consilium ad nos veniendi °mutare cogeretur. Felix et prosperum iter illi in Galliam °precor nec minus ad nos reditum °illi prosperum.³ Ambabus ulnis quandocumque advenerit amplectar, et dabo operam ut intelligat quam pretiosum sit apud nos Oxonienses Vossii nomen.⁴ Interim peto et obtestor, ut me excusatum habeat, quod summis occupationibus districtus °literis suis °humanitate plenissimis non respondeam.⁵ Ignoscas, vir doctissime, festinanti calamo, et habeas in numero tuorum omni obsequio deditissimum, Ioannem Rousium.
Dabam e Bibliotheca Bodleyana, Iulii 29 1641.

a mutare: \mutare/ | precor: \precor/ | illi: [*nec* > illi] | literis: [- *su*] literis | humanitate: [- *humaniss*] humanitate

Vossius' letter to Junius, **150a**. Vossius had written a commendatory letter for Isaac to Rous at the same time as letter **144**. Cf. *ICVossius* (1993:273), Colomesius 1.409, Blok (1999:92n79).

¹ *o*: UBA, M 96c.

² Junius had forwarded a letter from Vossius to Isaac Vossius with letter **149**, cf. **149a**. Isaac, who was on a tour of England, **143a**, had intended to visit Oxford and its libraries after Cambridge, **148**, but he and his companions Johann Albert Huswedel and Coenraad Burgh returned to London instead, and he and Huswedel

rest assured that our service and loyalty will always be at your service for anything in turn.

In haste; at Arundel House, 1641, 8 July.

Obligingly Yours.

150 41 08 08 JOHN ROUS (OXFORD) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the most learned gentleman and his highly venerable friend Mr. Francis Junius at the house of Arundel. [*See the original.*]

a Most learned sir, warmest regards.

I am sending the letter of the most distinguished Vossius to his son, which you entrusted to me to keep until his arrival, back to you again (just as happens now). I am really sorry that fortune willed it so, that he was forced to change his intention of going to us. I pray his journey to France to be happy and prosperous and his return to us as prosperous. I will embrace him with both arms when he comes and make him understand how precious Vossius' name is to us in Oxford. Meanwhile, I beg and pray him to excuse me that I do not reply to his letter most brimming with kindness, because I am engaged in quite important occupations. Most learned sir, forgive the hasty pen and hold among the number of your friends Most dedicatedly in all allegiance, John Rous.

Written from the Bodleian Library, 29 July 1641.

continued to France from there a few days after the present letter. Isaac must have informed Rous of this in an unretrieved letter, cf. below. Cf. Blok (1999:92–95).

³ Isaac intended to visit Oxford on his return home at the end of his tour, but nothing came of it, cf. Blok (1999:92–93).

⁴ During his visit to Oxford in 1629, Vossius had been made a member of the university and honoured with an official dinner, **66b**.

⁵ Isaac's letter to Rous is unretrieved, cf. Blok (1999:93).

151 41 08 09 JUNIUS [LONDON] TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM)¹

A Aen de eerbaere deughdenrijcke juffrouw Elizabeth du Jon, huysvrouwe van den vermaerden hoogh-gheleerden heer Gerardus Joh. Vossius, woonende op d' oude sijdsche achter-burghwal, bij 't Oudemanshuys, tot Amsterdam port.²

a Waerde suster,
neef Isaacus is op huynen ghesont en wel te passe nae Vranck-rijck van hier vertrocken; den tijd viel hem so kort, van weghen de menighvuldighe beletselen die hem in 't op-packen voor quamen, dat hij niet en konde schrijven; dies ick op mij nam dit advijs briefken met het mede-gaende wisselbriefken aen V.E. te bestellen.³

b Bij so verde dat korfken voor de Gravinne van Arundell noch niet ghekocht ende ghesonden is, 't magh nu wel achterblijven; vermids den Koningh en Koninghinne den Ed. Grave van Arundell bescheyden hebbende om de Koninghinne moeder die te Ceulen gaet wonen in Holland over te brenghen, so ist dat de Gravinne op die °gheleghenheyd mede over komt; so dat sij sick van alles wat haer lust, en andere dinghen van sulcken slagh als dat mandeken is, in Holland sal kunnen versien.⁴ indient daerenteghen alreede ghesonden is, daer is oock weynigh schade in.

c men meynt, dat de Gravinne sick desen winter wel moght binnen Amsterdam onthouden voor eenen sekeren tijd: achte het waerschijnelick dat sulcks wel soude moghen ghebeuren, want sij menighmael haer selven plaght te verklaeren daer toe seer ghesint te wesen.⁵ den tijd sal 't leeren; men meynt dat de Koninghinne moeder binnen tien of twaelf daghen nae Holland toe gaet: sij beghint haer

c gheleghenheyd: ghelehenheyd

¹ *o*: BLO, Rawl. 84b, f. 203.

² In an unidentified hand the postage was added, "2/8." In another unidentified hand, in red crayon through the address, "16." In a third unidentified hand, "1315."

³ Isaac Vossius, who had been on a tour of England, **143a**, sailed to France a few days after the present letter, though he still did find the time to write Vossius a letter, dated 41 08 10, from London, **150a**ⁿ. Enclosed bill of exchange unretrieved. Cf. Blok (1999:95).

⁴ Countess Aletheia had asked of Junius to have a fashionable Dutch shopping basket bought for her, **140b**. Marie de Médicis, mother of the English Queen Henrietta Maria, had been with her daughter, and Charles had requested the earl and countess of Arundel to accompany her to Holland, from where she would con-

151 41 08 09 JUNIUS [LONDON] TO ELIZABETH JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM)

- A** To the honourable, virtuous Mrs. Elizabeth du Jon, wife of the renowned, most learned gentleman Gerard Joh. Vossius, residing at the Oudezijds Achterburgwal, near the Oudemanshuis, in Amsterdam. Postage.
- a** Honourable Sister,
Nephew Isaac has now left in good health and good condition from here to France. Time fell to him so short, because of the many impediments happening to him when packing up, that he could not write. I therefore took it upon myself to send to you this small informative letter together with the enclosed bill of exchange.
- b** In so far as that small basket for the countess of Arundel has not been bought yet, it may be ignored now, for the king and queen have appointed the noble earl of Arundel to bring over the Queen Mother, who is going to reside in Cologne, to Holland; thus it is that the countess is coming along on that occasion, so that she can supply herself with everything she likes and with other such items as that small basket in Holland. If it has already been sent, however, there is little harm in that either.
- c** They believe that the countess may stay in Amsterdam for some time this winter; I consider it likely that such might happen, for she herself often used to say to be much inclined to it. Time will tell.

tinue to Cologne. However, the Queen Mother delayed the journey so long, **c^a**, that Countess Aletheia, together with William Howard, viscount Stafford, his wife Mary and Arundel's grandchildren Thomas, Henry and Philip Thomas crossed over separately. She passed The Hague on 8 September. Arundel stayed with Marie de Médicis, sailing to Zeeland late September, **c^a**. Cf. Nicolaes van Reigersberch to Grotius, 41 09 09, *BWGrotius* 12.5357, Hervey (1921:424–31).

⁵ Countess Aletheia intended to spend the winter in the Low Countries, where she wanted to go and see Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia in exile, in The Hague, and afterwards continue to Italy. Instead of moving on to Italy, however, she returned to England and together with Arundel made a final journey to Holland in attendance of Queen Henrietta Maria and Mary, the Princess Royal, in February 1642, **155c^a**. She was to stay in the Low Countries for the rest of her life. In April 1642 she was in Utrecht, when Junius was staying there too, **154a**. Probably later that year she moved with Arundel to Antwerp, where she lived until 1646, **156b^a**. In May 1646, she arrived in Alkmaar to stay, and in 1649 she took up residence in Amersfoort, **163a**, **190a**. By 1653 she had moved to Amsterdam, where she was to die on 3 June 1654. Cf. Hervey (1921:425, 440–45), Weijtens (1971:16–18, 41–44).

reyse den aenstaenden maendagh. blijft twee of drij daghen te Cobham, oock twee of drij daghen tot Canterbury om eenighe medicijnen te nemen, en van daer gaet-se voord ter zee.⁶ wat de Gravinne van Arundells °voornemen °aengaet van sick tot Amsterdam voor een wijle tijds t' onthouden, laet dat aldaer niet ruchtbaer worden als bij mij gheschreven. dus bevelende V.E. en alle d' uwe, in de beschuttinghe des allerhoogsten, ick sal altijd soecken te bewijzen dat ick ben

V.E. dienstschuldighen broeder F.F.F. Junius.

den 30 Iulii stilo Angliae, anno 1641. op 't aller haestighste.

152 41 12 11 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

- a Nobilissime et clarissime adfinis Iuni,
Tandem vides commentarios nostros De Theologia gentili, et physica Christiana, quos gratos fore confido non tibi modo, sed etiam clero Anglicano, cui eos dicavi.² Mitto etiam Dionysio meo Maiomonidem, a fratre Isaaco inscriptum duabus Angliae academiis.³

c voornemen: voornememen | aengaet: [- *schijnt*] aengaet

⁶ The day intended for departure from London was accordingly 12 August new style. However, the Queen Mother and her company left London for Greenwich only on 23 August, moved on to Canterbury, where she stayed several days, to arrive in Dover on 31 August. For some time she considered to cross over to Dunkirk in the Spanish Netherlands instead of the Dutch United Provinces, but finally sailed to Flushing in Zeeland, where she had arrived by 21 September. Having accompanied her to Holland, Arundel returned to England again by way of the southern Netherlands to arrive in London by the end of October. While in the Low Countries, he also found time to visit the collection of antiquities of Johannes Smetius (1590–1651) in Nijmegen, **155c**. Cf. Hervey (1921:424–31), *BWGrotius* 12.5397.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 100c. *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 72; heading, “Francisco Iunio Fr.F. Londinum.” *p1*: Colomesius 1.433; heading, “Francisco Iunio Fr.F. Londinum.” *p2*: *Epp. Vossius* 576; not collated. Probably Junius received this letter no earlier than late Spring 1642, when already in the Low Countries, if Vossius had enclosed it in the parcel containing copies of his book *De theologia gentili* (1641) to be distributed in England, just as the other accompanying letters of presentation, **a**. This would entail that Junius first came to know of the news in this letter from Vossius in person in the Low Countries, **154a**.

² Vossius, *De theologia gentili* (1641), dedicated without a letter to the clergy of the Church of England by Vossius as Canon of Canterbury, **118i**. Vossius had enclosed the copy for Junius, probably together with this letter, in the parcel of eighteen copies and their accompanying letters of presentation, for which cf. *ICVossius* (1993:267, 280–82), which he directed to Archbishop Laud, or rather his secretary William Dell, to have them distributed, “[m]itto exemplaria octodecim. Compacta quidem

They believe that the Queen Mother will go to Holland within ten to twelve days; she will begin her journey coming Monday, will stay two or three days in Canterbury to take certain medications and from there she will continue by sea. Concerning the countess of Arundel's intention to stay in Amsterdam for some time, let it not become known there as having been written by me. Thus commending you and all your family in the protection of the All-high, I will always try to prove that I am
Your obliging brother F.F.F. Junius.

30 July *English style* in the year 1641; in very great haste.

152 41 12 11 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

- a Most noble and distinguished Brother Junius,
Finally you are seeing our commentaries *On Pagan Religion and Christian Natural Science*, which I trust will be welcome not only to you, but also to the Anglican clergy to whom I dedicated them. I am also sending my Dionysius' *Maimonides*, dedicated to the two English universities by his brother Isaac.

duodecim . . . Superest duodecimum affini meo Francisco Iunio, agenti in aedibus Arundelianis . . . Confido autem affinem meum D. Iunium . . . modo in urbe agat, simulatque cognorit advecta esse exemplaria, lubentem se additurum socium in exemplaribus procurandis, si ita opus videatur" [I am sending eighteen copies. Twelve are indeed bound . . . (*sums up whom they are for*). There remains the twelfth copy for my brother-in-law Francis Junius, who resides at Arundel House . . . Yet I trust that, providing he is still in town and as soon as he has heard that the copies have been brought, my brother-in-law Mr. Junius will gladly join in taking care of the copies, if need be so], 41 12 03, Colomesius 1.402, belonging with 424. However, the books and letters remained some five months in the customs office before being distributed, as Patrick Young testified to Vossius in apology for thanking him late for the gift, "[f]ecit absentia Domini Iunii leviri tui . . . qui ante aliquot menses in Belgiam traiecerat et Ultraiecti nunc apud vos est . . . ut libri tui una cum literis diu in telonio adespoti latuerint, et sero tandem post quintum mensem in manus Domini Episcopi Londinensis devenerint, qui per famulos diligenter curavit, ut singulis, quibus fasciculi tui destinati erant, tuto traderentur" [the absence of your brother-in-law Mr. Junius . . . who crossed to Holland several months ago and is now with you in Utrecht . . . has caused your books together with your letters to remain unattended in the customs office for a long time and to have finally late, after five months, come to the hands of (William Juxon) the lord bishop of London, who diligently had them be handed safely to each to whom your parcels were designated, through his servants], 42 06 03, Kemke (1898, no. 167). Vossius was also thanked so late for the gift by Edward Pococke, John Rous, and the classical scholar Thomas Farnaby (1575?–1647) in letters dated 42 04 08/18, 42 06 25 and 42 07 10—not 1641, which Colomesius and *ICVossius* (1993:274) suggest—and probably also by Meric Casaubon and Richard Stewart in letters dated 42 07 05/15 and 42

- b** Isaacus adhuc in Galliis est, sed iter in Italiam adfectat, de quo non possum adsentire.⁴ Terrent non sumtus modo, sed etiam pericula. Spero, nihil acturum me inconsulto; etsi videam illustrem Grotium iter non dissuadere.⁵ De obitu suavissimae cognatae Ioannae °Brunae iam ex sororis literis, vel filii eius, sine dubio intellexeris.⁶ Naeranus noster gravi morbo decumbit; multumque vitae metuitur.⁷ Franciscus meus multo me, imo omnes nos, moerore adficit.⁸
- c** Matthaeus alteram Historiae Batavae partem emisit, et Historiographi °Batavi titulum ab illustribus Ordinibus Hollandiae est adeptus.⁹ Non levis is honos. Sed de magnitudine salarii necdum, quod scimus, statutum. Sunt in proceribus qui dicant, satius videri, ut quoties pars operis nova exhibetur filio perhonestum detur honorarium cum salario, quam ut certum sit annuum, quia tam multi pecunia fruuntur otiosi. Exemplum capere ex Heinsio iubent, qui post scriptam Sylvae-Ducis captae historiam nunquam admovit manum historicae scriptioni, sed in utramque aurem stertit securus gratisque stipendio fruitur.¹⁰ Alii contra contendunt, eius culpam non debere aliis obesse quorum industria gemino iam pareat opere.

b Brunae: *c* Bruneae | **c** Batavae: *p* Bataviae

04 06/16 (not seen). The fact that the parcel remained in the customs office until April seems to indicate that Junius received neither the present letter, nor the book—which he was actually asked to present to someone else, **153a**—nor letter **153** before having crossed to the Low Countries at the end of February, **154a**, for otherwise he would most likely have inquired after the copies with the customs out of his own accord, as he had done before, **102a**. Junius' copy not found in UBL. Cf. *ICVossius* (1993:274, 280–81, 288–89, 293–94).

³ Dionysius Vossius, *Maimonides* (1641), dedicated without a letter to the two English universities, nominally by Isaac Vossius, but actually by Vossius. The book was added to Vossius' *De theologia gentili* and was prefixed with a Letter to the Reader which comprised a biography of Dionysius—again nominally by Isaac but actually by Vossius. Junius' copy not found in UBL. Cf. **94a**, Blok (1999:114–15).

⁴ After visiting England for several months, Isaac Vossius had crossed over to France in early August to continue his tour to Paris, **143a**, **151a**. Isaac had not yet informed Vossius of the planned extension of his tour of Italy, but Vossius had understood as much from Grotius. Cf. below, Blok (1999:121).

⁵ Grotius wrote to Vossius, "Summa mea cum voluptate vidi qua amicitia se mutuo complectantur ille et Gronovius . . . qui nunc itinera inter se commutant, hic ex Italia in Batavos, tuus e Batavis in Italiam" [to my utmost delight I have seen with what friendship he (Isaac) and (Johannes Fredericus) Gronovius are embracing each other, who are now changing routes among each other—the latter from Italy to Holland, yours from Holland to Italy], 41 11 23, *BWGrotius* 12.5479.

⁶ Vossius seems to have made a mistake, for the girl who had died was Junius' elder niece Maria, not Johanna de Brune, as de Crane (1821:29, 60) and Worp

- b** Isaac is still in France, but he is intending a journey to Italy, to which I cannot agree. Not only the expenses alarm me, but also the dangers. I hope he will do nothing without consulting me, although I see that the illustrious Grotius does not advise against the journey. Without doubt you have heard of the death of sweetest Niece Johanna de Brune from Sister's letter, or her son's. Our Naeranus is suffering from a serious disease, and they deeply fear for his life. My Franciscus is causing me, indeed all of us, much grief.
- c** Matthaëus has published the second part of *The History of Holland*, and acquired the title of "Historiographer of Holland" from the illustrious States of Holland. This is no slight honour. But they have not yet decided about the height of the allowance, as far as we know. Among the dignitaries are those who say that it seems better to grant a quite honourable remuneration to my son together with the allowance whenever a new part of the work is published than that it would be a fixed annuity, because so many people are enjoying money idly. They bid to take an example from Heinsius, who has never lifted a finger to write history after having written the history of the siege of Den Bosch, but securely snores on both ears and enjoys a stipend gratuitously. Others contend that his fault should not injure others whose industry has already appeared from two books.

(1890:91n) have noticed—though the latter mistook the year for 1642. No such letter from Johanna Junius or Jan de Brune to Junius has been retrieved.

⁷ Samuel Naeranus was to die still in 1641; **153a**.

⁸ Franciscus Vossius had fallen in love with an unnamed maid in the Vossius household, and notwithstanding the objections from the Vossius family, who were convinced she only loved him for the money, he had given up his legal practice in The Hague and married her earlier this year. Cf. Rademaker (1981:339), Blok (1999:113).

⁹ Matthaëus Vossius, *Annalium Hollandiæ, Zelandiæque, pars altera; quæ est de gestis comitum ex domo Hannonia* (Amsterdam, 1641), a sequel to the first part of the history of Holland published in 1635, treating the years 1300 until 1350, and likewise dedicated to the States of Holland and Zeeland, **103c**, **133c**. Junius' copy not found in UBL. A fortnight before the present letter was written, in a resolution of 25 November 1641, the States of Holland proposed to appoint Matthaëus as their historiographer, yet officially decided to do so only in July 1642, whereupon the States of Zeeland followed. Cf. *Repertorium*, no. 502.

¹⁰ Cf. Terence, *Heauton timorumenos* 342, "in aurem utramvis otiose ut dormias," **129j**. Daniel Heinsius, *Rerum ad Sybæm-Ducis* (1631), **69b**. The States of Holland and Zeeland finally decided to grant Matthaëus the same annuity as Heinsius enjoyed, that is, seven hundred guilders. Matthaëus had already received 450 guilders upon finishing *Annalium* (1635), **103c**. Cf. de Wind (1833: 422).

- d** Accepi his diebus minutam schedulam a te missam mihi.¹¹ In ea (praeter illud de stipendio Cantabrigiensi a Casaubono accepto, et Hoofdio Londini annumerato) illud etiam erat, fascem °librarium missum a te Amstelodamum esse, in iis libris quosdam pro amplissimo Dubletio emtos, chartas item quasdam tradendas Hoofdio, Londini agentis fratri, prope Remonstrantium templum habitanti.¹² Is apud me fuit cum altero fratre hic itidem habitante.¹³ Verum nobis nihil hactenus traditum; eoque opus erit perscribi, per quem nautam missi sint libri, caeteraque.¹⁴ Alioquin enim metuo ne cuncta perierint filio, Dubletio, Hoofdio. Dubletius saepe ex me inquit ecquid de libris certi habeamus. Quaeso fac nos de nautae nomine certiores, deque caeteris etiam quae nos attinet scire.
- e** Haec non infima saltem, si non princeps, causa fuit, cur ad te scriberem. Desidero etiam scire, quomodo valeat illustrissimus Comes Oxfordiae, cuius, ni fallor, studiis es praefectus, et ecquid spei sit de vestra in has terras profectio.¹⁵ Spem enim qualemqualem conceperam ex schedula tua ante dicta—epistolam enim non videor mihi posse nominare.

d librarium missum: *p* librariam missam

¹¹ Junius' note to Vossius is unretrieved.

¹² The payment of Vossius' Canterbury prebend had virtually ceased due to the troubles in England, but through Meric Casaubon's mediation a part was paid via the merchant Willem Willemsz Hooft, **140c**. The parcel contained books which Isaac Vossius had bought for himself and George Rataller Doublet in England, **153b**, as well as material for either Pieter Willemsz Hooft (<1586–1661) or Jacob Willemsz Hooft (1589–1658), a merchant at the *Heregracht* in Amsterdam. Cf. Elias 1.151, *FSIGS* (per 20–06–2001), s.v.

¹³ The other Hooft brother, either Pieter Willemsz or Jacob Willemsz.

¹⁴ Junius may have seen to the matter in person when he had come to the Low Countries in Spring 1642, **154a**, especially since he most likely received neither this letter nor **153**, in which Vossius addressed the point once again in **b**, in England. The parcel did eventually arrive with Doublet, for Vossius wrote to him in a letter dated 42 04 29 that Pieter or Jacob Hooft was urging that his part of the contents was quickly sent to him. Cf. Colomesius 1.450.

¹⁵ Junius had become tutor to Aubrey de Vere (1626–1703), twentieth earl of Oxford, on 12/22 August 1641, less than a fortnight after having written letter **151**, and remained so for five or six years, possibly until December 1646, when Aubrey was promoted from sergeant-major to colonel of his regiment. At the death of his father, Robert de Vere (1599?–1632), nineteenth earl of Oxford, the colonel of an English regiment fighting for the Dutch cause in the Low Countries, Aubrey had been raised in Friesland in the family of his mother Beatrice (Baukje) van Hemmema, one of whose brothers was Doeke van Hemmema, **196**. By the present year, Aubrey had returned to England, where the earl of Arundel was appointed

- d** These days, I received a small note you sent to me. In it (besides that concerning the Canterbury prebend received from Casaubon and paid to Hooft in London) was also this, that you had sent a parcel of books to Amsterdam; that among those books were some which had been bought for the most magnificent Doublet, as well as some sheets to be delivered to Hooft, the brother of the one staying in London, who lives near the Remonstrant Church. He was with me together with a second brother, who also lives here. But nothing has been given to us yet and so you must write through which sailor the books and other items were sent. For otherwise I fear everything will be lost for my son, Doublet and Hooft. Doublet often inquires of me whether we know anything of the books. Inform us of the sailor's name, I pray, and also of the other matters which it pertains us to know.
- e** This was not even the least, not to say the principal reason why I am writing to you. I also wish to know how the most illustrious earl of Oxford, whose preceptor in studies you are, if I am not mistaken, is doing and whether there is any hope for your coming to this country. For I have harboured some hope from your aforesaid note—for I seem unable to call it a letter.

his guardian and Junius his tutor. At the time when Junius became Aubrey's tutor, King Charles sent a letter to Prince Frederick Henry of Orange to demand one of the first vacant commands over a troop of horses on behalf of Aubrey. A few months after the present letter, Junius accompanied Aubrey to the Low Countries, **154a**, in order for the latter to become one of the prince's reserve officer candidates. Aubrey was promoted to sergeant-major of the English regiment under colonel Ferdinand Knightly on 7 November 1644 and promoted to colonel on 8 December 1646. As a conclusion to Aubrey's youth, Junius presented him with an exhortation to virtuous conduct, *Paraenesis missa Alberico de Vere*, dated The Hague, 44 07 01. It was published together with several of Vossius' educational treatises by Hadrianus de Jonge, **175a**, in *De cognitione sui libellus. Accedunt et alia opuscula* (Amsterdam, 1654), and later included in Thomas Crenius, ed., *Consilia et methodi aureae studiorum optime instituendorum* . . . (Rotterdam, 1692), a compilation of educational texts, together with Vossius' treatises and Grotius' *Epistola* (1615), **44b^r**. In 1647, after the tutorship had finished, Aubrey returned to England with Junius, **164a^r**. His estates were sequestered by Parliament in 1651 and he was imprisoned several times for his royalist sympathies, but never brought to trial. He was one of the six lords to petition Charles II to return to England in 1660 and bore the sword of state at the latter's coronation. Being made of the garter in 1660, he was to serve Charles II and James II in several functions, among which that of colonel, privy councillor, lieutenant-general and lord of the bedchamber, but usually sided with the parliamentarians during the reign of William III. Cf. *DNB* 58.222–25, *ARA*, pp. 3–4, ten Raa and de Bas (1918:242–44), Heesakkers (1998), *CSPDS* (1641–43:84).

- f** Agunt hactenus mecum bini liberi fratris tui Casimiri Iunii τοῦ μακαρίτου.¹⁶ Franciscus tibi | cognominis ingenio sic satis valet, et industria se °mediocriter probat; foreque confido, ut ea quotidie capiat incrementum. Plane hoc ago, ut dignus sit et avo, et patruo, quorum non praenomine minus, quam cognomine gaudet.¹⁷
- g** Prodiere illustris Grotii Annotata in Novum Testamentum.¹⁸ Iis addidit tres libellos cum appendice, qua defendit, quod scripsit, Antichristi nomine non intelligi in Scripturis episcopum Romanum, sed caesarem, °illum, gentilem dico, ecclesiaeque persecutorem.¹⁹ Hoc multos habet pessime, qui iudicant, fore ut omnes magis abhorreant a Romana ecclesia, si episcopum eius esse ipsum Antichristum habeant persuasissimum.²⁰ Sed qui statuunt, cogitari debere de concordia orbis Christiani, existimant hanc opinionem esse noxiam; foreque sic, ut non cogitetur de remedio, quia nemo cum eo ullum sibi negotium esse velit, aut °ab eo boni quicquam sperare, qui sit Antichristus, et in hoc solo operam omnem ponat, ut ad inferos praecipitet.²¹ At

f mediocriter: [+ medi]ocriter | **g** illum: ill[+ um] | ab eo: \ab eo/

¹⁶ Johan Casimir Junius' daughter Maria and son Franciscus Junius F.N., who had actually already been studying in Groningen for a year and a half, cf. below. Vossius must have used "hactenus" [still], in reminiscence of the previous summer, when Junius had met his niece and nephew with him, **137b**.

¹⁷ Having received his education from Joachim Borgesius in Groningen, **113c**, and subsequently from Vossius in Amsterdam, Franciscus F.N. had returned in the middle of August 1640 to matriculate at the arts faculty of Groningen University on 1/11 September. Vossius had written a letter of commendation for him to hand to Franciscus Gomarus, dated 40 08 15, Colomesius 1.390. Soon, Franciscus F.N. was concentrating on the study of law with professor Johannes Steinberge (1592–1653), **158c**. Cf. **158**, *Effigies* (1654/1968:224–25, 95), de Crane (1821:26, 56–57), *ASG* (1915, s.v.).

¹⁸ Grotius, *Annotationes in libros Evangeliorum cum tribus tractatibus et Appendice eo spectantibus* (Amsterdam, 1641), extolled as the best biblical commentary of seventeenth-century Europe by de Jonge (1980:54). In it, Grotius provided philological annotations to the text with an aim to perceiving the New Testament in its historical context, instead of using the text to support current theological dogmas, as was regular practice in commentaries on the Bible. He repeatedly proposed to replace the "textus receptus" by other readings, some of which from the *Codex Alexandrinus*, to which Junius had helped him, **119c**. In 1635 Grotius had invoked Junius' assistance for preparing the edition, but Junius had excused himself, **101j**, **102c**; and again, in the preceding summer, Grotius had suggested Willem de Groot, "[s]i Franciscus Iunio vacaret vertere nostra Hebraea et Graeca ad *Novum Testamentum*, is id praestare posset" [if Francis Junius had time to translate our Hebrew and Greek (material) to the New Testament, he could do so], 41 08 03, *BWGrotius* 12.5303. Cf. *BGGrotius*, no. 1135, de Jonge (1983).

f The two children of your brother Johan Casimir *of blessed memory* are still staying with me. Franciscus of your surname is so good in understanding and making himself moderately approved of as for diligence, and I trust it will get an increase every day. I am truly troubling myself about him being worthy of both his grandfather and his uncle, in whose first name he rejoices no less than in their surname.

g The illustrious Grotius' *Annotations on the New Testament* have appeared. As an appendix to them, he added three booklets, in which he defends that he wrote that the bishop of Rome is not meant by the name "Antichrist" in the Scriptures, but that pagan emperor, I mean the persecutor of the Church. With this, he has deeply annoyed many people, who believe that everybody will be more averse to the church of Rome, if they consider it wholly certain that its bishop is the Antichrist himself. But those who state that one must think of concord of the Christian world judge that the latter opinion is injurious and that a remedy will not be thought of in this way, because nobody wishes to have any business with him, or hope anything good from him, who may be the Antichrist and puts all effort only in rushing headlong to hell. And [they say] that the Church will be in a better position, if we do not despair of God's benevolence and trust that God, who has not only the hearts of kings, but also of popes in his

¹⁹ Grotius, "In principium epistolae Paulinae ad Ephesios," "Ad Iacobi caput secundum v. 14 et sequentibus," "Explicatio loci in prima epistola Iohannis cap. 3 v. 9," and "Appendix ad Interpretationem locorum Novi Testamenti quae de Antichristo agunt aut agere putantur. In qua via sternitur ad Christianorum concordiam," all four affixed to his *Annotationes*, cf. below. In 1640, Grotius had anonymously published the treatise *Commentatio ad loca quaedam N. Testamenti quae de Antichristo agunt, aut agere putantur* (Amsterdam, 1640), in which he refuted the Reformed identification of the pope with the Antichrist by contending that the Antichrist in Scripture referred instead to Roman emperors who had persecuted the early Christians. The treatise was greatly objected to in Reformed circles, notably by the French predicant Samuel Maresius (1599–1673), who wrote a sharp reply, *Dissertatio de Antichristo . . .* (Amsterdam, 1640). The "Appendix" was Grotius' answer to Maresius and confirmed his unshaken views. In reply to it, Maresius published *Concordia discors et Antichristus revelatus . . .* (Amsterdam, 1642), a two-volume learned refutation of Grotius' arguments in the "Appendix." Cf. *BGGrotius*, no. 1100–08, Nauta (1935:168–72), van den Berg (1994:173–74), Nellen (1994:137).

²⁰ In Reformed circles, the identification of the pope with the Antichrist was one of the proofs demonstrating the error of the Roman Catholic Church and the truth of the Reformed Church, cf. van den Berg (1994:169–172).

²¹ Vossius' sympathetic characterisation of the irenic position in this section reveals that his own convictions lay with those who strove for concord in the Church and consequently saw no good in identifying the highest representative of the Roman Catholic Church with the Antichrist. Cf. Rademaker (1981:140–42, 271).

meliori ecclesiam fore loco, si non desperemus de bonitate Dei, ac confidamus, posse Deum, qui non regum modo, sed paparum etiam corda habet in manu sua, paullatim aperire oculos et mollire corda eorum, qui et superstitione, et tyrannide, tantopere a primis seculis recesserunt.²² Atque ut Romae non succederet pius conatus, multum profici posse, si in Galliis succedat, ubi ingens illorum est numerus, qui sic Romanam sequuntur ecclesiam, ut in praecipuis quae nos oppugnamus faveant sententiae nostrae, sed solum plus moderationis requirant a nobis, maiorem etiam venerationem erga ecclesiam veterem, quam non parens quidem tuus, non alii multi, in Anglia praecipue, sed multi tamen ἰδιογνώμονες καὶ ὁυθέκαστοι pretio suo nesciunt aestimare.²³ Dum hi sic disceptant, ego, egregie adfinis, vota suscipiam pro ecclesia Reformata, ut eam Deus spiritu veritatis et pacis, regat magis et magis. Et te quoque eidem numini commendo. Vale diutissime, et, quaeso, subinde nos literis tuis compella. Amstelodami, MDCXLI, kalendis Xbris stilo vetere. Tuus dum suus, Ger.Io. Vossius.

153 [42] 02 04 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A °Nobili et clarissimo viro Francisco Iunio *Francisci* filio, in aedibus Arundelianis, Londini. Port.

a Clarissime et coniunctissime adfinis,
Spero iam acceperis exemplar operis nostri De Paganica theologia, et Christiana physiologia.² Simul, ut arbitror, redditae tibi sint literae

g ὁυθέκαστοι: c ὁυθέστακοι

153A: c (in Vossius's hand) Fr. Iunio Fr.F., Londinum

²² Vossius deeply admired the church of the first centuries, and felt that the Dutch Reformed Church came nearest to it, cf. Rademaker (1981:109, 142).

²³ The French Christians whom Vossius meant in particular are unidentified. According to Junius the Elder, both Reformed and Roman Catholic Churches were still part of Christ's invisible Church, although the Roman Catholic one was in error. His irenicism was of an uncommon tolerance. It had been adopted by Grotius, Vossius and Junius, among others, 1A^o, 32c^o. To Archbishop Laud and his followers, the church of the first centuries had been the best, and therefore served as the model which they strove to introduce in England. However, exactly these church policies had made them suspect to the Puritans, and substantially weakened their party: Laud had been committed to the Tower, and within one month's time, on

hand, can open their eyes little by little and soften the hearts of those who have so greatly fallen back from the first centuries due to both superstition and tyranny. And, since a pious effort is not successful in Rome, [they say] that much can be accomplished, if it is successful in France, where there is a large number of people who follow the Church of Rome in such a way that they favour our opinions on the more important matters which we are attacking, but only require more moderation from us and a greater veneration for the old church, which—though not your father, nor many others, especially in England—but still many *self-willed and rigid people* do not know to esteem for its value. While they are disputing in this way, excellent Brother, I support a wish for the Reformed Church, that God may rule her more and more with the spirit of truth and peace. I also commend you to the same Deity. Farewell for a very long time and, I pray, speak to us frequently with your letters. Amsterdam, 1641, on the Kalends of December old style [10 Dec.]. Yours, as much as his own, Ger.Jo. Vossius.

153 [42] 02 04 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the noble and widely renowned gentleman Francis Junius, Franciscus' son, at Arundel House, London. Postage.

a Widely renowned and dearest Brother,
I hope you have already received a copy of our book *On Pagan Religion and Christian Natural Science*. At the same time, as I think, a letter by our most magnificent Doublet was delivered to you, and

9 January 1642, twelve of his bishops were to follow him. Cf. **142a**, **154d**, Rademaker (1981:45), Davies (1992:46–86), van den Berg (1994:172), Smith (1997:284–86).

¹ *o*: UBA, M 100g. *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 73. This letter concerns topics treated in letter **152**, so it must date from the following February. Junius probably did not receive this letter in England, for he was in Canterbury on his way to cross to the Low Countries by the middle of the month, **154a^a**, **152a^a**. This would mean that Junius first came to know of the news in this letter from Vossius in person in the Low Countries, **154a**.

² Vossius had sent letter **152** and a copy of *De theologia gentili* (1641) in a parcel with more copies and letters to England, but Junius had probably not received either of them yet, and since he does not seem to have inquired after his copy with the customs, he may not have received the present letter either before crossing to the Low Countries by the end of the month, **152a**.

amplissimi Dubletii nostri, ex quibus cognoscere potueris cui tuum exemplar a te dari velim, modo sic res ferant, ut confido.³ Id si est, alterum ad te exemplar prima transmittam occasione. Mitto et literas sororis tuae Naeranae, quae, ut optimum amiserit maritum, sine dubio iam ex cognati Brunaei literis resciveris.⁴ Additae et literae alterae ab cive Amstelodamensi ad quendam mihi ignotum.⁵ Is pro aliqua notitia, quae mihi cum eo intercessit, has ut Londinum procurarem, impense rogavit. Spero in °isthoc etiam te graficaturum mihi, illique.

b Sed praecipue cur scriberem, hoc ursit, quod ex literis Isaaci pariter ac tuis intellexerim, misisse te Amstelodamum fascem librorum, quos partim sibi, partim amplissimo Dubletio, filius in Anglia emisset.⁶ Eum fascem videre hactenus non potuimus. Quod omne inde esse putamus, quia non feceris vel me, vel Hoofdium, certiore quod nomen fuerit nautae, cui fascem illum tradidisses. Sane et ego, et Dubletius, pariter angimur, quia metuimus, ne libri nobis deperierint. Et suam etiam sollicitudinem significavit mihi Hoofdus, quem et ipsum quaedam in imo vase habuisse, in schedula quadam annotaras. Quaeso igitur, quantum potes, incumbere in hoc negotium, ut scias, an fideliter fascis iste sit procuratus a nauta, et *per* quem, ac cui his terris sit redditus. Nos, ubi nautae, vel eius, cui °is tradiderit, nomen resciverimus, non deerimus officio, quia nostra res agit, ut vides.

c Filius Isaacus Lugduni Dominico Natali fuit, ac puto nunc isse in Italiam ad lustrandam bibliothecam Florentinam ac Romanam et siquae aliae maioris sint nominis.⁷ Multum ego et uxor ei metuimus ob hibernam tempestatem et belli pericula. Sed quod is vult,

a isthoc: istic; *c* isthoc | **b** is: \is/

³ George Rataller Doublet's letter to Junius is unretrieved. The person whom Vossius wanted Junius to present the copy is unidentified.

⁴ Maria Junius' and Jan de Brune's letters to Junius unretrieved. Samuel Naeranus had died in December 1641, **152b**.

⁵ Sender, letter and recipient unidentified.

⁶ The parcel contained books which Isaac Vossius had bought for himself and George Rataller Doublet in England, as well as sheets for Pieter or Jacob Hooft. Junius had informed Vossius of it in an unretrieved note. Isaac's letter to Vossius is unidentified. Junius may have seen to the matter in person when he came to the Low Countries within some weeks after this letter was written, **154a**. Cf. **152d**.

⁷ On his grand tour, Isaac Vossius visited Lyon before travelling via Genoa to

from it you could get to know to whom I wish you to give your copy, provided everything goes as I trust. If this is so, I will send you another copy at the first possible opportunity. I am also sending a letter by your sister Naeranus; that she lost her most good husband you have without doubt already heard from Nephew de Brune's letter. I have also added another letter, by an Amsterdam citizen to someone I do not know. He urgently asked me, in accordance with the acquaintance I have with him, to forward it to London. I hope also you will oblige me and him in this.

- b** I am especially urged to write, however, because from both Isaac's letter and yours I understood that you had sent a parcel of books, which my son had bought in England partly for himself, partly for the most magnificent Doublet, to Amsterdam. We have not been able to see that parcel as yet. All of which we consider to be due to the fact that you have informed neither me nor Hooft what was the name of the sailor to whom you handed that parcel. Truly, both I and Doublet are feeling equally distressed, because we fear that the books are lost to us. Hooft also indicated his concern to me, because you had noted on a small note that he himself had some things on the bottom of the vessel as well. So I ask you, take pains with this business as much as you can, so that you know whether this parcel has been faithfully looked after by the sailor and through whom, and to whom it has been delivered in this country. When we have heard the sailor's name or the name of him to whom he handed it, we will not fail our duty, because it concerns our interest, as you can see.
- c** My son Isaac was in Lyon at Christmas, and I think he has now gone to Italy to visit the libraries in Florence and Rome and whatever other library there is of great fame. Me and my wife much fear for him because of the wintry weather and the dangers of war. But what he wants he wants vehemently, as young people usually

Florence, where he arrived some weeks after the present letter, **143a^r**. Isaac had finally informed Vossius of his intended tour of Italy in a letter from Lyon on Christmas Day 1641. In the Florence Bibliotheca Laurentiana he was allowed to transcribe several as yet unpublished manuscripts, most importantly the letters of St. Ignace and Barnabas, **141a^r**. In Rome, where he stayed in the summer, Isaac visited the Bibliotheca Vaticana, the Bibliotheca Barberiniana, and was amicably received by its librarian Lucas Holstenius (1596–1661), a former student of Vossius. Cf. Blok (1999:120–27, 145–56).

vehementer vult, ut solent adolescentes. Quare nobis non tam laudantibus, quam permittentibus tam longinquum iter capessit.

- d** Scire aveo quid iudicii eruditis in Anglia sit de nostro opere huic terrae dicato et an gratum habuerit, uti spero.⁸ Interim metuo plane, ne parum curae sint literae, dum maioribus distinetur.⁹ Utinam frequentiores a te literas haberemus.¹⁰ Si de publicis non est tutum scribere, saltem significa quid ipse rerum agas et ecquid tui lucem visurum sit brevi.¹¹ Vale, coniunctissime adfinis, et ab uxore salve. Amstelodami, pridie nonas Februarii, stylo novo.
Tuus aeternum, Ger.Io. Voss.

154 42 04 15 JUNIUS (UTRECHT) TO JAN DE BRUNE (THE HAGUE)¹

A Hagam.

a Cognato suo Ioanni Brunaeo, *salutem plurimam*.

Quemadmodum vides in quo motu temporum, quanta in conversione rerum ac perturbatione versemur; ita nec praeterire te potest, lucuosum conquassati et labefactati, ne dicam funditus eversi regni statum me quoque, in quem transversa incurrit misera fortuna reipublicae, praeter caeteros tangere.² Ego tibi interim in omni genere officiorum

⁸ Since the copies of *De theologia gentili* (1641) were not yet distributed in England, Junius cannot have informed Vossius about English opinions on the book when he arrived in the Low Countries by the end of this month. In general, though, Vossius' book was received favourably, and it became the principal model for *De religione gentilium* (Amsterdam, 1663), by Edward, first Lord Herbert of Cherbury, whom Junius had met in Paris in 1621, **220g**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:309), *DNB* 26.173–81.

⁹ Cf. Erasmus, *Epistolae* 205.41–42, “for at this moment studies are remarkably dormant in Italy, whereas wars are hotly pursued,” **108c**. One month before the present letter, twelve bishops, including Matthew Wren, had been charged of high treason and committed to the Tower, **140d**^a. Cf. *CJ* 2.363; for a general survey of the situation in England, cf. **154a**.

¹⁰ Letter **151**, written some six months earlier, may have been Junius' latest to the Vossius family.

¹¹ Junius was engaged as tutor to Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford, and probably continued to work on his *Catalogus artificum* (1694), which was, however, by no means due to appear yet, **152e**, **58b**.

¹ ca. UBA, M 70e; on the same sheet as **135**, **141**, **148**, **149**, **155**, **156**. Presumably dated in the old style current in Utrecht, cf. Introduction.

² This letter was composed from phrases from Cicero, which seems unique in a letter to a relative, as if Junius tried to find comfort in Cicero. Cicero, *Pro Flacco* 94.5–6, “videtis quo in motu temporum, quanta in conversione rerum ac perturbatione versemur;” *In Vatinius* 19.8–10, “labefactatam rem publicam . . . conquassatam civitatem;” *Epistulae ad familiares* 5.21.4.2, “funditus eversam fortunam;” *Brutus*

do. Thus, he began such a distant journey while we were not so much praising as permitting it.

- d I like to know what opinion the learned people in England have of our book which is dedicated to that country, and whether it considers it welcome, as I hope. Meanwhile, I wholly fear that there is too little concern for literature, because it is divided by major affairs. I wish we would have letters from you more frequently. If it is not safe to write about public affairs, please indicate at least what you are doing yourself, and whether anything of yours will be published soon. Farewell, dearest Brother, and my wife wishes you well. In Amsterdam on the day before the Nones of February new style [4 Feb.].
Forever Yours, Ger.Jo. Vossius.

154 42 04 15 JUNIUS (UTRECHT) TO JAN DE BRUNE (THE HAGUE)

A To The Hague.

- a Warmest regards to his nephew Jan de Brune.
Just as you must have noticed in what turmoil of times, in what a great upheaval and disorder of circumstances we are finding ourselves, so it can neither have escaped you that the tragic condition of the disintegrated and undermined—not to say utterly ruined kingdom is also affecting me, whom the miserable fortune of the state is hitting impedingly, besides others. But I promise you my special

331.1–3, “in adulescentiam . . . transversa incurrit misera fortuna rei publicae,” 155b; cf. *Pro S. Roscio Amerino* 2.4, “quae me res praeter ceteros impulit.” On 11 December 1641, the Long Parliament had presented King Charles with a “Grand Remonstrance” comprising over two hundred grievances. Charles had answered to them on 2 January and attempted to arrest five members of the House of Commons and one of the Lords on the charge of high treason on the 14th. This was considered an act of violence against Parliament and one of the reasons why he had to leave London on the 20th and send Queen Henrietta Maria and the Princess Mary to Holland in February, 155c. The bishops were expelled from the House of Lords by the end of the month. Then, on 14 March, notwithstanding the king’s refusal to sign, Parliament had passed the “Militia Ordinance,” which allowed it to raise forces. Several weeks after the present letter was written, it decided to raise an army for the Parliamentary and Protestant causes, with Robert Devereux (1591–1646), earl of Essex, as commander in chief. By Charles’ rejection of the nineteen propositions they presented him with in June, Civil War became inevitable. The first battle between the king’s and the parliamentary forces was fought at Edgehill on 2 November 1642. Cf. Smith (1997: 288–95), Fritze and Robison (1996:89–90, 153–54, 214–15, 311–16, 391–94), personal communication Chris Heesakkers.

singulare meum studium polliceor, simul ex hac infeliciois aevi caligine et tenebris emergere dabitur.³ Faxit Deus ut hoc periculum, quod conceptum Britannia parturit, sanioribus consiliis tandem aliquando comprimatur ac discutiatur.⁴ Magnitudo rei longiorem fortasse desideraret orationem; coniunctio vero nostrorum animorum brevitate contenta est.⁵ Vale.

Ultraiecti, anno 1642, 5 Aprilis.⁶

Tuus totus.

155 43 09 22 JUNIUS (UTRECHT) TO JOHANNES SMETIUS (NIJMEGEN)¹

A Noviomagum.

a Reverendo et summam omnium observantiam promerenti domino, Domino Doctori Smetio, salutem plurimam.²
Nihil mihi unquam, °reverende vir, ex plurimis aliorum beneficiis gratius accidit, quam quod non contemnendam antiquitatum tuarum

155a reverende vir: \reverende vir/

³ Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* 5.8.4.3–4, “ego vero tibi profiteor atque polliceor eximium et singulare meum studium in omni genere officii;” cf. *In Verrem* 2.3.177.5–6, “in illa caligine ac tenebris quae totam rem publicam tum occuparat;” *Post reditum in senatu* 5.2–3, “ex superioris anni caligine et tenebris lucem in re publica.” This seems to be Junius’ initial reply to a request by Jan.

⁴ Cicero, *Pro Murena* 84.13–14, “hoc quod conceptum res publica periculum parturit consilio discutiam.”

⁵ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Familiares* 2.23.3.11–13, “magnitudo rei longam orationem fortasse desiderat, coniunctio vero nostrorum animorum brevitate contenta est.”

⁶ Junius had accompanied his pupil Aubrey de Vere to the Low Countries toward the end of February, as indicated by Meric Casaubon in a letter to Vossius, “[c]irca Idum Februariam cum Iunius tuus, vir clare, hic mecum esset ad te traiecturus” [when your Junius, renowned sir, was here with me on about the Ides (13/23) of February, about to cross to you], 42 07 05/15, BL, Hl. 7012, f. 103, 140c; and at the very beginning of June, Patrick Young referred to Junius as having crossed to Holland several months before and residing in Utrecht at the time, 152a*. Also, Vossius wrote to George Rataller Doublet a fortnight after the present letter, “[q]uantum video . . . de Iunio, ut Hagam is veniat, spissum est negotium. Fuit his diebus mecum, sed negat se ab Oxoniensi Comite posse avelli; nec Hagae alterutri quicquam esse negotii. Huc tamen cum Comite venturum, simulac de Reginae Britannicae ad nos profectioe facti erint certiores” [As much as I see about Junius, it is a slow affair that he may come to The Hague. He was with me these days, but he says he cannot be separated from the earl of Oxford, nor does either of them have any business in The Hague. Yet he will come here together with the earl as soon as

devotion for all kinds of duties as soon as it will be granted to emerge from this darkness and the shadows of a miserable time. May God bring it to pass that this hazard, which England has brought forth as a foetus, is finally suppressed and dispelled by sane advice. The size of the matter would perhaps demand a longer narrative, but the bond of our hearts is satisfied by brevity. Farewell.

In Utrecht in the year 1642, 5 April.

Yours Truly.

155 43 09 22 JUNIUS (UTRECHT) TO JOHANNES SMETIUS (NIJMEGEN)

A Nijmegen.

a Warmest regards to the reverend gentleman Mr. Dr. Smetius, deserving the highest observance of all.

Nothing more pleasing ever happened to me, reverend sir, out of very many favours of others, than that you most sweetly and diligently provided a rather significant part of your antiquities to be

they have been informed of the queen of England's departure to us], 42 04 29, Colomesius 1.450, **156b**. Henrietta Maria was in Amsterdam by the end of May. Junius attended to Aubrey continuously during his tutorship, as he claimed later. Nevertheless, Junius and Vossius must have had relatively frequent contact, for the correspondence between them is considerably scarcer for this period than before, while Vossius' correspondence is on the whole well preserved. Indeed, Vossius was to deplore to Christian Ravius in 1644, "[c]um Ultraiecti habitaret coniunctissimus adfinis meus Iunius, huius opera utebar" [when my dearest brother-in-law Junius lived in Utrecht, I used his assistance (*in handing over letters, for instance* [SvR])], 44 04 23, Colomesius 1.490. Hence Gronovius sent greetings to Junius via Vossius in a letter dated [43] 01 26. Cf. ARA, p. 3, *CSPDS* (1641–43:329), Colomesius 2.378.

¹ *ca.* UBA, M 70f; on the same sheet as **135, 141, 148, 149, 154, 156**. Presumably dated in accordance with the old style current in Utrecht, cf. Introduction.

² Johannes Smetius (1590–1651), predicant and antiquarian in Nijmegen. Originally from Aachen, Smetius had studied at Harderwijk, Heidelberg and Geneva, before becoming a predicant of Counter-Reformation denomination in Sittard, Sedan, and, from 1618, in Nijmegen, where his parents had moved four years earlier. Over the years, he built an incomparable collection of the Roman antiquities which were dug up in Nijmegen and its surroundings. The finds convinced him that the town had been the famous "oppidum Batavorum" of antiquity, and therefore the oldest town in the Low Countries. At the time, he was enjoying paid leave to demonstrate this conviction in the treatise *Oppidum Batavorum, seu Noviomagum. Liber singularis* (Amsterdam, 1644). Junius does not occur in Smetius' guestbook for visitors of his collection, titled "Spectatores Antiquitatum." Cf. Langereis (1999), Bastiaensen, Langereis and Nellissen (1999), personal communication Sandra Langereis.

partem absenti, quatenus licuit, suavissime diligentissimeque conspiciendam exhibuisti.³ Nondum quidem datur paria facere; pro viribus tamen huic vestrae benevolentiae (solvendi modo tempora largiatur Deus *optimus maximus*) respondere conabor, et si minus referenda gratia satisfacere potero, at praedicanda °et habenda certe satisfacturum esse confido.⁴

b Molior nunc secundam editionem opusculi De Pictura veterum, ac subinde quoque, quantum patitur miserrima et hic quoque in nos transversa incurrens calamitosissimi regni fortuna,⁵ animum ad Catalogum artificum revoco,⁶ luculentum illud tot figulorum auctarium non sine grata humanitatis tuae recordatione septingentorum illustrium artificum nominibus additurus, nisi tuus De Noviomagi antiquitate priscisque inibi effossis monumentis commentarius—doctissimo cuique merito desideratus—hanc mihi operam dempserit, lectorque minore cum molestia et maiore cum fructu ad tua remitti possit.⁷ ἔξεχε ὦ φιλ' ἥλιε.⁸

c Quemadmodum rumor de adventu Comitum mareschalli propemodum iam extinctus est, ita quotidiani ad nos veniunt nuntii confirmantes Dominum Stafford venisse Hagam, ac propediem ad nos advolaturum.⁹ Dabam Ultraiecti, pridie idus VIIbris, MDCXLIII.
Tuus ὀλοσχερῶς.

a et: [- *certe*] et

³ Smetius had lent to Junius a list of potters, **b**. He had presumably done so upon Junius' request, but no letter from Junius to Smetius asking for material, nor from Smetius to Junius sending it have been retrieved—but their communication may have run through a mutual friend.

⁴ Cicero, *Pro Balbo* 1.10–2.1, **148c**.

⁵ Cicero, *Brutus* 331.1–3, **154a**. After the Battle of Edgehill 2 November 1642, King Charles had put up his headquarters in Oxford and made a vain venture on London in December. Both the royalists and the parliamentarians having raised regional armies, they fought several battles in the summer preceding the present letter. Furthermore, on 11 September parliament and Scotland had signed the Solemn League and Covenant, so that Scotland invaded England late January 1644, while three days after the present letter the king and Ireland signed an armistice, so that the troops stationed in Ireland to suppress the Irish Rebellion, which dated from October 1641, could return. Cf. Smith (1997:309–15), Fritze and Robison (1996:89–92, 311–16).

⁶ Having translated *De pictura* (1637) into English and Dutch, **93a**, **116b**, **129e**, Junius continued to work on his art historical projects by substantially enlarging *De pictura* for a second edition and by ever adding new material to his *Catalogus artificum* (1694), **58b**. At repeated instances during the rest of his life—yet by no means continuously so—Junius was engaged in preparing both works for the press, as in 1651, 1667 and early 1668, and 1670, **175c**, **216c**, **217b**, **221b**. He never managed to

examined by someone who was not there, in so far as possible. It is actually not granted yet to do the same, but I will try to answer your benevolence to the best of my ability (provided Allgood and Almighty God grants the times for paying my debts), and if I am less able to satisfy by actually returning my gratitude, I still trust I will certainly satisfy by praising and feeling it.

b I am now working on the second edition of the little work *On the Painting of the Ancients* and also repeatedly turn my mind to the *Catalogue of Artists*, as much as the miserable fortune of the catastrophic kingdom, which is also hitting us here impedingly, allows; and I am about to add that excellent addition of so many potters to the names of seven hundred famous craftsmen with grateful remembrance of your kindness, unless your treatise *On the Antiquity of Nijmegen and the Ancient Monuments Excavated There*—deservedly longed for by every scholar—has removed this exertion from me, and the reader may be referred to your book with less trouble and more fruit. *Shine out fair sun!*

c Just as the rumour about the earl marshal's arrival has already virtually been extinguished, so messengers are daily coming to us and confirm that Mr. Stafford has come to The Hague and will come hastening to us very soon.

I wrote at Utrecht on the day before the Ides of September 1643 [22 Sep].

Yours *Truly*.

see them through the press, however, either through lack of funds, a change of circumstances and occupations, or the conviction that the *Catalogus artificum* was never truly ready for publication. Together with the *Catalogus artificum*, the second edition of *De pictura* was published posthumously by Joannes Georgius Graevius, 224a, as *De Pictura libri tres, tot in locis emendati, et tam multis accessionibus aucti, ut plane novi possint videri* . . . (Rotterdam: R. Leers, 1694). This is the edition on which Nativel (1996) based her re-edition, translation and study of Book 1.

⁷ The list of potters must have been compiled from the inscriptions in the artefacts in Smetius' collection. They do not appear as a list in the *Catalogus artificum*, nor did Junius thank Smetius in it. Junius was probably unaware that Smetius' *Oppidum Batavorum* did not include the latter's descriptive catalogue of the objects in his archaeological collection of Roman antiquities, mostly from the surroundings of Nijmegen, *Antiquitates Neomagenses. Sive notitia rarissimarum rerum antiquarum* . . . (Nijmegen, 1678), which was by no means ready for the press, but completed and published by Johannes Smetius the Younger (1636–1704). Cf. Langereis (1999:37–40, 43, 132).

⁸ Aristophanes, *Fragmenta* 389, 28c.

⁹ The earl of Arundel and Countess Alethetia had attended Queen Henrietta Maria and Mary, the Princess Royal, to Holland in February 1642, at about the same time as Junius and Aubrey had moved there too, 151c^a, 154a^a. Presumably

^o 156 44 03 14 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO CHRISTIAN RAVIUS [UTRECHT]¹

- a** Clarissimo doctissimoque *Domino* Christiano Ravio, indefesso Orientalium linguarum °cultori et propugnatori, *salutem plurimam*.² Ne quidem cogitatione satis assequi valeo quantum tibi debeam quod °summis rebus intentus tantum studii atque amoris impenderis absentī.³ Aliquantisper tamen distuli responsum, iudicans tantis conatibus non esse interveniendum; donec subiit animum recordatio ingenuas mentes non modo inusitatis beneficiis, verum etiam mediocri leviter notorum benevolentia commoveri solere. Pecco forte in publica commoda, cum curas orbis Christiani bono intentas qualicumque grati animi testimonio interpello; sed nihil malo, quam honesti officii diligens iudicari. Pluribus tantummodo verbis (prolixiore beneficii tui memoria contentus) modum impono, et ad vicem nostrae gratiae favorem tibi praesidii coelestis exopto.
Tuus ὀλοσχερῶς.

- b** Clarissimo *Domino* Aemilio salutem plurimam referes.⁴
Pridie idus Martii MDCXLIV, Hagae Comitiss.⁵

a cultori et: \cultori et/ | summis: [- in] summis

later that year, they had taken up residence in Antwerp, where Arundel was most likely staying at the time of the present letter. William Howard, viscount Stafford, had been staying in Antwerp as well, but was in Amsterdam at least on 24 September, two days after the present letter. Arundel and his three grandchildren had seen Smetius' collection and signed his guestbook on 17/27 September 1641—soon after their arrival in the Low Countries, **151b**—after Daniel Nys, one of Arundel's agents, had already been with Smetius in 1634. On 13 September 1642, a fourth grandchild, Charles Howard (d. 1713), had seen the collection, and half a year after this letter, Arundel's secretary John Nicolas was with Smetius at the earl's behest. For some time Arundel had shown an interest in buying the collection, but no transaction was concluded. Junius may have given the rumours of Arundel's and Stafford's whereabouts to Smetius in connection with the potential sale. Cf. Hervey (1921:440–3, 447–45), Weijtens (1971:13–15, 39, 40), personal communication Sandra Langereis.

¹ *ca.*: UBA, M 70g; on the same sheet as **135, 141, 148, 149, 154, 155**. Possibly a reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**.

² After his return from Smyrna by November 1641, Christian Ravio had stayed in London until moving to Holland at about the same time as Junius, between mid-February and the third week of March, **154a**. In Leiden he was permitted to lecture on Oriental languages unpaid, but did not get a professorship. Exchanging Leiden for Utrecht, he held two orations on Oriental languages in October 1643, and was again permitted to teach his subject unpaid. Though he received some gifts for his work, he did not manage to get a professorship, and his resignation was accepted in March 1645. One year later, he tried his luck in Amsterdam, where he again was to teach unpaid for a year. Cf. **118a^a**, *Gedenkboek* (1932:660), Toomer (1996:145, 152, 334–35).

156 44 03 14 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO CHRISTIAN RAVIUS [UTRECHT]

a Warmest regards to the most illustrious and learned Mr. Christian Ravius, an indefatigable promotor and champion of Oriental languages. I really cannot sufficiently comprehend in thought how much I owe to you, because, though engaged in quite important occupations, you have devoted so much attention and love to someone who was not there. I nevertheless delayed an answer for some time in the opinion that such great exertions should not be interrupted, until the thought crossed my mind that honourable people are usually moved not only by extraordinary favours, but also by a more moderate benevolence of lesser acquaintances. Perhaps I offend the public weal when I interrupt the attention devoted to the prosperity of the Christian world with the insignificant testimony of a grateful heart, but I do not prefer anything than to be judged diligent of an honourable favour. I just impose a limit to more words (being satisfied with the more extensive thought at your favour) and instead of our thanks I pray for the favour of heavenly protection for you.
Yours *Truly*.

b You must impart warmest regards to Mr. Aemilius.
On the day before the Ides of March [14 Mar.] 1644, The Hague.

³ Ravius may have sent Junius a copy of his second oration, *Panegyrica secunda, orientalibus linguis dicta . . . postridie nonarum Octobris anni 1643* (Utrecht, 1644). Possibly, Junius had heard Ravius deliver the orations the preceding October, and had already received a copy of the first one, which had been printed in 1643. No copies of Junius found in UBL.

⁴ Antonius Aemilius was professor of history and eloquence in Utrecht at the time. Junius had presumably renewed their friendship when staying in Utrecht, **154a**.

⁵ Junius had moved to The Hague in the company of his pupil Aubrey de Vere, possibly earlier in the Spring of 1644, **152e^a**. A fortnight after this letter, Vossius wrote to George Rataller Doublet in The Hague, “[e]quidem . . . multa video, quae me trahere Hagam et possint et debeant. Atque in his facile principatum tenent tecum, hinc coniunctissimus affinis Iunius, inde illustris Boswellus” [I see many reasons indeed which can and should draw me to The Hague. And among them easily the first place is held, besides by you, by the fact that here is dearest Brother-in-law Junius, and here the illustrious (William) Boswell], 44 03 28, Colomesius 1.489. Also, in a letter to Vossius, Johannes Fredericus Gronovius was wondering where Junius was staying at the time, “[s]i scirem ubi nunc ageret Franciscus Iunius . . . affinis tuus, libenter ad eum exemplar mitterem, et memoriam ei humanitatis, qua Londini sibi me devinxit, confiterer” [if I knew where your brother-in-law Francis Junius is staying, I would gladly send to him a copy (of my *De sestertius commentarius* [Deventer, 1643]), and acknowledge my memory of his kindness, with which he obliged me to himself in London], 44 04 02, Colomesius 2.388. Junius—and Aubrey, presumably—did not stay in The Hague all the time, for in June, when Jan van

157 [44-46 00 00] ISAAC VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS
[THE HAGUE]¹

A Francisco Iunio.

a Quoniam nescio, an cognatus Brunaeus Hagae sit futurus, ideo ad te scribo, avuncule charissime.² Rogassem eum, ut °transmitteret librum quendam Italicum, cui titulus *Pensieri di Tassone*, quem amico cuidam utendum per aliquot dies promisi.³ Si iam Hagam reversus fuerit, peto, ut eum mihi remittat; °quandocunque eo opus habuerit, non morabor °quin quam ocissime illum reddam. °Vale, avuncule carissime, et materteram meam, tuam sororem, cum filia, °omnium °nostri nomine plurimum saluta.⁴

158₁₅₉ 45 02 26 FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N. (GRONINGEN) TO JUNIUS
[THE HAGUE]¹

a Nobilissime et amplissime vir, patruē honorandē,
Quaerenti iamdudum commodam aliquam dandi ad te quid literarum occasionem, non alia potior se offerre visa est, quam ut te,

157a transmitteret: [- *ipsi*] transmitteret | quandocunque: [- *ubi*] quandocunque | quin: [- *eum*] quin | Vale: [*Ita* > Vale] | omnium: [- *q*] omnium | nostri: nostri[- *um*]

Vliet, 205e, was in Antwerp, Junius was there with the Arundel family as well: “ab affine tuo Fr. Iunio, quem Antverpiae, dum Arondellium Comitem resalutatam ibam, et iamdudum in domitione nostra ex Anglia familiarem habere contigit, salutem plurimam tibi, tuae, tuisque” [warmest greetings to you, your wife and family from your relative Francis Junius, whom I happened to befriend in Antwerp, when I went to greet the earl of Arundel again, and also long ago on our returning home from England], 44 08 12, Colomesius 2.391. During that stay, Junius will also have put their books in order there, as he remembered in 190a. He and Aubrey were back in The Hague again by 1 July, when Junius presented his pupil with the *Paraenesis*, 152e. Cf. Dekker (1999:68, 92), 205e.

¹ ca: UBA, VI F 30, 163. Presumably written between September 1644 and Junius’ move to Friesland in 1646, a. Junius was obviously staying with his sister Johanna Junius. The fact that Isaac sent greetings for only one of her daughters may be an indication that Maria de Brune had already died, 152b. The fact that Isaac sent greetings on behalf of “us all” no doubt indicates that he was staying with his parents in Amsterdam. Isaac had made a tour from April 1641, well before Maria’s death, until mid-October 1644, 143a, and Junius was staying in The Hague from Spring 1644 until at least the end of March 1646, 156b, 161, 162,

157 [44-46 00 00] ISAAC VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS
[THE HAGUE]

A To Francis Junius.

- a Since I do not know whether Cousin de Brune will be in The Hague, therefore I am writing to you, dearest Uncle. I would have asked him to send over an Italian book with the title *Thoughts of Tasso*, which I promised to a friend to use for some days. If he has already returned to The Hague, I am asking him to return it to me, and I will not defer sending it back to him as quickly as possible whenever he needs it. Farewell, dearest Uncle, and give warmest regards to my aunt, your sister, and her daughter on behalf of us all.

158 45 02 26 FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N. (GRONINGEN) TO JUNIUS
[THE HAGUE]

- a Most noble and magnificent sir, honourable Uncle,
Having sought a convenient opportunity to write you a letter long before, no other better one seemed to present itself than to inform

at some point after which he moved to Friesland for a considerable time, and went to England in 1647, **196c**, **164a**.

² Jan de Brune, who resided in The Hague. Possibly the undated draft, now BL, Hl. 7012, f. 467, from Isaac to Jan belongs in this context. In it, Isaac thanked Jan for his letter and the books he had asked for, and explained that he had not written earlier because he was not sure whether Jan was in Middelburg or The Hague. In his detailed biography of Isaac Vossius, Blok has failed to introduce Jan de Brune at all, although he was Isaac's cousin on his mother's side, and merely observed that Jan's uncle Johan de Brune was a relative of Vossius (1999:205).

³ Alessandro Tassoni, *X libri di pensieri diversi* (Venice, 1636), which Isaac had probably bought in Venice in 1643, cf. Blok (1999:170–73). Isaac's copy not found in UBL. Jan de Brune may have used it for *Welsteen der Vernuyften* . . . 2 vols (Amsterdam, 1643–1659), a compilation of observations, anecdotes and verse in several languages on a variety of popular topics. For the first volume, Joost van den Vondel wrote a laudatory poem on Junius, "Aen den Edelen Heer Francois Junius F.Z.," **App7**. Isaac's friend unidentified. Cf. Worp (1890:92–94, 97–98).

⁴ Junius was evidently staying with Johanna Junius and Johanna de Brune in The Hague.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 92a. Presumably dated in accordance with the old style current in Groningen, cf. Introduction.

virum quem scio mei amantissimum, studiorum meorum certiorum redderem.² Equidem hoc ipsum pudet pigetque cogitare, quamdiu facere fuerit animus, sed enim cum obversetur indies impensus ille tuus in me animus, quem, dum favore praesentiae tuae bearis licuit, abunde perspexi, consulto id ipsum in illud tempus distuli, quo quaecumque grati animi ac summae observantiae signum testatum facere possem.³

b Habes igitur hic studiorum nostrorum primitias ac foetum amplissimo nomini tuo demisse consecratum.⁴ Perexiguum quidem hoc, si munus spectes, sed, ut de humanitate tua persuasum plane mihi habeo, ea non quod datur, sed animum dantis aestimabit. Neque etiam id ea mente factum, quasi putaverim quicquam amplissimo tuo nomini iri additum, cum potius mihi splendorem quaesitum dictum oporteat, sed quia nihil minus, quam immeritam comitatem ac benevolentiam tuam non modo amplecti atque observare, sed publicare poteram.

c Atque hoc iam inde statim post ferias caniculares anni proxime elapsi apud me constitueram; sed enim, si quid vero dandum, multa accessere incommoda, quae huic nostro officio remoram iniecerunt. Varias enim clari Domini Steinbergii occupationes, crebri conventus academici ob assiduas fere studiosorum turbas, et ipsius typographi tarditas fuere in mora, quominus ad optatum contingere licuerit.⁵

² From September 1640, Franciscus F.N. had studied at Groningen, concentrating on law under professor Johannes Steinberge, **b**, for the previous one or two years, **152f**. This resulted in his first disputations, **b**. In 1646 he continued his studies in Utrecht under professor Anthonius Matthaeus (1601–1654). He obtained his doctorate in Groningen on 17/27 June 1647, after which he embarked on a tour of France and Switzerland, staying at Paris, Geneva, Basle, and elsewhere. On his return, he stayed with Elizabeth Junius in Amsterdam to see to posthumous publications of Vossius, until he became an associate professor of law in Groningen from 1651, and a regular professor from 1654 to 1666, **165b**, **166b**, **174a**. From October 1652 he was syndic of Groningen for a year, and in 1656, 1661 and 1665 he was chosen vice-chancellor of the university. From 1666 until his death in 1678 he was a member of the Groningen council, for which position he resigned his offices at the university. He was to marry Deborah van Heeck, daughter of Matthias van Heeck and a niece of the Groningen burgomaster and trustee of the university, Hendrick van Heeck. Thus, Junius became related to the van Heeck family. Cf. Jonckbloet (1864, Bijlagen I, 36–37), de Crane (1821:26, 56–57), *Effigies* (1968:95, 224–25), Rademaker (1981:257–58), *ASG* (1915, s.v.), *ASU* (1876, s.v.).

³ This suggests that Franciscus F.N. and Junius had seen each other for a longer period of time, presumably when they were both staying with the Vossius family in Amsterdam in the summer of 1640, **137b^a**.

you, a gentleman I know to love me much, of my studies. It indeed shames and annoys me to consider how long I have intended to do so, but really, when your great affection for me, which I noticed in abundance when it was granted to rejoice in the favour of your presence, displayed itself from day to day, I deliberately delayed this until the time when I could make manifest a humble token of grateful affection and the highest respect.

- b** So, here you have the first fruits and issue of our studies humbly dedicated to your most magnificent name. It is very slight indeed if you consider the gift, but, as I am really fully convinced concerning your kindness, it will appreciate not what is given, but the giver's intention. Nor, indeed, did I do so with this motive, as if I believed that anything will be added to your most magnificent name—since it should rather be called a special honour for me—but because of nothing less than that I could not only welcome and respect your undeserved kindness and benevolence, but also make it manifest.
- c** I had already decided this by myself since immediately after last year's summer holiday, but really, if any reason must be given, many inconveniences, which caused a delay to our courtesy, happened. For, various occupations of the widely renowned Mr. Steinberge, repeated meetings of the university due to almost continuous students' turmoils, and the slowness of the printer himself were in delay, so that the desired could not be attained. So it happened that our first disputation, which was on *Decisions*, could be held only after the

⁴ Franciscus F.N. wrote a similar letter of presentation as this one to Vossius, dated 45 02 26, cf. BL, Hl. 7012, f. 190–91. The earliest printed disputations from Franciscus F.N. seem to date from 1646, *Repetitionum iuridicarum disputationes XLI, ad L ff. libros. Quas praeside . . . Johanne Steinbergio . . . rectore magnifico publice defenderunt tres LL. studiosi* (Groningen, 1646), in which Franciscus F.N. was one of the respondents.

⁵ Johannes Steinberge (1592–1653), German professor of law in Groningen from 1638. Previously, he had held a professorship in Geneva, after having studied at various universities in Germany—among which Heidelberg, where he had befriended Junius' relative Janus Gruterus, **173b**—and extensively travelled Europe as a tutor to two Moravian noblemen. Students were committing such wanton destructiveness in the streets of Groningen, that the University Senate had already been compelled to lay down rules restricting their behaviour in the spring of 1644, but was forced to accentuate the regulations in the summer of 1645 due to continuing turmoil. Possibly Augustinus Eissens, the printer of the 1646 disputations, had also printed Franciscus F.N.'s 1645 disputations. Cf. *BWN* 18.988–89, *Effigies* (1654/1968:126–28, 224, 52–53, 95), Jonckbloet (1864, 374, Bijlagen 1. 24–25).

Hinc factum, ut °disputatio nostra prior, quae ad Decisiones est, haberi non potuerit, nisi post ingressum novi anni, qui ut tibi felix ac faustus sit, ex animo precor.⁶ Habuimus °illam 8 kalendas Februarii et quidem, quod praefiscine dixerim, satis feliciter; alterius defensionem hac hebdomada suscepturi.⁷

d Accipe igitur has qualescunque grati animi ac summae observantiae indices eodem quo mittentem prosequeris animo, ac amare perge earum defensorem, qui est, nobilissime vir ac patruae honorande, amplissimi nominis tui observantissimus, Franciscus Iunium F.N. Dabam Groningae, XVI Februarii anno MDCXLV.

e Salutem parens mea mittit officiosissimam.

¹⁵⁸ **159** 45 04 12 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N.
(GRONINGEN)¹

A Decore generis ac virtutis indole iuxta conspicuo Domino Francisco Iunio F.N., Groningam.

a Franciscus Iunius F.F. Francisco Iunio F.N. *salutem plurimam*, Quum litteris leviter modo imbuti ignotissimos, quorum studium ingeniumque perspiciunt, in suam et communium litterarum gloriam non perfunctorie soleant fovere, ipse quoque, nova °meritissimi amoris causa et altiore arcissimae necessitudinis sensu animum meum per tentante, in hoc observantiae publice testatae cultu deosculor singularem animum tuum, nec iis tantum quos sanguine attingis peculiariter amplectendum.² Maximis certe mecum sanctissimisque propinquitatis vinculis coniunctus es, sed ita magnis amoris, ut illae necessitudinis causae leves esse videantur. Hac propter non tibi tantum, sed mihi

c contingere: co[+ n]tingere (*Sheet torn*) | disputatio: disputat[+ io] | illam: il[t >]am

159a meritissimi: [- *iustissi*] meritissimi

⁶ No details found on Franciscus F.N.'s disputation "ad decisiones."

⁷ 4 February new style, or 25 January old style.

¹ *ca.* UBA, M 92a verso.

² Junius referred to patrons who favour scholars even without knowing them, such as Charles I and Prince Frederick Henry had done towards Junius by accept-

beginning of the new year, which I pray from the bottom of my heart to be happy and propitious for you. We held it on the 8th before the Kalends of February [4 Feb.] and, indeed—which I say without vanity—quite successfully, and we will do the defence of the other one this week.

- d** So, accept these humble signs of grateful affection and the highest respect, and honour them with the same affection as you do the sender, and continue to love their defender,
Franciscus Junius F.N.,
Who is deeply devoted to your most magnificent name, most noble sir and honourable Uncle.
Written at Groningen, 16 February in the year 1645.

- e** My mother sends you warmest regards.

159 45 04 12 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N.
(GRONINGEN)

- A** To Mr. Franciscus Junius F.N., illustrious for the dignity of his family and the character of his virtue alike, in Groningen.

- a** Francis Junius F.F. gives warmest regards to Franciscus Junius F.N. Because those who are only superficially introduced in literature usually purposely encourage people they do not know, whose assiduity and talents they notice, to the glory of themselves and of literature in general, I am also highly praising your extraordinary mind, which must be especially honoured not only by those with whom you are connected by blood, in this cultivation of publicly manifest deference, now that a new reason for a greatly deserved love and a deeper feeling of close kinship is pervading my heart. You are connected to me with surely rather great and venerable bonds of kinship, but with such great ones of love, that those motives of kinship seem to be slight. I therefore congratulate not only you, but myself as well,

ing his dedications of *De pictura* (1637) and *Schilder-konst* (1641). Franciscus F.N. had dedicated his first disputations to Junius and Vossius, **158b**. Vossius' letter of thanks to Franciscus F.N. is dated [45] 05 24—not 1644, which *ICVossius* (1993:318) suggests. Cf. Colomesius 1.495.

quoque, atque adeo toti familiae Iunianae non privatim magis quam publice gratulor, quod iuris civilis disciplinam tanto studio exercere tuosque omnes luculentissimis profectus tui speciminibus beare non desinas. In infinitum litteras hasce °extendam, si gaudio meo porro indulgeam.

- b** Superest ut itinere instituto pergas quo te vocat aviti nominis splendor, tibi que firmiter persuadeas me omnia quaecunque rebus tuis conducere arbitror, summo semper studio curaturum. Optimae parenti salutem plurimam meis verbis referes.

Hagae Comitum, 1645, 12 Aprilis.

Tibi addictissimus.

160 45 [12 22–23] VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [THE HAGUE]¹

- a** Nobilissime et charissime adfinis,

Reliquit terras filius Franciscus atque, ut spero, iis miscetur, qui in illo die misericordiam magis quam iudicium pro meritis expectant.² Satis placide expiravit, ac tribus mensibus quibus domi nostra fuit, crebro vidimus, quam multum poeniteret, ac tum ipse veniam Deum rogavit, tum petiit, ut nos pro se ignoscantiam numen assiduo postularem.³

- b** Sepulturae destinatus est dies Mercurii proximus.⁴ Suffecerit igitur, si te Martis die in viam des, ut avunculus sororis filium natu maximum, tibi cognominem et magno avo, sed virtutibus immane quantum inferiorem, extremo hoc honore cohonestes.⁵ De cognato Brunaeo nihil addo, quia haec scripturus, intellexi ex filio Mattheo esse in urbe hac Amstelodamensi.⁶ Scripsi etiam ad amplissimum Senatorem Dubletium, sed scio stulte et inique ab eo postulatum iri, ut hoc anni tempore se itineri accingat, qui domi non habeat coni-

159a extendam: [- *extenderem*] extendam

¹ *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 202. *p*: Colomesius 1.509. Written on 22 December, the day Franciscus Vossius died, or the next day, when Vossius also informed George Rataller Doublet of it in a letter, which was presumably sent together with the present letter, since they were both directed to The Hague, **a–b**^a. *ICVossius* (1993:331) has failed to identify Junius as the addressee of this letter.

² Franciscus Vossius died on Friday 22 December, cf. Rademaker (1981:339).

and even the whole Junius family no less in private than in public, that you do not cease to practise the discipline of civil law with such a great assiduity and to gladden all your family with specimens of your excellent progress. I will continue this letter to infinity, if I go on in indulging in my happiness.

- b** Remains for you to proceed on the course taken where the splendour of your grandfather's name is summoning you, and to convince yourself briskly that I will always care for anything I believe to contribute to your affairs with the greatest assiduity. You must return warmest regards to your dearest mother on my behalf.
The Hague, 1645, 12 April.
Dedicately Yours.

160 45 [12 22–23] VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [THE HAGUE]

- a** Most noble and dear Brother,
My son Franciscus has passed away and, as I hope, mixed with those who may expect mercy more than judgement on that Day in accordance with their merits. He passed away quite peacefully, and during the three months that he was in our house we often saw how much he repented and now himself asked God forgiveness, now asked us continuously to beg the Deity for remission on his behalf.
- b** This Wednesday is determined the day of the funeral. It would accordingly be enough if you set out on Tuesday in order to honour as an uncle your sister's eldest son—of the same name as you and his great grandfather, but of so very less virtue—with this final respect. I add nothing about Nephew de Brune, because when about to write this, I understood from my son Matthaëus that he is in the town of Amsterdam. I have also written to the most magnificent senator Doublet, but I know one will both stupidly and unfairly ask of him to prepare himself for the trip in this time of year, because he

³ In the autumn of 1645, Franciscus had become ill and spent his last months in his parental house, cf. Rademaker (1981:339).

⁴ Wednesday 27 December.

⁵ Junius attended the funeral, **161b**.

⁶ Junius must have known that Jan de Brune was in Amsterdam, for they stayed in the same house in The Hague, **161A**, **162A**, **b**.

ugem tot suavium liberorum interea curam gesturam.⁷ Neque poscere ausim a Senatore Rutero, qui et ipse vix quadriennio abest ab decimo climacterio.⁸

- c Nunc plura ut addam non sinunt occupationes, sed si valetudo hoc ferat, ut excurras, erunt alia multa de quibus disserendi erit otium. Affini Brunaeae et filiae plurimam salutem dicito, etiam (modo vobiscum sit) illustrissimo Comiti Oxfordio, pro cuius assurgente gloria, licet iniquissimis temporibus, non desinam vovere, quae virtus eius meretur.⁹

Amstelodami, 1645.

161 **46 03 21** VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS (THE HAGUE)¹

A *Aenden Weledele Here Franciscus Junius, Franc. Zoon. ten huijse van Juffrou Johanna de Bruyne, wonende int Voorhout. In S'Grauen-hage. port.*

- a Nobilis coniuncteque affinis, tristem tibi nuncium apporto. Ereptus nobis est heri vesperi filius Matthaëus, postquam quadriduo circiter lectulo fuisset adfixus, et °quasi biduo ante imminentis morbi nobis indicia aperuisset.²
- b Hodie est XXIus Martii; funus deducetur XXIVo, hoc est, proximo die Sabbathi.³ Itaque ego, uxor, nurus et filius Isaacus plurimum rogamus, ut quem honorem exequiis Francisci mei proxime habuisti, eo nunc cohonestare funus Matthaei nostri ne grave ducas.⁴ Neque id te solum rogo, sed etiam cognatum Brunaeum, modo valetudo

161a quasi: *c, p* postquam

⁷ George Rataller Doublet, whose wife Marie van Schoterbosch had died in 1639 and left him with three sons and two daughters. He did attend the funeral, though, **161b**. Vossius' letter to him was written on the day following Franciscus' death, Saturday 23 December, but dated 46 12 25 presumably by mistake, for Doublet could hardly have received it in time for the funeral then. Cf. *ICVossius* (1993:332).

⁸ David de Ruyter, a former student of the Latin School at Dordrecht, a relative of the family, and councillor at the Supreme Court in The Hague, no further details found. He must have been about sixty-six years old, that is, four years less than the tenth multiple of seven, a critical year or "annus climactericus" according to Vossius, **132a**ⁿ. Junius or Doublet must have informed him of Franciscus' death, for he did attend the funeral, **161b**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:73)

⁹ Junius stayed with Johanna Junius and Johanna de Brune, **161A**, **162A**, **b**. Exact whereabouts of Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford, are unidentified.

does not have a wife at home to care for his sweet children in the mean while. I dared not ask senator de Ruyter either, because he himself is hardly four years from the tenth climacteric.

- c My occupations do not permit me to add more now, but if your health allows you to come hurrying to us, there will be many other matters we will have time to discuss. Give warmest regards to Sister de Brune and her daughter and also to the most illustrious earl of Oxford (providing he is still with you), in accordance with whose rising glory I do not cease to wish what his virtue deserves, notwithstanding the unfavourable times.

Amsterdam, 1645.

Yours, as much as I can, G.J. Vossius.

161 46 03 21 VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS (THE HAGUE)

- A *To the noble Mr. Francis Junius, Franciscus' son, at the house of Mrs. Johanna de Brune, residing at the Voorhout, in The Hague. Postage.*

- a Noble and dear Brother, I am bringing you sad news. Yesterday night our son Matthaëus was seized from us, after he had been confined to the bed for some four days and, as it were, had shown us symptoms of an imminent disease two days before.

- b Today it is 21 March; the funeral will be held on the 24th, that is, this Saturday. I, my wife, my daughter-in-law and my son Isaac therefore urgently ask of you not to think it troublesome to honour our Matthaëus' funeral now with the same respect as you showed shortly before at my Franciscus' funeral. I ask this not only of you, but also of Nephew de Brune, providing health and circumstances of you two permit you. Your exceeding kindness is so evident to me, that I think it by no means necessary to ask so at greater length.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 100f; letter **162** was written on its cover. *c*: BLO, Rawl. 84c, f. 201. *p*: Colomesius 1.510. The present letter and **162** have been considered one letter with a postscript in *ICVossius* (1993:334). Because the headings, greetings, dating and signature are repeated in both texts they have been treated as two letters here.

² Matthaëus Vossius died on Tuesday 20 March, cf. Rademaker (1981:340).

³ The funeral was, however, postponed to Monday 26 March, **162a**.

⁴ Matthaëus' wife Johanna de Veno, **162a**. Junius had evidently attended the funeral of Franciscus Vossius, who had died 22 December 1645, **160b**.

utriusque ac res sic ferant.⁵ Perspectissima mihi est summa humanitas tua, ut hoc pluribus °neutiquam postulare opus °arbitrer. Feci °de isto etiam certio rem amplissimum Dubletium; non tamen poscendum putavi, ut denuo se huc conferret.⁶ Ne quidem id petii a carissimo cognato Ruterō.⁷ Abunde semel hoc agendo affectum suum °comprobarunt. Tamen priusquam te in viam des, significabis °ei de hoc dolore nostro. Scriberem ipse, sed dolor non sinit, et praeterea occupationes funebres. Has, et similes, derivare antea in Matthaëum °solui. Nunc etiam hic senectae scipio ereptus mihi. Ita, ut vides, longa aetas multa secum advehit mala.

- c Sorori Brunae salutem °nostri omnium nomine dicito.
°XXI Martii, qui dies est Mercurii, MDCXLVI.
Tuus totus et totius familiae Iunianae, G.Io. Vossius.

162 46 03 21 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (THE HAGUE)¹

- a *Nobilis* et coniunctissime adfinis Iuni,
Scripseram hodierno mane sepulturam τοῦ μακαρίτου filii Matthaëi fore die Sabbathi proximo.² Sed nurus sperat, si differamus biduum, nempe in diem Lunae sequentem, qui est Martii sextus ac vigesimus, posse interim advenire parentes suos.³ Nolui hoc denegare. Te autem scire hoc attinebat; non quin te non diutissime adesse nobis malim, sed quin fortasse res tuae non ferrent, ut diu abesses domo.
- b *Nobilem* Dubletium et amplissimum Ruterum saluta, ut de domesticis, carissima sorore tua Brunaea °eiusque filio °filiaque taceam. *Amstelodami*, XXI Martii MDCXLVI.
Aeternum tuus, G.Io. Vossius.

b neutiquam postulare: c, p postulare neutiquam | arbitrer: c, p habeam | de isto etiam: p etiam de isto | comprobarunt: c, p comprobavit | ei: \ei/ | solui: c, p soleo | c nostri: nosti | XXI . . . Vossius: c –

162b eiusque: [su > eiusque] | filiaque: \filiaque/

⁵ Jan de Brune.

⁶ George Rataller Doublet had evidently attended Franciscus' funeral, as Vossius had asked him to do, 160b. Vossius' letter to Doublet is unretrieved. Doublet excused himself to Vossius because he already had to attend another funeral, adding "[n]unc me excusaveris ipse scio, et responsi tarditatem suppleverit optimus mihiq[ue] amicissimus adfinis tuus *nobilis Dominus Iunius*" [now I know you have excused me, and your excellent brother-in-law who loves me well, the noble Mr. Junius, has made good the slowness of the answer], 46 03 27, BL, Hl. 7012, f. 195—the slowness was probably due to Junius delivering the letter in person on his arrival in Amsterdam just before the funeral.

I have also informed the most magnificent Doublet of this, but I nevertheless thought he must not be asked to go here once more. I have not even asked this of our dearest relative de Ruyter. They have abundantly shown their sympathy by doing this once. But before you set out, you must let him know of our grief. I would write him myself, but grief does not permit me, and besides that the funeral arrangements. Those and similar affairs I was used to pass onto Matthaeus beforehand. Now also this staff of old age has been snatched away from me. Thus, as you see, old age brings along many ailments.

- c Give warmest regards to Sister de Brune on behalf of us all.
21 March, which day is a Wednesday, 1646.
Yours and the Junius family's Truly, G.Jo. Vossius.

162 46 03 21 VOSSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (THE HAGUE)

- a Noble and dearest Brother Junius,
I wrote to you this morning that my *late* son Matthaeus' funeral will be this Saturday. But my daughter-in-law hopes that if we postpone it two days, that is, to this Monday, which is 26 March, her parents can come in the mean time. I did not want to refuse this. But it was relevant for you to know, not because I would not prefer you to stay with us quite long, but because your affairs perhaps do not allow you to be away from home long.
- b Greet the noble Doublet and the most magnificent de Ruyter, not to speak of your housemates, your dearest sister de Brune and her son and daughter.
Amsterdam, 21 March 1646.
Forever Yours, G.Jo. Vossius.

⁷ Just as at Franciscus' death, Junius must have informed David de Ruyter of Matthaeus' death, possibly in person, as Vossius requested in this section. De Ruyter had evidently attended Franciscus' funeral, **160b**.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 100e; written on the cover of letter **161**. This letter and letter **161** have been considered one letter with a postscript in *ICVossius* (1993:334). Because the headings, greetings, dating and signature are repeated in both texts they have been treated as two letters here.

² In **161b** Vossius had informed Junius that Matthaeus Vossius' funeral was due on Saturday 24 December.

³ Johanna de Venno had been Matthaeus' wife from November 1642. Her parents were Joannes de Venno, or van Veen, (1577–1662), a Leeuwarden magistrate, alderman, and a lawyer at the Court of Friesland, and Aeltje Wartinga, or Verrutius,

163 46 05 24 JUNIUS (ALKMAAR) TO N.N. [-]¹

a Mijn Heer,

Haer Genæde de Gravinne van Arundell en Surrey is hier gister tot Alkmaer gekomen, alle haere goederen tot Lillo achtergelaeten hebbende; alwaer den Zeewschen commissaris deselvighe houdt liggende, sonder te lijden dat se passeren.² den gouverneur, mijn heer Beuvery, gebruyckte so vele ernst als 't hem eenighsins mogelijk was;³ maer al te vergeefsch: was eyndelik genoodsaeckt tot Middelburgh te senden om van daer ordre te verwachten, 't welk haer Genæde niet en weet hoe 't afloopen en hoe langhe dat se dus verlegghen sitten sal, want se niet en heeft om sik hier te behelpen, alle haeren huysraed daer vast gehouden sijnde, niet tegenstaende sijn Hoogheysd paspoort, daer sij Haer selven op verliet.⁴ Indien uwe Gestrengheyd eenigh middel weet, 't welck dienen kan tot bevoordering van Haer verlanghen, haer Genæde sal sik oneyndelik verbonden erkennen en op allerley gelegenheyd soeken te beantwoorden de veelvoudige beleeftheyd die uwe Gestrengheyd aen Haer van tijd tot tijd bewesen heeft.⁵

Alckmaer. 1646. den 24 Majj.

uwe Gestrengheysd onderdaenighen dienaer F.F.F. Junius

164 49 01 29 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]¹

A Doctissimo Domino Isaaco Vossio Gerardi filio.

a Cognate charissime,

Post meum ex septentrionalibus Britanniae tractibus reditum libens ex iis, qui a vobis ad nos traiciēbant, exoptatum subinde nuntium

whose father Hieronymus Verrutius was a former secretary of Groningen and a delegate in the States General. Having met Junius at the funeral, if not before, they were quite likely one of his connections during his stay in Friesland at some time between the present year and 1648, **196c**, for de Veno must have known Theodorus Saeckma, **196c**, and probably also Doeke van Hemmema, **196**. Family connections were such, at least, that Junius entitled the two children of Matthaeus and Johanna, Gerardus Johannes (1645–1716) and Aafje, to one third of his inheritance. No evidence was found that Junius had attended the wedding of Matthaeus and Johanna in Leeuwarden early November 1642. Cf. *NNBW* 10.1089–90, de Crane (1821:23, 54), de Wal (1825:42, 171, 440), Rademaker (1981:339–40, 442), *BWGrocius* 13.5934, van Romburgh (1998:237, 239–40).

¹ *o*: Fondation Custodia, Collection Frits Lugt. Marcus de Schepper, Royal Library Belgium, brought *o* to my attention. Stijn Alsteens, Fondation Custodia, provided

163 46 05 24 JUNIUS (ALKMAAR) TO N.N. [-]

a Sir,

Her Grace the countess of Arundel and Surrey arrived here in Alkmaar yesterday, having left all her goods in Lille, where the Zeeland commissioner retains them without permitting them to go through. The governor Mr. Beuvery has employed as much severity as he possibly could, but to no avail. He was finally compelled to dispatch to Middelburg to await orders there. Her Grace does not know how this will finish and how long she will therefore be stuck for them, for she does not have enough to make do here, as all her household goods have been retained there, notwithstanding his Highness' passport, on which she relied. If your Esquire knows of any means which may serve to advance her wish, her Grace will acknowledge herself boundlessly obliged, and on diverse occasions will endeavour to return the manifold courtesy which your Esquire has shown her from time to time.

Alkmaar, 1646, 24 May.

Your Esquire's obedient servant F.F.F. Junius.

164 49 01 29 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM]

A To the most learned Mr. Isaac Vossius, Gerardus' son.

a Dearest Nephew,

On my return from the northern tracts of Britain, I received with pleasure the often greatly desired news of your good health from the people who crossed from you to us. May God make our hearts

an initial transcription. The addressee was a Dutch magistrate, possibly of the Province of Holland. Junius addressed him on Countess Aletheia's behalf, a.

² Countess Aletheia had travelled to Alkmaar from Antwerp, 151c^a. She lived in Alkmaar until taking up residence in Amersfoort in 1649, 190a. The fortress Lillo was on the river Scheldt near Antwerp. Commissioner of Zeeland unidentified. Cf. Israel (1995:264, 298).

³ Governor Mr Beuvery unidentified.

⁴ Charles I had provided her with a passport to accompany Queen Henrietta Maria and the Princess Mary to Holland in 1642, 151c^a.

⁵ No details were found as to whether the addressee managed to do anything for Countess Aletheia. Apparently, he had obliged her before; he was probably a provincial magistrate rather than someone of the town administration.

¹ o: UBA, I 89b. f is a copy in Junius' hand of a note by Vossius, on a separate

de vestra valetudine accipi.² Faxit Deus ut animi nostri in hac fatali orbis Britannici rabie frequenter dulcissimo hoc mutuae valetudinis solatio sustententur.³ Miraberis forte unde ullam bene de rebus nostris sperandi occasionem arripere valeam. Mihi tamen sperare libet tandem aliquando affulsurum tempus pacatius, in quo parentibus tuis optime semper de me meritis totique adeo familiae vestrae, si non parem, meritissimam tamen pro viribus gratiam reponam.

b Clarissimus Salmasius videtur nescio quid de codice quodam Vitruviano delineationibus splendidissimis illustrato ex te inaudivisse, affirmatque in ultimis ad *Dominum* Seldenum literis me aliquando apud te mentionem iniecisse codicis Cottoniani antiquissimi et variarum figurarum pictura instructissimi; ac mihi quidem aliquando visum codicem istum, sed usum eius expetenti mihi denegatum.⁴

sheet. Presumably sent to Amsterdam, in view of Junius remembering Isaac's parents in **a** and sending them his regards in **e**, and asking Isaac to buy a book published in Amsterdam in **c**, notwithstanding Isaac having left Amsterdam already at the end of December 1648 for Stockholm, **a**ⁿ. For a reproduction of the manuscript letter, see the illustration on page 63.

² No details were found on Junius' stay in the North. It may have been connected with an errand for the Arundel family. Junius was later to declare that the Arundel family "at severall times since (returning to the Low Countries) had put him upon divers troublesome & dangerous journeys & employments," Bremmer and Rácz (1998:4). He must have been away from London so long, or received such old news of Isaac's well-being, that he was unaware that Isaac had left Amsterdam on a journey, which had been upcoming since August, to Christina of Sweden in Stockholm at the end of December 1648. Furthermore, whereas John Morris had already reacted to an inquiry after a Vitruvius manuscript in mid-December, Junius did so only in the present letter, **b**, **165a**. His description of his own circumstances reveals that he had not been in touch with his family in months, **d**. Prior to his time in the North, Junius had stayed with Sir Simonds D'Ewes in London, **d**. However, he need not have been in England ever since having accompanied Aubrey de Vere there in 1647, when, as Christian Ravius testified to Vossius in a letter from London dated 47 09 20/30, "Vidi clarum Dominum affinem tuum F. Iunium. Salvus est sanusque, sed centum miliaribus iam Londino abest. Is sororem, familiarumque tuam ac te, omnesque amicos plurimum salutatur" [I met your renowned brother-in-law F. Junius. He is safe and sound, but already a hundred miles from London. He sends warmest greetings to his sister, your family and you, and all friends], UBA, L 129b. In the meantime, Junius may have made one or more trips to Friesland, and done errands for the Arundel family in the Low Countries. Cf. **152e**, **169h**, **196c**, **198ⁿ**, Blok (1999:262–63).

³ With the royalist forces defeated and Charles I confined since 1647, the majority of the parliament had been purged by Colonel Thomas Pride (d. 1658) in December 1648 ("Pride's Purge"), in order to leave a so-called Rump Parliament that would assent to the king's trial and execution and the formation of the Commonwealth. One week after the present letter, on 6 February n.s., Charles I was to be convicted of high treason and sentenced to death by the High Court of Justice installed by the Commons. On 9 February, the king was executed in front

be frequently supported in this fateful madness of Britain by this sweetest solace of both our good healths. Perhaps you wonder from where I can seize any opportunity to hope the best for our circumstances. Yet I like to hope that one day a quieter time will finally dawn, when to the best of my ability I may requite a most deserved, though not equivalent, gratitude to your parents, who have always deserved best of me, and indeed to your whole family.

- b** The widely renowned Salmasius seems to have heard from you something about a Vitruvius codex illustrated with quite splendid drawings, and in his latest letter to Mr. Selden he asserted that I had once mentioned to you a rather ancient codex of Cotton executed with illustrations of varied images, and that at my request I had indeed seen that codex once, but had been denied its use. I certainly remember to have told you something about that codex long ago,

of Whitehall. The act was unprecedented, and made Charles into a royal martyr. Several days later, the Commons abolished the Lords and the monarchy, and in May it proclaimed itself the supreme power of the Commonwealth of England. Cf. Wedgwood (1964), Smith (1997:316–21), Fritze and Robison (1996:81–83, 421–22), Underdown (1971), Partridge (1998).

⁴ In order to prepare an edition of Vitruvius (1649), Johannes de Laet had requested the Vitruvius manuscript from the Cottonian library on loan already in 1646, and Claudius Salmasius, who supported de Laet in preparing the edition, repeated the request in a letter, dated 48 07 13, to John Selden, who took care of the library at the time, BLO, Ms Selden supra 108, f. 66; I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer. Selden sent the manuscript with a letter dated 48 08 30, indicating how difficult it had been to get it, adding that “*Vetus quidem est exemplar, sed figuris caret*” [It is an ancient copy indeed, but it lacks illustrations], Burman 2.362, cf. Bekkers (1970:xviii), who seems not to have realized the manuscript was sent with that letter. Obviously surprised at the unillustrated manuscript sent, which is now BL, Cott. Cleop. D.i, **105h**, de Laet must have inquired after the existence of an illustrated Cottonian Vitruvius with his friend John Morris (1585/90–1658), and Salmasius must have done so with Selden in unretrieved letters. Morris answered de Laet, “*haud credo alium cod. m.s. in Bibliotheca Cottoniana superesse, quam quem ad vos miserit D. Seldenus; certe si melior vel correctior inibi inveniretur, peiorem nunquam vobis transmisisset*” [I do not believe that there is a manuscript in the Cottonian library other than the one which Mr. Selden sent to you; surely, if there were a better or more correct one to be found there, he would never have sent the inferior one to you], 48 12 16, quoted after Bekkers (1970, no. 91). This section is Junius’ reply to Isaac. It suggests that Junius had not been in touch with either Selden or Isaac for at least a month and a half, during which time he may accordingly have been away from London in the North, **a**. Junius had intended to prepare an edition of Vitruvius in 1636, **105h**. Though denial of the use of a Cotton manuscript was not an isolated incident during ownership of the library by Thomas Cotton (1594–1662) from 1631, it does indicate that Junius’ enjoyment of the library was not unrestricted, and possibly also that he was not yet Arundel’s librarian when he had first wished to study the manuscript in 1636–38, cf. **131a**, **195b**, Tite (1994:26–29).

Memini certe me iamdudum nonnihil de codice illo apud te egisse; sed nullam delineationum, quae nullae erant, mentionem iniicere potui.⁵ Opera denique Patricii Iunii codicem illum Cottonianum aliquamdiu penes me in aedibus Arundellianis habui, ac aliquam eius partem, usque dum aliis curis avocarer, cum impressis Vitruvii codicibus conferre coepi.⁶ Quae cum tam longe recedunt ab iis quae clarissimus Salmasius tuis verbis urget, subdubitare cogor an non post tantam temporis intercapedinem ac laboriosissimam peregrinationem alibi ex alio quopiam inaudita confuderis cum iis quae iam olim ex me audivisti.⁷

- c Ego hic veteres Cimbricas literas cum Anglo-Saxonicis coniungere coepi.⁸ Olai Wormi Fastos et Monumenta Danica sedulo versavi, nusquam tamen hic nancisci potui Runicam literaturam Wormii, Amsterodami (ni fallor) excusam.⁹ Si eius copiam facere mihi potes, immensum obligaveris me.

⁵ Junius may have described the manuscript to Isaac when the latter was with him in London in 1641 and collated Vitruvius, **105h^a**.

⁶ Neither Patrick Young nor Junius occur as borrowers of the Vitruvius manuscript in the lending-book of Cotton manuscripts for the period 1637–1661 now BL, Cott. Ms App. XLV, art. 13. Selden, however, does: “Juno 11 1641. Lent to Mr Selden a booke intituled Vitruvii de Architect. Libri decem. etc.,” f. 10—in the lending-book, the word “book(e)” is used for manuscripts. He may have borrowed it for de Laet, who was in London at the time, or otherwise for Isaac, **105h^a**. Duties for the Arundel family may have occasioned Junius to discontinue his collations of Vitruvius. Cf. Bremmer (1998b:157).

⁷ After visiting England in the summer of 1641, Isaac had continued his tour of France and Italy, to return home in the autumn of 1644, **143a**.

⁸ This is the first reference to Junius’ Germanic studies in the correspondence. The presentation of this section suggests that though Junius’ examination of “Cimbric” was new, the Germanic course of his studies was already known to Isaac. Junius must have directed his attention to Germanic languages, more particularly to Dutch etymology, in the mid-1640s. It is unlikely that he was actively involved in these studies before then, first, because earlier he seems to have been occupied with his art-historical projects; secondly, because his first project was presumably the compilation of a Dutch etymological dictionary when he was in the Low Countries again; thirdly, because he did not include the Germanic material from Arundel’s library in his studies, and fourthly, because he included references to Henry Spelman’s *Archaeologus* (1626), an antiquarian encyclopaedia of legal terminology, not in the first edition of *De pictura* and its translations but only in his notes for a second edition, **155b**, **169d**. More or less contemporary with the present letter is the earliest datable evidence of his Germanic studies, two dictionary entries on *Du vriend* “friend” and *vyand* “enemy,” including Old English and Frisian, dating from about 1648. The Frisian in them he had acquired during a stay in Friesland at some point between letter **162** and the present letter, **162a^a**, **196c**. During the rest of Junius’ life, his Germanic projects formed his principal occupation. They were to qualify him as the greatest seventeenth-century philologist of the Germanic languages and the father of Germanic comparative philology. With “Cimbric” char-

but I cannot have mentioned any illustrations, because there were none. In the end, I had that codex of Cotton's with me for a while at Arundel house through Patrick Young's agency, and had begun to collate part of it with printed editions of Vitruvius, until I was interrupted by other concerns. Since this differs so much from what the widely renowned Salmasius was inducing on the basis of your words, I am compelled to suspect somewhat whether, after such a long lapse of time and a quite wearisome tour, you have not confused news you heard from someone elsewhere with what you had once heard from me.

- c I have here begun to compare the ancient Cimbric characters with the Anglo-Saxon ones. I carefully studied Ole Worm's *Festivals* and *Danish Monuments*, but could not find Worm's *Runic Literature*, printed in Amsterdam (if I am not mistaken), anywhere here. If you can put it at my disposal, you will exceedingly oblige me.

acters Junius referred to runes as found in Ole Worm's books, more specifically, the Scandinavian dotted futhark of twenty-four symbols, **204cc**. Anglo-Saxon script, more specifically the Anglo-Saxon pointed minuscule current from the end of the ninth throughout the tenth century, is based on the roman alphabet and therefore very different from runes, yet had adopted the thorn-rune þ and wynn-rune ƿ to express <th> and <w> respectively. Junius' interest in Anglo-Saxon characters and runes is reflected in his attention to the proper typography for the writing and printing of each of the Germanic languages, **187a**, **204cc-dd**. He even went so far as to transliterate attestations which appeared in roman letters in Worm's books into runes for inclusion in his studies, **204v**. In the present edition, the digital "Gullskoen" font by Odd Einar Haugen, Bergen, Norway, was used for the passages in runes. Cf. Breuker (1990:49–56, 1998:139–47), Dekker (1999:93–94), van Romburgh (2001:7–8), Elliott (1989:25), M.P. Brown (1990:58–65), von Raumer (1870:106), Burdach (1924:307, 312–13), Douglas (1951:65), Arens (1969:104), Bremmer (1989:179), Stanley (1998:161), Lutz (2000:42), Lucas (2000:iv); for recent surveys of the course of Junius' Germanic studies, cf. Breuker (1998), a refreshed version of Breuker (1990), and Dekker (1999, esp. 94–96, 257–63).

⁹ Ole Worm, *Fasti Danici* . . . (Copenhagen, 1643), of which Junius' copy is now Ms Jun. 14; *Danicorum monumentorum libri sex* . . . (Copenhagen, 1643), of which Junius' copy is now Ms Jun. 8; *Runer seu Danica literatura antiquissima vulgo Gothica dicta* . . . (Amsterdam, 1636), and its second edition (1651), which includes *Specimen lexici Runici* . . . (1650), a "Runic" lexicon compiled by Magnús Ólafsson (c.1573–1636) and edited by Worm. Junius' copies of *Runer* and the lexicon have not been retrieved, yet he quoted from them in **203f**, **204v**, **cc**, *Observationes* (1655:199), **188c**. Worm's books, packed with drawings of runic monuments and discussions of runic literature and the meaning and uses of runes, formed Junius' only source of "Cimbric" material, cf. "Cimbricarum antiquitatum nihil quicquam vidi, praeter ea quae publici iuris fecit Olaus Wormius" [I have never seen any Cimbric antiquities besides what was published by Ole Worm], Letter to the Reader, *Gothicum glossarium* (1665:[xxii]), **209b**. "Cimbric" basically referred to what is nowadays called Old

d *Dominus Patricius Iunius et Dr Ioh. Pricaeus crebro tui meminerunt, nec destiterunt rogare ut non sinerem olim contractam notitiam intermori.*¹⁰ Ego hic eodem cum Dr Pricaeo utor hospitio; integros interim quandoque menses transigo °in aedibus Sir Simond °d'Ewes, viri antiquitatum omnium ac nostri amantissimi.¹¹ Ineunte vere cum eo forte cogar excurrere in agrum Suffolciensem.¹²

d in: [- *apud*] in | d'Ewes: d'Ewe[*es* > *s*]

Norse, although Junius—and his fellow-scholars—did not yet know to distinguish between Gothic and “Cimbric,” as indicated by the title of Worm’s *Runer*, **169d**, **173**, **189c**. Joannes Georgius Graevius, **224a**, described it in his “Vita” of Junius (1694:†4v) as, “Cimbricae [linguae], quae et Runica dicitur” [the Cimbric (language), which is also called Runic]. After studying Worm’s *Fasti Danici*, Junius must have realised that Bonaventura Vulcanius (1538–1614) had confused the words “Cimbric” and “Cymric” in the Appendix to *De literis* (1597:97–98), **173b**, in which he gave “initium libri Geneseos Cimbrica sive Wallica, quae vetus Britannica fuisse creditur, redditum” [the beginning of the book of Genesis rendered in Cimbric or Welsh, which is believed to have been the ancient British language]—although the passage from the Welsh text itself (1597:99) was more correctly headed, “lingua Cambrica sive Wallica” [in the Cambric or Welsh language]. Cf. Bennett (1938: 219–20).

¹⁰ Isaac had met Patrick Young during his tour of England in 1641, **143a**. John Price (1600–?1676), distinguished humanist scholar, had accompanied Arundel’s eldest son James Howard, lord Maltravers, to Italy, and taken his doctor’s degree, probably in law, on the Continent. He dedicated his edition of Apuleius’ *Apologia* (Paris, 1635) to Maltravers; the copy UBL, 573 D 14 stems from Isaac Vossius’ collection (no annotations). Junius and he must have known each other through the Arundel family. A Roman Catholic, Price was repeatedly on the Continent in the 1640s, moving in Grotius’ circle in Paris, which was where he and Isaac had probably met. In 1650, he had his edition of Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* published in Gouda, **170c**, and two years later, he settled in Florence as keeper of the medals of the Grand Duke Ferdinand II. His patron granted him the chair of Greek at the University of Pisa. There, Nicolaas Heinsius, **170b**, greeted him on Junius’ behalf in 1653. Cf. Blok (1999:86–87), *BWGrotius* 16.7455, *DNB* 46.330–31, Burman 3.86.

¹¹ Lodgings unidentified. Nativel (1996:64) and Breuker (1998:136–37) interpreted this phrase as if Junius was staying at the house of Price—or Prick, according to Breuker. Sir Simonds D’Ewes (1602–1650), an antiquary and numismatic trained as a lawyer, was devoted to the examination of English legal and constitutional history. His studies brought him to side with the parliamentarians, yet he was expelled from Parliament at Pride’s Purge in December 1648 due to his moderation. He is chiefly remembered for his *Journal of Parliament* for the years 1640–1645. He knew such antiquaries as Sir Robert Cotton, John Selden and Sir William Dugdale, and together with Cotton, he had successfully claimed the earldom of Oxford for Robert de Vere, Aubrey de Vere’s father, in 1626. He possessed and transcribed many ancient documents, including Anglo-Saxon ones, but never brought it to an antiquarian publication. To facilitate the study of Old English texts, he tried to compile an Old English dictionary and to make an edition of Ælfric’s grammar, now BL, Mss Hl. 8 and 9, with which both the Anglo-Saxonist William Somner, **190b**, and Junius assisted him during some time before and following the present letter.

d Mr. Patrick Young and Mr. John Price have frequently remembered you, and did not leave to ask of me not to allow the formerly contracted friendship to languish. I am taking the same lodgings as Dr. Price here; meanwhile, from time to time I spend whole months at the house of sir Simonds D'Ewes, a gentleman deeply devoted to all antiquities and to us. Early spring I will perhaps be compelled to ride out together with him to the county Suffolk.

After D'Ewes' death, **169b**, Junius still busied himself with the lexicon and grammar for a while, as described by Christoph Arnold, **183**: "Francis Junius . . . is now preparing for the press a Primer of the Anglo-Saxon tongue and an Anglo-Saxon Dictionary," 51 08 17, quoted after Blom's translation from the Latin (1982:76). In 1631, D'Ewes had moved to his ancestral home, Stow Hall at Stowlangtoft, Suffolk, but kept his Westminster residence. Junius must already have stayed with D'Ewes in 1648. A fortnight after the present letter, D'Ewes wrote to Selden about his intended Anglo-Saxon publications, "nec parum id mihi fuit volupe, quod vir eruditione modestiaque eximius Franciscus Iunius se conatus nostros animitus probare nuper testatus sit" [and it is much to my pleasure that the gentleman excellent for his learning and modesty, Francis Junius, recently testified to approve heartily of our efforts], 49 02 12, BL, Add. 32093, f. 270 (copy Hl. 377, ff. 56–57). D'Ewes' use of "nuper" seems to indicate that Junius was not with him then. Cf. Watson (1966, esp. 1–15), *DNB* 14.450–53, Hetherington (1980:102–24; 1982), Nativel (1996:64n4), personal communication Gerald Toomer, Haantjes (1929:254–55), who dated the latter letter 48 01 23, Timmer (1957:143), who changed Haantjes' date to 49 07 00.

¹² Junius stayed with D'Ewes for nearly half a year indeed, as the latter informed Johannes Smetius in July, "[p]er integrum et iam pene semestre vir eruditione eximia Franciscus Iunius quem apprime nosti clarissimi illius Francisci filiorum natu minorum unus mihi in aedibus haesit, ut editionem Ælfridi Grammaticae Anglo-Saxonicae ex quatuor exemplaribus Mss legum nostrarum veterum Anglo-Saxoniarum prius ineditarum, aut vitiosissime excusarum, cum vetera versione Latina ex vetustissimis monumentis, et quatuor Evangeliorum ex duobus codicibus, quorum unus ante sescentos, ante octingentos alter annos eodem exaratus idiomate, quam molior, maturaret" [and for almost the entire half year now, the gentleman of excellent learning, Francis Junius, whom you know well, the only younger son of that most renowned Franciscus Junius, has stayed at my house in order to speed up the edition I am preparing of Ælfric's Anglo-Saxon Grammar from four manuscript copies of our ancient Anglo-Saxon laws, which have not been published as yet, or were printed quite defectively, with an ancient Latin translation from quite ancient documents, and the four Gospels from two codices, of which the one was written in the same language six hundred years ago, and the other one eight hundred years ago], 49 07 04/14?, quoted after Haantjes (1929:255–56). In October, Smetius answered that he could not think of a better assistant for D'Ewes, cf. Haantjes (1929:256). It quite accords with the evidence that Junius had gone to D'Ewes not as an expert of Old English but rather as the interested etymologist of Dutch who wished to increase his understanding of Old English with the help of the material D'Ewes had at his disposal, **168d**. Later, the paleographer, Anglo-Saxonist and librarian Humfrey Wanley (1672–1726) was to find "some Papers of Mr Junius, which he might leave here behind him" in Suffolk among D'Ewes' papers (unidentified). Cf. Heyworth (1989:231), Haantjes (1929:256), who interpreted the first six words

e Si commodum hominem °nancisceris per quem Runas Wormii una cum literis ad me transmittas, mittes ad *Dominum Fabianum Phillips* etc.¹³ Plurimam salutem meis verbis dices optimis parentibus.¹⁴ Vale.

Raptim; Londinii, anno 1649, 19 *Ianuarii stilo vetere*.

Tibi addictissimus, F.F.F. Iunius.

f [Claudius Aelianus, is cuius *De Animalibus* libros, et *Variam Historiam*, et *Tactica* habemus, post *Adriani* tempora, ut *Suidas* ait, *rhetoricam* est professus.¹⁵ Scripsit *accusationem Gynnidis*, hoc est, *Domitiani*, cuius rei meminit *Philostratus*. *Suavitatem quoque et elegantiam sermonis in eo praedicant duo illi, quos dixi, scriptores. Egimus etiam de eo in libro De Historicis antiquis.*]

165¹⁶⁷ 50 04 01 FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N. (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A *Aen Myn Heer Myn Heer Franciscus Junius. a Londen.*

a Nobilissime et clarissime vir, Patruē admodum honorande, Ante aliquot hebdomadas scribere ad te memini de bibliothecis Oxoniensi, Wottoniana, Regia, et, si quae sint venales, aliis emendis.²

e nancisceris: nancis[s > c]eris

as “again, and already about half a year,” and on the basis of this assumed that Junius had interrupted an earlier stay with D’Ewes to learn Frisian in Friesland, 196c; Timmer (1957:143), who followed Haantjes’ translation; Nativel (1996:64n4), who did not find the letter as BL, Hl. 377, f. 190.

¹³ Fabian Philipps (1601–1690), legal writer and filacer, an officer of the superior courts, at the court of common pleas from 1641. A zealous promoter of the royalist cause, he published the pamphlet “King Charles the First no Man of Blood; but a Martyr for his People” in the week following the present letter. He served the Arundel family, and, as Countess Aletheia explained, “was likewise [just as Junius] entrusted by my lord [the earl of Arundel] in following what concerned my lord of Oxford [Aubrey de Vere],” quoted after Hervey (1921:470). Junius dedicated his edition of Vossius’ *Harmoniae evangelicae* (1656) to him with letter 194. Contrary to a note in Hervey, which adduces M.A. Tierney’s suggestion, Philipps was not John Milton’s nephew, cf. Parker (1996, s.v.), 169h^r. Cf. Hervey (1921:470), *DNB* 45.169–70, Breuker (1998:137).

¹⁴ Vossius was to die two months later, on 17 March. No indications were found that Junius went to Holland to support his widowed sister Elizabeth for a while in spring, yet he may have received the tragic news only much later due to his absence in Suffolk, d, and the untrustworthiness and tardiness of the post, 167a, and have crossed to Holland in the summer—or not at all.

e If you find a suitable person through whom to send Worm's *Runes* together with a letter to me, you must send it to Mr. Fabian Phillips, etc. Give warmest regards to your best parents on my behalf. Farewell. In haste; in London in the year 1649, 19 January old style [29 Jan.]. Dedicatedly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

f [Claudius Aelianus, whose books *On Animals*, *Varied Histories* and *Tactics* we have, taught rhetorics after Hadrian's time, as Suda said. He wrote an accusation of Gynnid, that is, Domitian, which Philostratus has noted. Those two writers I mentioned also praised the sweetness and grace of language in him. We have also discussed him in the book *On Ancient Historians*.]

165 50 04 01 FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N. (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A *To the gentleman Mr. Francis Junius, in London.*

a Most noble and renowned sir, most honourable Uncle,
I remember to have written to you some weeks ago about buying the libraries of Oxford, Wotton, the king, and any others which may be for sale. Cousin Vossius asked this by order of the right serene queen of the Goths. Now he also wants to know something else,

¹⁵ This section is a copy by Junius from a note by Vossius, as implied by the final line. Claudius Aelian (165/70–230/35) wrote *De proprietatibus animalium*, describing the natural world, and *Varia historia*, containing sketches of human life. The *Tactica*, a manual of warfare, is written by a different Aelianus (1st–2nd c. A.D.). The *Suda* is an encyclopaedia on Greek literature and history compiled in the tenth century, yet Vossius took it to be an author's name. Philostratus "the Athenian" (170–205) discussed Aelian and his accusation of "Gynniss," "womanish man," pseudonym not for Domitian (51–96) but for the Emperor Elagabalus, or Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who had been put to death in 222, in *Lives of the Sophists* 2.31, **195b**. Vossius discussed Aelian in *De historicis Graecis* (1623, 2.11), **47e**, adducing both the Suda and Philostratus, and indicating that he was praised for the sweetness [suavitas] of his style. The discussion of Aelian in the second editions of 1650 and 1651, the former of which was probably and the latter certainly edited by Isaac, is not different from the first edition. Cf. *OCD* (1996:18, 221–22, 491, 1171, 1451), Wright (1921), Rademaker (1981:361).

¹ *o*: UBA, M 92b; address on a cover, UBA M 75 verso, on which letter **167** was also written.

² Franciscus F.N.'s letter to Junius, written in March 1650, is unretrieved. No information on the library of Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford, was found, but Parliament did sequester his estates in 1651. Sir Henry Wotton had bequeathed his library, mostly of manuscripts, to Eton, of which he had been provost. It was not

Petiit id cognatus Vossius iussu serenissimae Gotthorum Reginae.³ Nunc et aliud scire avet, nimirum an aliquo precio comparari possint marmora Arundelliana, ac libri *manuscripti* Arundelliani, Cottoniani, aliique; marmora item Ducis Buckinghamiae ac eius lapides, quae omnia admodum desiderat serenissima Regina, quae laborem tuum, quod addit cognatus, magnifice compensabit, si id efficere possis.⁴ Vellet vero quamprimum eius rei reddi certior. Certum multum me devinxeris, si responso me digneris. Scripsi iam saepius, nec scio, an in perfidas manus inciderint forte infelices literae.⁵

b Amita Vossia iam aedes conduxerat Amisforti; ac post petente, ne Amstelodamo pedem moveret, cognato mutavit sententiam, aliasque item hic Amstelodami conduxit; Amisfortense autem domicilium alii nunc locandum est eius periculo.⁶ Die Dominico proxime elapso ivi exsequias unicae cognatae meae Brunaeae, quae quo morbo obierit,

offered for sale. Soon after Charles I's execution in February 1649, proposals had been forwarded to sell the royal library, but later the Commons had decided to keep it. Patrick Young, who had been discharged at Charles I's death, was reappointed in January 1650, until John Durie was made the new librarian in November. The library was brought under the supervision of Hugh Peters and Bulstrode Whitelocke, **199d**. The possible sale of collections in which Christina might be interested formed the main topic of the next letters, **166a**, **167b-c**, **168a**, **169a-b**, **170a**, **171b**, **172a**. Cf. **167b**, **199d**, *CSPD 1651* (114), *DNB* 58.222-25, 63.51, Birley (1970:26-27), Kemke (1898:xxvi), Browne and Scheele (1957:8), "Durie" (1893).

³ Isaac Vossius, who had stayed in Amsterdam and made a tour of the southern Netherlands after his return from his grand tour in 1644, **143a**, had been invited by Christina of Sweden to come to her court. Having left for Stockholm in December 1648, **164a**, he went into her service first as a teacher of her arts studies, notably Greek, and more and more as librarian, in which position he exerted himself in putting the library in order and finding additions to it from scholars and libraries all over Europe, including his late father's library, **168b**, **170a**, **175a**, **176c**, **177b**. Except for a temporary forced leave in 1652, **181a**, Isaac stayed at Christina's court and followed her to Antwerp after her abdication in 1654, until taking his leave in 1655, **187c**, **188A**. Christina of Sweden (1626-1689), an extravagant royalty with a passionate interest in learning and an extraordinary taste in the arts, assembled a distinguished company of scholars at her court. She was crowned in 1644, but abdicated in 1654, converted to the Roman Catholic church and travelled to Rome, where she befriended four popes. Cf. Callmer (1977:45-57), Blok (1999:253-503), von Platen (1966), Nordenfalk (1966), Callmer (1977), Åkerman (1991).

⁴ Though the celebrated Arundel marbles were much neglected after the death of the earl of Arundel, they were not sold, but presented to Oxford University by Henry Howard in 1667, **56b**, **167b**, **192a**. The library formed by the antiquary Sir Robert Bruce Cotton (1571-1631) was famed throughout Europe both for its extensive collection of manuscripts in many languages, including valuable source material for the study of English history and language, and Greek and Hebrew manuscripts for the furtherance of biblical criticism, and for the readiness with

that is, whether the Arundel marbles and the manuscripts of Arundel, Cotton and others can be purchased for any price; also the duke of Buckingham's marbles and his stones, all of which are deeply desired by the right serene queen, who, as Cousin added, will generously recompense your exertion if you were able to accomplish this. Indeed, he wished to be informed of this as soon as possible. You would really much oblige me if you deemed me worthy of an answer. I have already written more often, and I do not know whether the unfortunate letter[s] ha[s/ve] perhaps fallen in untrustworthy hands.

- b** Aunt Vossius had already rented a house in Amersfoort, but after Cousin's request not to move away from Amsterdam, she changed her mind and also rented another one here in Amsterdam; indeed, the Amersfoort house must now be let to someone else at her own risk. Last Sunday, I went to the funeral of my only cousin de Brune. Of which disease she died will be better explained by Aunt de Brune, whose letter you see here and who deeply desires an answer from

which Cotton gave scholars access to it. Though denied use of its Vitruvius manuscript in the late 1630s, **164b**, Junius was to make fruitful use of its holdings for his Old English studies, **187a**. During the present years, John Selden, the most frequent user of the library, exerted his influence to protect it against sequestration, which was imminent because of the supposed royalism of Sir Thomas Cotton (1594–1662), its present owner. The library passed to his son Sir John Cotton (1621–1701), **214e**, who increased its holdings and presented it to the nation at his death. It is now part of the British Library, London. To avoid the sequestration of the collection of paintings and objects of art which his father had collected, **108c***, George Villiers (1628–1687), second duke of Buckingham, had a large part of it transferred to Antwerp in 1648–49, before fleeing the country himself on account of his involvement in the royalist plot leading to the Second Civil War in the summer of 1648. He was compelled to auction the paintings around the time of the present letter. Though the remainder in England was sold piecemeal by Parliament, his marble statues and antiquities were still in London in November 1650, successfully shipped to Antwerp by his assistants and offered for sale in the summer of 1651. Earlier that year, Buckingham had given permission for the sale of his collection of agates, which had already been transferred to Antwerp together with the paintings, but pawned in the meanwhile. Christina did not buy the statues or agates. Cf. **167b**, **168a**, **169a–b**, *Literature* 1.xxxii–ivn20, Haynes (1975), Tite (1994, esp. 63–64), Wright (1997), McEvansoneya (1996), *DNB* 58.337–46.

⁵ The plural *literae* was used to refer both to a single and to more letters.

⁶ The Vossius family had lived in a spacious house at the *Oudezjyds Achterburgwal* in Amsterdam from 1632, and at Vossius' death, Elizabeth Junius was allowed to stay there for another year. She must have been induced to move to Amersfoort because Maria Junius lived there, **118h**. The new house was at the *Oude Singel*, where Elizabeth and Franciscus F.N. moved mid-May, **166b**. Franciscus F.N. wrote in similar words to Isaac on 50 06 26. Cf. Blok (1999:268, 269n9), Rademaker (1981:252–53, 346).

melius explicabit tibi Amita Brunaea, cuius hic vides literas, quae admodum desiderat quid a te responsi.⁷ Dabis vero veniam mihi, si id a te, quamprimum licuerit, exigam importunior. Plurimum te salutat Amita Vossia, quae pro more suo valetudinaria est, ac saepe magnis cum doloribus conflictatur.⁸ Vale patruae nobilissime, ac me amore tuo °dignari perge.

Dabam raptissime Amstelodami, ipsis kalendis Aprilis stilo Gregoriano MDCL.⁹

Nobilissimi nominis tui observantissimus fratris filius, F.F.N. Iunius.

c Id vero quod scripsi tibi, nulli ut aperias, rogat cognatus.¹⁰

166₁₆₇ 50 04 22 FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N. (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A *Myn Heer Myn Heer Franciscus Junius, te bevrægen in het hoff van Arondell, tot Londen.*

a Nobilissime et clarissime vir,
Nudiustertius a cognato Vossio accepimus literas reditus eius in patriam °indices; fidem is dedit, Patruae admodum honorande, intra mensis spacium se nobis adfore.² Dolere se ait, quod nihil ipsi de bibliothecis, marmoribus Arundellianis, ac Ducis Buckinghamiae lapidibus, aliisque, quae ibi apud vos sunt venales forte, antiquitatibus rescire licuerit, quo depasceret animum avidissimae talium serenissimae Gotthorum °Reginae.³ Non unas ad te ea de re dedi literas, quas tibi traditas dubitare sane liceat, siquidem hactenus nil vidimus ad eas responsi.⁴ Scio, importunior videbor tibi ac immemor observantiae tibi debitae; sed enim iniurius mihi sis, si ita haec inter-

b dignari: dignar[*e* > *i*]

166a indices: [*re* > *in*][*d*[*u* > *i*]*ces* | Reginae: Regin[..*e* > *ae*]

⁷ Johanna de Brune was accordingly buried on 27 March 1650. Johanna Junius' letter to Junius is unretrieved. Junius replied to it, at least initially, through 167e.

⁸ Vossius had died one year earlier, in March 1649, 164e^a.

⁹ On the return from his tour, Franciscus F.N. stayed with Elizabeth Junius, cf. 166b, Blok (1999:335).

¹⁰ This request was to no avail, for the letter had been inspected by officials before Junius received it, 167a.

you. And you must excuse me if I demand you at a rather inconvenient moment to do so as soon as possible. Aunt Vossius, who is sickly as usual and often deeply afflicted by grief, gives you warmest regards. Farewell, most noble Uncle, and continue to deem me worthy of your love.

I wrote in great haste at Amsterdam on the Kalends of April itself, Gregorian style, 1650 [1 Apr.].

Your brother's son, who is most obliged to your most noble name, F.F.N. Junius.

c Cousin asked not to reveal to anyone what I have written to you.

166 50 04 22 FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N. (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A *To the gentleman Mr. Francis Junius, to be asked for at Arundel House, in London.*

a Most noble and renowned sir,

The day before yesterday we received a letter from Cousin Vossius announcing his return to the fatherland; he assured us, most honourable Uncle, to be with us within a month's time. He said he was sorry to have been unable to find out anything about the libraries, the Arundel marbles and the duke of Buckingham's stones and other antiquities which may be for sale there with you in order to nourish the mind of the right serene queen of the Goths, who is most desirous of such objects. About this I wrote you more than one letter, of which one can truly doubt whether they were delivered to you, since we have seen no answer to them yet. I will appear rather troublesome to you, I know, and unmindful of the respect due to you, yet you would be rather unfair to me if you interpreted this

¹ *o*: UBA, M 92e.

² Isaac Vossius' letter to Franciscus F.N. is unretrieved. Isaac Vossius called at Amsterdam on 20 June on his journey from Stockholm to Paris, where he was sent by Christina of Sweden to buy books, cf. Blok (1999:333–34), 170a.

³ On behalf of Isaac and at Christina of Sweden's command, Franciscus F.N. had asked Junius to find out about the possible sale of collections of Englishmen, among which those of Arundel and Buckingham, 165a.

⁴ Letter 165 and one or two unretrieved ones, 165a.

preteris. Nempe qui solus iam parentis loco mihi sis, non minori mihi, quam filiali reverentia coleris. Caeterum ignosces, si molestior videar; neque enim quod agimus, sponte agimus nostra, sed imo serenissimae Reginae iussu, ut confidam plane hac etiam de caussa quid ponderis habituras preces nostras. Multum nos devinxeris, si haec quantocius licuerit, nos edocere non fueris gravatus, ut certiozem reddere serenissimam Reginam possit cognatus simulatque huc venerit. Rogat vero cognatus, ne quisquam alius praeter te haec sciat.⁵

- b** Ego quid agam si quaeras, privatus vivo, ac nihil magis exopto, quam ut publico aliquo munere defungi mihi liceat.⁶ Interim curo, ac curabo dehinc, ut edantur, quae habemus, Vossiana.⁷ Intra binas hebdomadas mutandum erit domicilium, ac totus iam sum in convasandis, quae nostrae curae relinquuntur, scriptis ac schedis.⁸ Forte brevi ad te scribam munus professoris me hic nactum Amstelodami. Serio enim id agimus, ac sperare iam licet, posse hic quid Iunii ac Vossii nomina. Valemus omnes, ac diu ut valeas, rogamus Deum. Dabam raptissime, XXII Aprilis *stilo Gregoriano* MDCL. Nobilissimo nomini tuo °observantissimus, °fr[atris filius F.F.N. Iunius].⁹

165,166 **167** 168 50 04 29 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N.
[AMSTERDAM]¹

- a** °[. . .]issime cognate Iuni,
°Nullae tuae literae hic unquam ad me delatae, praeter illas quibus edoces quid responderi °possit viduae cognati Iohannis.² Accessere

b observantissimus: obser[+ van]tiss[+ imus] (*Sheet torn*) | fratris filius F.F.N. Iunius: fr[+ atris filius F.F.N. Iunius]

167a [. . .]issime: [. . .]issime (*Sheet torn*) | Nullae: [+ Nu]llae | possit: [+ p]ossit

⁵ This request was to no avail, for the letter had been inspected by officials before Junius received it, **167a**.

⁶ Franciscus F.N. became a professor in Groningen only in 1651, his endeavours to be appointed in Amsterdam, cf. below, having apparently proved fruitless, **158a**, **174a**.

⁷ Franciscus F.N. published Vossius, *De quatuor artibus popularibus* (1650), **170d**, but was passed by Elizabeth Junius for the publication of other books of Vossius, **174c**, **175a**. Vossius, *Harmonia evangelica* (1656), was published by Junius, cf. **194**, Rademaker (1981:258n, 373, no. 37).

so. You indeed, who have the place of a father for me now, I cherish with no less than filial respect. Yet excuse me if I appear rather troublesome, for we do not do what we are doing of our own accord, but, on the contrary, by order of the right serene queen, so that I fully trust that our requests will acquire significance also because of this. You would much oblige us if you were not annoyed to inform us about this as soon as possible, so that Cousin could inform the right serene queen as soon as he has arrived here. Still, Cousin prays that nobody else besides you knows of this.

- b** If you ask what I am doing, I live as a private man and desire nothing more than to be allowed to hold an official position. Meanwhile, I see to it, and will see to it in the future, that the Vossiana which we have are published. Within a fortnight we must move house, and I am already wholly busy packing up the writings and sheets which are left to our care. Perhaps I will soon write to you that I have obtained the position of professor here in Amsterdam. For we are seriously working on this, and one may hope now that the names of Vossius and Junius carry any weight here. We are all doing well and pray God that you fare well for a long time. Written in great haste; 22 April, Gregorian style, 1650. [Your brother's son, who is most] obliged to your most noble name, F[F.N. Junius].

167 50 04 29 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N.
[AMSTERDAM]

- a** Most [. . .] Nephew Junius,
No letter of yours was ever delivered to me here, except for the one in which you inform me what could be answered to the widow of kinsman Joannes. Finally, two others arrived, which were brought

⁸ Elizabeth Junius, with whom Franciscus F.N. stayed, had rented a house at the *Oude Singel* in Amsterdam, **165b**, **168c**.

⁹ The text has been reconstructed on the basis of **165b**, **168c** and **170d**.

¹ *d/ca*: UBA, M 75; written on the verso of the cover of letter **165**.

² Franciscus F.N.'s letter to Junius is unretrieved, but it could be the one mentioned in **165b**. Widow or "kinsman Johannes" unidentified; possibly Prudence Greene had attempted to get a share of Vossius' inheritance to which Joannes Vossius might have been entitled. The deceased kinsman was not Johan van den Corput, for he was to die only on 29 September or 1 October, cf. Balen (1677:410–11, 1027).

deinde geminae aliae hesterno die simul ad me perlatae, datae ipsis Kalendis et XXII Aprilis; prius tamen resignatae inspectaeque fuerant apud eos, quibus id negotii dedere Comitiam gentis Anglicanae. Frustra itaque in iis cavebatur ut, quicquid illud erat, clam haberem.³ Sed ad rem.

- b** Gratum est quod nuntias cognatum Vossium propediem in patriam reversurum.⁴ ἔξεχ' ὦ φίλ' ἤλιε.⁵ Miror interim unde tam prodigiosae rumororum novitates proruperint atque in exteris nationibus usque ad ultimas terras pervagatae sint, etiam Suecorum tenus.⁶ Incesserat et hic apud nos quandoque fama, Regiam bibliothecam in pecuniam redigendam; caeterum is rumor subito extinctus est, posteaquam publice innotuit Comitiam bibliothecae istius securitati custodiaeque intensissima cura prospectum velle.⁷ De Cottonianis monumentis quae feruntur, nequidem verisimilia, nedum vera sunt.⁸ Ad Arundellianas vero antiquitates quod attinet, usque adeo ab earum venditione abhorret Arundelliae Comes, ut novos potius faciat sumtus in augendis cimeliis a patre congestis, quam ut quicquam de istis familiae suae ornamentis deperire patiatur.⁹ De Regiis marmoribus nihil adhuc statuerunt Comitiam; si quid forte statuent, faciam vos quamprimum certiores.¹⁰
- c** Dominus Gravius etiamnum hodie certiozem me fecit venales esse apud quendam bibliopolam quinque aut sex optimae notae manuscriptos Arabicos et Graecos.¹¹ Addebat subinde nunc, post has tur-

b rumorum: [- *fē*] rumorum | Arundelliae: [- *Comes*] Arundelliae | **c** Addebat: [.. > Addebat]

³ Cf. **165c**, **166a**.

⁴ Isaac Vossius came to Amsterdam in June for a few days only, **166a**.

⁵ Aristophanes, *Fragmenta* 389, **28c**.

⁶ On behalf of Vossius and at Christina of Sweden's command, Franciscus F.N. had asked Junius to find out about the possible sale of collections of Englishmen, **165a**.

⁷ The Commons had decided to keep the king's library, **165a**.

⁸ The Cottonian library was protected from sequestration by John Selden, **165a**.

⁹ Henry Frederick Howard, third earl of Arundel, had succeeded the earl of Arundel. Cf. **165a**.

¹⁰ Many of the royal sculptures, including the famous Mantuan collection, were indeed to be sold by Parliament in these years, yet many of them were returned at the Restoration, cf. **169a**, Howarth (1989, esp. 106–08).

¹¹ John Greaves (1602–1652), mathematician, Orientalist and former Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford. When a professor of geometry at London Gresham College, from 1630, he had gone to see Jacob Golius in Leiden and made an extensive tour, partly together with his friend Edward Pococke, visiting Rome, Constantinople and Alexandria and collecting Greek and Oriental manuscripts—also for William

to me together yesterday, written on the Kalends [1 Apr.] and on 22 April; but they had first been opened and examined by those to whom the English Commonwealth has assigned this task. So in them I was warned to no avail to keep whatever it was secret. But down to business.

- b** It is pleasing that you announce that Nephew Vossius will soon return to his fatherland. *Shine out, fair sun*. Meanwhile, I wonder from where such strange, novel rumours have burst out and spread in foreign countries until the end of the world, even as far as Sweden. Now and then the rumour that the royal library must be converted into money has circulated here with us too, but this rumour was abruptly squashed after it became officially known that the Commonwealth wants provisions to be made for the safety and keeping of this library with the utmost care. What they are saying about Cotton's documents is not even likely and much less true. Concerning Arundel's antiquities, the earl of Arundel is so disinclined to selling them, that he rather makes new expenses to increase the treasures his father collected than allows anything of those ornaments of his family to be lost. The Commonwealth have decided nothing yet about the royal marbles; if they perhaps decide anything, I will inform you as soon as possible.
- c** Mr. Greaves has informed me even today that five or six Arabic and Greek manuscripts of excellent quality are for sale at a bookseller. He added that just now at present, after the calamities of this

Laud—gems and curiosities, from 1637 until 1640. Probably in Rome in the early summer of 1636, William Petty had tried to make him his companion in the service of the earl of Arundel. In 1643 he was appointed Savilian professor of astronomy in Oxford, but ejected from his position and from his fellowship of Merton College by Parliament in 1648, upon which he retired to London. Throughout his life he studied western and oriental authorities on astronomy, geography and mathematics and published editions of geographical and astronomical works and tables, cf. below, and a book on Persian. At his death, many of his scientific Arabic and Persian manuscripts were acquired by his friend John Selden. Other friends Greaves and Junius had in common were James Ussher, Gerard Langbaine, and Sir John Marsham (1602–1685), **181b**. The manuscripts were for sale with Cornelius Bee, a bookseller and publisher at the sign of the King's Arms in Little Britain, London, active from 1634 until his death in 1672, **171b**. According to the title pages, copies of Greaves' *Elementa linguae Persicae* (1649), *Epochae celebriores* (1650), and *Astronomica* (1652) were for sale at Bee. The reservation and acquisition of the manuscripts for Christina are a topic in the next letters, **168a**, **169a**, **170a**, **171b**, **172a**. The Arabic manuscripts in Christina's collection now in the Vatican Library are most likely not the ones bought in England. Cf. Toomer (1996:130, 127–42, 148–55, 167–79), *DNB* 23.38–39, Birch (1737), Pollard and Redgrave 3.17, Levi della Vida (1939:436–39).

bati regni calamitates, praesenti pecunia redimi posse multa, quae felicioribus temporibus °aegre quis valeat magno aere comparare.¹² °Idem *Dominus* Gravius molitur nunc editionem EPOCHARUM ex traditione Ulug Beigi, Abulfedae tabulas Geographicas, quas (nisi forte aliter videbitur cognato Vossio) libens inscriberet augustissimae Gotthorum Reginae.¹³

d Armachanus, accepto nuntio de °cognati nostri reditu, sedulo °rogat ut in meis ad cognatum Vossium literis °mentionem aliquam °iniicerem schedarum ad Vossium patrem iam olim transmissarum; continebant eae °notulas in Marianum Scotum.¹⁴ Nescio an ipse nunc °historiae illius editionem moliatur; °proinde nihil magno viro gratius obtinget, quam ut °cognatus optimo viro schedas hasce restituat.

e Totum fere diem impendi amicis ex quibus commodissime °sciscitaturus videbar num quae uspiam antiquitates venales hic essent. Nunc advesperascit, et duo circiter passuum millia conficienda sunt ut litteras hasce tabellario tradam. Quum itaque nunc nequeam gravissimum animi mei dolorem testari literis ad sororem Brunaeam datis, in proximam occasionem differendum est illud fraterni animi officium.¹⁵ Plurimam meis verbis salutem dic sorori Vossiae, et suavissime vale, mi cognate.

Dabam raptim Londinii, anno 1650, 19 *Aprilis*.
Tibi addictissimus.

f Cum litteras hasce complicare atque obsignare pararem, oportune intervenit *Dominus* Patricius Iunius, qui grate prorsus accepit quae ei de cognati nostri reditu ex tuis literis referebam; et quemadmodum

c aegre: [- magno aere vix] aegre | Idem: [- Utinam] Idem | **d** cognati: cognat[*o* > *i*] | rogat: [- de . . . p urget ut moneam eum urget urgere non destitit] rogat | mentionem: [- causam ipsius agam] mentionem | iniicerem: \iniicerem/ | notulas: [- nota] notulas | historiae: [- statuerit historiam illam] historiae | proinde: [- quicquid] proinde | cognatus: [- eas illi] cognatus | **e** sciscitaturus: scissitaturus

¹² Prices of rare manuscripts and other valuables must have been lower than otherwise in the first years of the Commonwealth, because of the forced sale of such goods by royalist nobility, **165a**°.

¹³ John Greaves, *Epochae celebriores, astronomicis, historicis, chronologicis . . . ex traditione Ulug Beigi*, to which was subjoined *Chorasmiae et Mawaralnahrae . . . ex tabulis Abulfedis* (London, 1650). Already in 1638, Greaves had expressed his intention to publish “Abulfeda [Ismael Abū 'l-Fidā], the Arab geographer and historian (1273–1331) his Geography in Arabick, and Ulug Beg [the Tartar prince and astronomer

kingdom in disarray, much can be bought in ready money that one can hardly purchase for a great sum in happier times. The same Mr. Greaves is now working on an edition of the *Epochs* after Ulug Beg's tradition and on Abulfeda's *Geographic Maps*, which he would like to dedicate to the most majestic queen of the Goths (unless Nephew Vossius perhaps thinks otherwise).

d On hearing the news of Nephew's return, Armagh urgently asked of me to make mention in my letter to Nephew Vossius of notes sent to Father Vossius already long ago; they contained annotations on Marianus Scotus. I do not know whether he is working on an edition of that history now; accordingly, nothing more pleasing will happen to the great lord than that Nephew returns these notes to the best lord.

e I have devoted almost all day to friends whom I thought I could most appropriately ask whether any antiquities were for sale anywhere here; now it is getting night and I must cover about two miles to deliver this letter to the courier. So, since I cannot express my deepest heartfelt grief in a letter written to Sister de Brune now, this obligation of a brother's heart must be postponed until the next occasion. Give warmest regards to Sister Vossius on my behalf and fare well most sweetly, my nephew.

I wrote in haste in London in the year 1650, 19 April.

Dedicately Yours.

f When I prepared to fold and seal up this letter, Mr. Patrick Young conveniently interrupted, who heard with real pleasure what I told him about Nephew's return from your letter; and just as he insisted on asking of you to congratulate Nephew on his return on his behalf

(1394–1449] his canons and Astronomical tables in Persian," quoted after Toomer (1996:136), but decided to publish from Abū 'l-Fidā' excerpts only. Since no answer came from Isaac, **168b**, **172b**, Greaves finally dedicated his *Ulug Beg* to the Republic of the Veneto, and his *Abū 'l-Fidā'* to James Ussher. No copies of Junius found in UBL. Cf. Toomer (1996:136, 141, 172–74).

¹⁴ James Ussher, Primate of Ireland, had sent Vossius notes on Marianus Scotus' Universal History in 1631, **70b**, **168b**. Isaac had met him in London in 1641, **143a**.

¹⁵ Junius wished to sympathise with Johanna Junius on Johanna de Brune's death, **165b**.

non destitit rogare ut °suo quoque nomine cognato reditum gratulareris, ita unice optat ut °cognatus Vossius vel tu ipse Domino Tollio plurimam °salutem dicas; habere se multa quae mire °possint esse usui in apparanda editione Phurnuti; potuisse quoque multa suppeditare quae editioni Palaephati magnam attulissent °lucem, si *Dominus* Tollius pretium operae putabit °etc.¹⁶

¹⁶⁷ 168₁₆₉ 50 05 10 FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N. (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)¹

A Nobilissimo, clarissimo et doctissimo viro, *Domino* Francisco Iunio F.F., Londinum.

a Nobilissime et clarissime vir, Patruē multum mihi honorande, Legi ac relegi saepius literas tuas propensissimi in me affectus indices; atque vel eo etiam gratiores, quod significes, quid serenissimae Reginae de bibliothecis ac antiquitatibus quae apud vos venales esse dicebantur, nunciari possit.² Caeterum de marmoribus Ducis Buckinghamiae nihil in tuis, forte quod idem dicendum de iis fuerat quod de caeteris.³ *Manuscriptos* vero Arabicos et Graecos quod attinet, quos apud bibliopolam quendam prostare dixit *Dominus* Gravius, quaeso, ne ab alio quoquam emi patiaris, siquidem non possint non esse gratissimi.⁴

f suo quoque: [*ipsius* > suo quoque] | cognatus: [- *aut*] cognatus | salutem: [- *eius verbis*] salutem | possint: poss[e > i]nt | lucem: [- *sed*] lucem | etc: [- *ad eum*] etc

¹⁶ Patrick Young had met Isaac in London in 1641, **143a**. A former student and amanuensis of Vossius, Cornelis Tollius (1628–1654) had befriended Isaac in Amsterdam, before he became professor of history and Greek at Harderwijk in 1648. In 1654 he became professor of history and geography. Tollius published an edition of Palaephatos, *De incredibilibus* (Amsterdam, 1649), the excerpt by the Greek mythographer Palaephatos (fl. 4th c. B.C.?), with many new readings from a transcript which Claudius Salmasius had supplied “ex veteri libro Londinensi” [from an ancient London book], Tollius, “Epistola lectori” (1949:[*11–*11v]). Tollius also intended to prepare a new edition of Phornutus, or Annaeus Cornutus (1st c. A.D.), *De natura deorum*, in which the Stoic Cornutus derived philosophical insights from myths by means of etymology and allegory, for Salmasius had likewise given him a transcript of it from the same source, cf. Tollius, *ibidem*. Being notified of what Junius wrote here, Tollius expressed his pleasure to Young in a letter dated 50 05 01/10, “nuper cum amici significarent, me ac Phurnutum meum esse tibi curae”

too, he also especially wished Nephew Vossius or you yourself to give his warmest regards to Mr. Tollius; that he has much material which could wonderfully be of use to the forthcoming edition of Phurnutus; that he could also have furnished much material which would cast a bright light on the edition of Palaephatius, if Mr. Tollius considers it worthwhile to [write] to him, etc.

168 50 05 10 FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N. (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS (LONDON)

A To the most noble, renowned and learned gentleman Mr. Francis Junius F.F., London.

a Most noble and renowned sir, Uncle to be greatly honoured by me,

I have rather often read and reread your letter, token of your most exceptional affection for me, and it was even also quite welcome because you indicate what can be reported to the right serene queen concerning the libraries and antiquities which were said to be for sale with you. Indeed, there was nothing in your letter about the duke of Buckingham's marbles, possibly because the same must be said about them as about the rest. Yet, concerning the Arabic and Greek manuscripts which Mr. Greaves said to be for sale at a bookseller, I ask of you not to have them be bought by someone else, since they can only be most welcome. If merchant Hoofstede had not recently returned to me the pounds I had given to him to be

[when friends recently intimated to me that you have a concern for me and my Phurnutus], Kemke (1898:113, no. 184). He was interested in Young's material, but the edition was never published, **168b**, **169f**, **171c**. The ancient London book is unidentified; whether Young's material derived from the same source was not found. Cf. *NBW* 5.949, Blok (1999, s.v. Tollius), *OCD* (1996:94, 1099), Kemke (1898:109, no. 178).

¹ *σ*: UBA, M 92c. Letter **169** was written on the inside of the sheet.

² On behalf of Isaac Vossius and at Christina of Sweden's command, Franciscus F.N. had asked Junius to find out about the possible sale of collections of Englishmen, **165a**.

³ On the sale of the duke of Buckingham's statues, **165a**.

⁴ John Greaves had noticed the manuscripts with his bookseller Cornelius Bee, **167c**.

Nisi mercator °Hoefeldius nuper mihi liberas, quas ei dederam per fratrem Londini habitantem ad te curandas, retulisset, quia Londino discessisset ille, iam rogassem eum, ut nummos quibus comparandi erunt, per alium negotiorum suorum gestorem tibi annumerari iuberet.⁵ Sed et tu possis Londinensem aliquem convenire, cuius socio hic °refundamus rursum quae expenderis.

b Iam ea de re ad cognatum Vossium perscripsi, °atque de caeteris quae scribi petierunt °reverendissimus Armachanus et *Dominus* Graevius, nec dubius sum, °quin brevi responsum vel dicturus sit °praesens, vel nobis °perscripturus.⁶ Sed et ante reverendissimi Usserii nomine me convenit hic pastor ecclesiae Anglicanae,⁷ at postquam iam Vossiana omnia in Sueciam misissem, quibuscum et has summi viri in Marianum Scotum observantiunculas iunxeram, ignarus plane alterius esse eas, quam Vossii.⁸ Mitto tibi *Domini* Tollii ad te ac *Dominum* Patricium Iunium literas.⁹ Possis ea quaecunque clarissimus Iunius dederit cum *manuscriptis* per mercatorem Londinensem tutissime ad me curare.

c Hac ipsa hebdomada mutavimus domicilium, ac multum sane devinxit optimam amitam Vossiam, optima itidem amita Brunaea.¹⁰ Plurimam salutem utraque tibi adscribi iussit. Haec forte Haga Amisfortum transferet domicilium, sororem Naeranam, infirmam iam admodum, adiutura quandocunque res exiget. Itaque °doceri avet, °quorsum libros °tuos transferri velis.¹¹ Possis hunc in modum inscribere literas, “*ten huijse van Juffrouw Vossius woonende op de oude cingel °aen het nieuwe marckt tegens de berrende steeg °over.*”¹²

Amstelodami, X Maii stilo Gregoriano MDCL.

Nobilissimo nomini tuo °addictissimus fratris tui filius, F.F.N. Iunius.

a Hoefeldius: Hoef[t > d]ius | refundamus: [- annu] refundamus | **b** atque: a[+ tque] (*Sheet torn*) | reverendissimus: reverendissi[+ mus] | quin: qu[+ in] | praesens: \praesens/ | perscripturus: perscrip[+ tu]rus | **c** doceri: doce[+ ri] | quorsum: qu[id sum > orsum] | tuos: tu[i > o]s | *aen*: a[+ en] | *over*: ove[+ r] | addictissimus: add[+ ictissi]mus

⁵ The money had presumably been handed to either Pieter Willemsz or Jacob Willemsz Hooft to be transferred to their brother in London Willem Willemsz Hooft. Where the latter had gone was not found.

⁶ Franciscus F.N.'s letter to Isaac is unretrieved. James Ussher, Primate of Ireland, requested back his notes on Marianus Scotus, **167d**, and John Greaves wished to dedicate his *Epochae celeberrimes* (1650) to Christina, **167c**.

⁷ Richard Maden or William Price (d. 1666), who were both ministers of the English Reformed Church in Amsterdam in 1650, serving the church from 1647 until 1658 and from 1648 until 1659, respectively, cf. Sprunger (1982:122).

transferred to you through his brother who lives in London, because the latter had left London, I would already have asked of him to have the money with which they must be paid be counted out to you through another manager of his business. But you could also find a Londoner to whose associate here we will refund again what you spend.

b I have already written about this to Cousin Vossius, as well as about the rest, which the right reverend Armagh and Mr. Greaves asked to be written, and am sure that soon he will either tell an answer when he is here or write it. Indeed, also beforehand, a minister of the English Church here came to me on the right reverend Ussher's behalf, yet after I had already sent all Vossiana to Sweden, to which I had also added the excellent lord's annotations on Marianus Scotus, truly unaware that they were anyone else's than Vossius'. I am sending you Mr. Tollius' letters to you and Mr. Patrick Young. You could transfer whatever the widely renowned Young will give, together with the manuscripts, most safely through a London merchant to me.

c This very week we have moved house and my excellent aunt de Brune has really much obliged my equally excellent aunt Vossius. They both told me to give warmest regards to you. The former will perhaps move house from The Hague to Amersfoort to support Sister Naeranus, who is quite weak now, whenever need be. So she wants to know to where you want your books to be moved. You could address letters in this way, "*At the house of Mrs. Vossius, residing at the Oude Singel at the Nieuwmarkt opposite the Berrende Steeg.*" Amsterdam, 10 May, Gregorian style, 1650.
Your brother's son, who is deeply devoted to your most noble name, F.F.N. Junius.

⁸ Isaac had sold Vossius' library to Christina for 20,000 guilders in the summer of 1649. Elizabeth Junius and Franciscus F.N. had catalogued, packed and shipped the collection to Stockholm in August. Cf. Rademaker (1981:345), Blok (1999:277).

⁹ Cornelis Tollius' letter to Junius is unretrieved. It was probably a letter of thanks for Junius' mediation between Tollius and Patrick Young, who was willing to provide Tollius with material for his intended edition of Cornutus and additional material for Palaephatus, **167f**. Tollius' letter to Young was dated 50 05 1/11, cf. Kemke (1898:113, no. 184).

¹⁰ Elizabeth Junius and Franciscus F.N. moved to a house at the *Oude Singel*, cf. **165b**, below. Johanna Junius may have stayed with them since her daughter's death in March, **165b**.

¹¹ This indicates that at least part of Junius' books were with Johanna Junius at the time.

¹² Presumably the present-day *Barndesteeg*.

¹⁶⁸ 169₀ 50 [05 00] JUNIUS (LONDON) TO FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N.
[AMSTERDAM]¹

- a** Dulcissime cognate,
Ferreus et in paternam °familiam iniquissimus essem, si te, mei obser-
vantissimum et familia nostra dignissimum, non amarem carumque
imprimis haberem. Quamobrem quoque credas velim, tantum apud
me valere certam deliberatamque animi inductionem et meum erga
te amorem, ut quae tibi utilia esse et quae te velle cognovero, ea
mihi posthac omnia iam et recta et vera videantur.² Impresensiarum
autem huius meae voluntatis nullum maius certiusque testimonium
praebere tibi possum, quam ut prioris epistolae fidem °paratissime
exolvam.³ Quemadmodum vero nefas mihi sit deesse magnis maximae
Reginae conatibus, ita non destitit *Domimus* Gravius meo rogatu a
bibliopola petere ne quid de *manuscriptis* Arabicis et Graecis venum-
dandis °statuat, usque dum constet numquid eos emere velint aliqui
in transmarinis partibus agentes.⁴ Spem itaque fecit bibliopola non
temere, nisi nobis prius consultis, venditurum. Numismata Bucking-
hamiana dicuntur Antwerpianam transmissa, atque ibi expectare emto-
rem.⁵ De Regiis Buckinghamianisque marmoribus vendendis iam
nunc quam maxime dicuntur cogitare *Ordines* gentis Anglicanae;⁶
simulac °vero constabit quid moliantur, manibus pedibusque obnix
omnia faciam quae excelsum illud serenissimae Reginae desiderium
explere valeant.
- b** °Restat aliud °optatum negotium, nobis iam nunc in sinum °veluti
delatum,⁷ °quod vestra interest scire. Dies circiter viginti sunt, °aut
plus eo, quod hic apud nos e vivis excessit eques Simondsus d'Ewes,
relicto ingenti Graecorum Romanorumque numismatum thesauro,

a familiam: [- *familiam paternam*] familiam | paratissime: [- *exolvam*] paratissime
| statuat: statu[- *erat erat, ere velit, ut*]at | vero: \vero/ | **b** Restat: [- *Elap*] Restat
| optatum: [- *adhu*] optatum | veluti: [- *de*] veluti | quod: \[- *Ni*]/ quod | aut:
[- *qu*] aut

¹ *ca.*: UBA, M 92c verso, on the inside of letter 168. Written mid May 1650, because it announces Sir Simonds D'Ewes' death, which was on 8/18 April 1650, as having occurred about twenty or more days earlier. Replied by an unretrieved letter, 170a.

² Cicero, *Epistulae ad familiares* 1.8.2.8–11, “tantum enim animi inductio et mehercule amor erga Pompeium apud me valet ut, quae illi utilia sunt et quae ille vult, ea mihi omnia iam et recta et vera videantur.”

169 50 [05 00] JUNIUS (LONDON) TO FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N.
[AMSTERDAM]

a Sweetest Nephew,

I would be of steel and most unfair to my ancestral family, if I did not love you and hold you particularly dear, who are most obliging to me and most worthy of our family. I accordingly also want you to believe that the genuine and definite inclination of my heart and my love for you count so much to me, that what I understand to be useful to you and wanted by you appears both fair and true for me too from now on. For the present, however, I can offer you no greater and more convincing proof of my disposition than to fulfil most readily the promise of my previous letter. Yet, just as it were a sin for me to fail the supreme queen's great ventures, likewise Mr. Greaves, at my request, made sure to ask the bookseller not to decide anything about selling the Arabic and Greek manuscripts, until it is definite whether any people living overseas wish to buy them. So the bookseller promised not to sell them casually, unless after consulting us first. Buckingham's coins are said to have been sent to Antwerp and to await a buyer there. The English Commonwealth is said just now seriously to consider selling the king's and Buckingham's marbles, and as soon as it is definite what it intends to do, with hand and foot I will strenuously do all that can fulfil the right serene queen's excellent desire.

b There remains another desirable affair, which has just now fallen on our lap, so to speak, which is relevant for you to know. About twenty or more days ago, sir Simonds D'Ewes departed from life here with us, leaving an enormous treasure of Greek and Roman coins, which he had collected over many years now with no less

³ On behalf of Isaac Vossius and at Christina of Sweden's command, Franciscus F.N. had asked Junius to find out about the possible sale of collections of Englishmen, **165a**.

⁴ John Greaves had noticed the manuscripts with his bookseller Cornelius Bee, **167c**.

⁵ No particular information was found on the coin collection of George Villiers, second duke of Buckingham, but cf. **165a**.

⁶ The royal marbles were indeed to be sold, **167b**. Buckingham's statues were still in London in November, and then transferred to Antwerp by Buckingham's assistants, **165a**.

⁷ Cicero, *In Verrem* 1.131, "optatum negotium sibi in sinum delatum esse dicebat."

multis iam annis °non minori sumtu quam labore a se congesto.⁸ Hanc raram exquisitissimorum numismatum congeriem dicuntur venditare qui tutelam liberorum eius susceperunt. Quo ego intellecto, °citatim percurro ad familiam in qua menses aliquot °antehac, studiorum caussa, cum isthoc °equite transegeram.⁹ Sciscitor numquid vana sit fama in vulgus edita. Addo °in Britannia forte (prout nunc sunt tempora) emtorem non posse inveniri, nosse me tamen in partibus transmarinis qui id genus κειμήλια iusto pretio °parati sint redimere. Quibus temere veluti effusis, verbum ultra non addidi; tentaturus an ipsi hoc meo quasi fortuito sermone inducti °postmodo sua sponte emtorem quaerent. Spero confore. Non deest interim unus atque alter, qui in isthac familia °commodis nostris clanculum, si res postulabit, sit invigilaturus.

c Vides °itaque necesse fore ut cognatus Vossius e Suecia reversus per mercatorem Amstelodamensem qui commercia cum Londiniensibus exercet, mercatorem hic Londinii designet, qui pretium pro *manuscriptis*, marmoribus, numismatis denique (si forte res ista commode ceciderit) persolvat, simulac de pretio convenerit atque ea quae emta erunt curae eius committentur.¹⁰ Nos in aestimandis rebus istis utemur opera Domini Patricii Iunii, Domini Gravii, aliorum. Curabimus enim, quanti aequum est, emanatur; ita enim delectabit emisse. Nam mala emtio °(ut verbis Plinii iunioris utar) semper ingrata est; eo maxime, quod exprobrare stultitiam emtori videtur, nisi tam salubriter emerit, ut poenitentiae locum non °relinquat.¹¹ Sed quanto mihi optatius foret ipsum cognatum e Suecia reducem in Britanniam excurrere! Non poeniteret illum, °scio, itineris aestivo tempore minus molesti. Nam omnia per ipsum tutius °hic commodiusque transigi possent, reverendo Armachano, Domino Seldeno, Domino Patr. Iunio,

b non: [- *eg*] non | citatim: [- [*pri.pim*]] citatim | antehac: [*cum isthoc equite* > antehac] | equite: [- *ego*] equite | in: [- *B*] in | parati: [- *velint emere*] parati | postmodo: [- *haec de*] postmodo | commodis nostris: [*negotio nostro* > commodis nostris] | c itaque: [. . . > itaque] | (ut . . . utar): \ (ut verbis Plinii iunioris utar) / | relinquat: relinquat | scio: [- *itineris*] scio | hic: \hic/

⁸ Sir Simonds D'Ewes had died on 8/18 April, cf. Watson (1966:7). He had been a respected numismatist with a considerable collection including "numismatis aureis argenteis aeneis Graecis Romanis Britannicis Anglo-Saxonicis Normanno-Anglicis" [gold, silver, copper Greek, Roman, British, Anglo-Saxon, Norman-English coins], cf. D'Ewes to Daniel Heinsius, 40 10 09, UBL, BPL 1920. He had ordered his Roman and Greek coins to be sold after his death. Christina seems not to have bought them, 170a. Cf. Watson (1966:13-15).

expense than trouble. The people who have accepted the care of his children are said to offer this exceptional pile of most exquisite coins for sale. On hearing this, I hastily rushed to the family with whom I had previously stayed together with this knight for studies for several months. I inquired whether the rumour that was being divulged was groundless. I added that perhaps no buyer can be found in England (according as the times are now), but that I knew people overseas who were prepared to buy such *valuables* for a reasonable price. Having casually blurted this out, so to speak, I did not add another word, and I will see whether, inspired by my quasi-casual talk, they now seek a buyer of their own accord. I hope it will work. Meanwhile, there is someone who will secretly see to our interests in that family, if need be.

- c So you see that on his return from Sweden, Nephew Vossius must appoint a merchant here in London, through an Amsterdam merchant who does business with London, to pay the price for the manuscripts, marbles and, finally, coins (if this affair maybe turns out favourably) as soon as a price has been agreed on and what will be bought has been entrusted to his care. We will make use of the assistance of Mr. Patrick Young, Mr. Greaves and others in estimating these objects. For we will let them be bought for as much as is reasonable, for in that way it will be a pleasure to have bought them. For a bad purchase (to use Pliny the Younger's words) is always unwelcome, all the more so, because it seems to accuse the buyer of folly if he has not bought so profitably, that there is no room for regret. But how much more pleasing it were to me if Nephew himself rushed to England on his return from Sweden! He would not regret, I know, an easy trip in the summer time. For everything can be settled more safely and conveniently here through him, because the reverend Armagh, Mr. Selden, Mr. Patrick Young, Mr. Greaves

⁹ Junius had stayed with D'Ewes for months on end in 1649, as well as in 1648, **164d**.

¹⁰ Isaac had announced his return to Holland in June, **166a**. He appointed the merchants Johannes de Wicquefort and Jean de Teuillers to deal with the sales, **170a, 171b**.

¹¹ Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae* 1.24.2.1–3.1, “rogo cures, quanti aequum est emat; ita enim delectabit emisse. Nam mala emptio semper ingrata, eo maxime quod exprobare stultitiam domino videtur;” 1.24.4.7–8, “tam salubriter emerit ut paenitentiae locum non relinquat.”

Domino Gravio, aliisque prono favore desideria eius certatim prosequentibus.¹² Quod si continget, ego me certe tanti beneficii gratiam Deo immortalī debere putabo.¹³

d Ingenue interim fatebor, quod et alia quaedam peculiaris causa movet me °ut istiusmodi mihi votum proponam. Totus nunc in eo sum ut prima quaque °occasione, Deo *optimo maximo* conatibus meis adspirante, praelo subiiciam etymologicum, in quo chiliades aliquot vocum Teutonicarum ad Graecas origines refero;¹⁴ originum ratione plerumque petita ex veteribus °Franco-Celticae, Anglo-Saxonicae, Gothicaeque linguae monumentis; ea enim plerumque est Francicae, Anglo-Saxonicae, praecipue tamen omnium antiquissimae Geticae linguae orthographia, ut me talibus intentum °quadam °veluti manu ad ipsos Graecae originis fontes perducat.¹⁵ Iuxta mecum perspexisti

d ut: [- *ut*] ut | occasione: occasione [- *ut prima quaque ut prima quaque occasione*] | Franco-Celticae: [- *Francicae*] Franco-Celticae | quadam: [- *veluti*] quadam | veluti: [- *manu*] veluti

¹² James Ussher, Primate of Ireland, John Selden, and Patrick Young. The list indicates both with whom Junius had contact at the time, and that he was seriously doing his best for Christina.

¹³ For this paraphrase of Cicero, cf. **32a**.

¹⁴ The compilation of an etymological dictionary of Dutch, or “Teutonic,” appears to have been the first project of Junius’ Germanic studies and his motive to concern himself with the Germanic languages and their older stages, which were to occupy him for the rest of his life, **164c**. He had probably been inspired to write the dictionary by the contemporary discourse on the prestige and the purity of the mother tongue in the Low Countries, by Vossius’ study of Germanic loanwords in Latin in *De vitis sermonis* (1645), but most of all by the deplorable re-edition of Cornelis Kiliaan’s acclaimed Dutch–Latin dictionary, *Kilianus auctus* (1642), **189e**. Junius’ “Etymologicum teutonicum” seems to have been almost finished at the time of the present letter, and was appraised by Johannes Fredericus Gronovius after Junius’ return to the Low Countries in 1651, **176a**. Nevertheless, it had already been dispersed into loose notes, presumably by Junius’ own doing, in the mid-1650s. In his *Observationes* (1655:294), **188c**, he referred to it as “disiectas originum nostrarum schedas” [the dispersed notes on the origins of our (words)], and explained (1655:297) that he had given quotations from it “non eo . . . quod alicuius momenti sint, sed ut Philoteutones etiam ex his discant ‘quid distent aera lupinis,’ desinantque porro mirari cur longe maximam etymologiarum nostrarum partem, quam antehac publici iuris videbar facturus, nunc vel in nonum annum ex Horatii sententia premendam putem” [not because they are of any value, but so that the Lovers of Teutonic also notice from them “what distinguishes real from counterfeit money,” and cease to wonder any further why I believe that by far the greatest part of our etymologies, which I formerly appeared about to publish, must still be suppressed for nine years now, in accordance with Horace’s saying]. Erasmus, *Adage* 279, “quid distent aera lupinis,” cf. *CWE* 30; Horace, *De arte poetica* 388, “nonumque prematur in annum.” With the term “Teutonic,” Junius seems to have referred to the Dutch

and others emulously honour his wishes with ready goodwill. If it happens, I will sincerely believe to owe gratitude to eternal God for such a great favour.

- d Meanwhile, I will frankly acknowledge that also another particular reason moves me to express such a wish. I am now wholly applying myself to submitting to the press at the first possible opportunity, if only Allgood and Almighty God blesses my exertions, an etymological dictionary, in which I have brought back several thousands of Dutch words to their Greek origins, having mostly sought the reasoning for the origins from ancient documents in the Franco-Celtic, Anglo-Saxon and Gothic languages, for the orthography of the Franconian, the Anglo-Saxon, but especially the Getish language, the most ancient of all, is mostly such, that it leads me, since I am attentive to such matters, by the hand, so to speak, to the very sources of a Greek origin. Just as I, you have noticed Nephew Vossius' sharp judgement on such matters, and I even think that greater assistance

language, including Frisian and its earlier stages, but further research on his exact use of the term is needed. Junius' presentation of his dictionary in this section suggests that he had not yet mentioned it to Franciscus F.N. This might indicate that Junius had not gone to his sister Elizabeth and Franciscus F.N. after Vossius' death in 1649, when they could have discussed their respective studies. Cf. below, van Romburgh (2001), Breuker (1991:52; 1998:142), Dekker (1999:259), Claes (1970:289–92), Dibbets (1992:21–22).

¹⁵ This reveals Junius' initial approach to Germanic philology, that is, to trace Germanic words back to Greek. In doing so, he followed Hadrianus Junius and Ole Worm. With his acquisition of Frankish and Gothic material, he developed a comparative approach instead, **187a**. Dissatisfaction with his Greek-oriented method may have been the principal cause of Junius' displeasure with the "Etymologicum teutonicum." Gronovius had his doubts about Junius giving all Greek origins for Dutch words, **176a**. With the term "Francica" Junius referred to Old High German. Text examples he must have known at the time include Otfrid, from Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Otfridi evangeliorum liber* (1571), **203d**, Tatian from Bonaventura Vulcanius, *De literis* (1597), **173a**, **203b**, Willeram, from Paulus Merula, *Willeramus* (1598), **188c**, Melchior Goldast, *Alamannicarum rerum scriptores* (1606), and Marquard Freher, **187a**. With the term "Gothic" Junius seems to have meant, at least partly, Old Norse, as he later explained, "ipse olim confundebam Gothica cum Cimbricis, usque dum ex argentei codicis frequentiore lectione didici plurimum a vetere Gothico discrepare dialectum Cimbricam" [I myself formerly confused Gothic with Cimbric, until I learnt from repeated reading of the *Codex argenteus* that the Cimbric dialect differs greatly from ancient Gothic], *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. OWNDIE), **188a**. In so doing, he followed Ole Worm, who had associated Cimbric and Gothic in *Runer* (1636), **164c**, and Vulcanius, *De literis*, in which the first excerpts from the Gothic Gospels were printed in Gothic letters, and alphabets called "Gothic" were in fact runes (1597:43–47), **173a**. Compared with the little Gothic published at the time, **173**, the Old Norse in Worm's publications, **164c**, was more copious and therefore much more likely to be capable of providing evidence for the etymologies

acre cognati Vossii in talibus iudicium; ac mihi quidem nunc maiora ex eo ad hanc nostram qualemcunque operam subsidia videntur speranda, quod verisimile sit eum aliquam veteris linguae Gothicae notitiam in tractibus istis consecutum.¹⁶ Ex his quoque intelliges veram °causam diuturnae meae in orbe Britannico morae. Saepe quidem serioque institerunt dilectissimae sorores (quo nomine me plurimum iis debere lubens agnosco) ne diutius paterer °eas desiderio unici fratris languescere; sed haec instituti operis ratio non sinit me animo meo carissimarumque sororum ardentissimo voto hac in parte obsequi.¹⁷

e Unice mihi favent Angli antiquitates suas perscrutanti atque ex iis nonnulla ad illustrationem septentrionalium linguarum depromenti.¹⁸ °Quinetiam nuperrime adhuc Quatuor Evangelia vulgatae versionis a glossatore quodam ante annos, credo, octingentos °nongentosve Anglo-Saxonice interlineata humanissime suppeditavit | mihi vir optimus Io. Rushworth, summo belli praefecto Fairfaxio a secretis, magnus omnium antiquitatum fautor promotorque.¹⁹ Quemadmodum vero ex hoc amicissimi viri thesauro multa recondita et proposito meo apprime utilia operi etymologico inserui, ita mihi Britanniam relinquenti plurimis id genus monumentis carendum esset. Omnibus enim hic deliberatum est parcius posthac antiqua monumenta exteris

d causam: \causam/ | eas: [- illas] eas | e Quinetiam: [- Quinimo] Quinetiam | nongentosve: [+ non]gentosve (*Sheet torn*)

of thousands of words. The terms “Getish” and “Gothic” were often used indiscriminately to refer to Gothic, as in the full title of Vulcanius’ *De literis*. The list of languages is in what Junius believed was their reverse chronological order, **211d**, **189c**, **203d**, **204d**. Cf. Dekker (1999:212, 169–74, 245–48, 257–61).

¹⁶ Junius must have believed that Gothic, or Gothic texts were still known or understood in Sweden, where Goths had lived before the first century A.D. No details were found as to whether Junius was aware at the time that the *Codex argenteus* were containing the Gospels in Gothic was part of Christina of Sweden’s library, **188a**.

¹⁷ Elizabeth and Johanna Junius. Any letters in which they may have pleaded for his return are unretrieved. Junius presumably went to Holland at the end of the year, possibly when Arundel House was made a garrison for Commonwealth troops, and returned to England again well before the summer of 1651. A warrant issued by the Council of State and Admiralty Committee, dated 50 11 1/11, granted a pass for one “Fras. Junius” to Rotterdam, and on 28 January 1651, Junius dined with Marcus Meibomius in The Hague. Cf. **178c**, *CSPD 1650* (405, 565).

¹⁸ This was the result of the network Junius had built during the twenty years he had lived in England. John Selden gave Junius access to the Cottonian library, **187a**; probably via Patrick Young, Junius copied the *Liber scintillarum* from the royal collection, **App8**; and probably via Abraham Wheelock, **183b**, he transcribed parts

must be expected from him for our humble work, because it is likely that he has acquired some notion of the ancient Gothic language in that country. From this, you will also understand the true reason of my long stay in England. My sweetest sisters (on account of which I gladly acknowledge to owe them very much) have often and strongly indeed urged me not to let them languish in desire of their only brother any longer, but the course of the work I have undertaken does not allow me to follow my heart and my dearest sisters' most ardent wish in this respect.

- e The English especially favour me for my examining their antiquities and drawing much from them to elucidate the northern languages. Even very recently indeed, the excellent gentleman John Rushworth, secretary to the highest general of war, Fairfax, and a great patron and promotor of all antiquities, most kindly lent to me the Vulgate version of the four Gospels interlineated with Anglo-Saxon by a glossator eight or nine hundred years ago, I believe. And just as I have inserted much material from this most friendly man's treasure, hitherto unknown and especially useful for my purpose, in my etymological work, so I would have to miss more of such documents if I left England. For everybody here has determined to send ancient documents abroad more sparingly from now on, since indeed it troubles the excellent gentlemen in this island

of the "Gospel of Nicodemus" and "The Legend of St. Veronica" from Cambridge University Library, Ms li.2.11. Cf. Hetherington (1980:108–09), Stanley (1998:171).

¹⁹ The splendid Rushworth or Macregol Gospels, now BLO, Ms Auct. D.2.19, written and lavishly illustrated by Macregol, abbot of Birr, around the year 800, includes Old English interlinear running glosses added by two—not one—glossators, Farmon and Owun, in the tenth century. Owun's glosses may have been derived from those in the comparable Lindisfarne Gospels, **203e**. Junius made excerpts from both the Rushworth and the Lindisfarne Gospels in Ms Jun. 76. Since the material in this manuscript is remarkably succinct in comparison with Junius' other transcripts and annotations, as Kees Dekker observed in personal communication, it was probably among his earliest excerpts from Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. In his projects, Junius referred to the Old English from the Rushworth Gospels by means of "R.Matth./ Mar./ Luc./ Ioh.," **203e**. John Rushworth (1612?–1690) was a historian and secretary to Lord Thomas Fairfax (1612–1671), Commander-in-Chief of the "new model" parliamentary army, from 1645 until June 1650, and a promotor of antiquarian studies. A parliamentarian, he is particularly known for his eight volumes of *Historical Collections* (1659–1701) on contemporary history based on his own shorthand notes. He may have lent the Gospels manuscript to Junius and D'Ewes at one and the same time, for he had received it back from the latter just in March. Cf. Ker (1957, no. 292), Hassall (1978), Coates (1997), Ross (1979), Dekker (2000:333), *DNB* 49.419–22, 18.141–49, Watson (1966:11); Hetherington (1980:111). Nativel's interpretation (1996:63–64) of this section cannot be supported.

transmittere; quandoquidem optimos quosque °in hac insula viros aegre habet, quod melioris notae manuscriptos in °Galliam Belgiumve missos post lustrum, ne dicam lustra, nemo restituit.²⁰

f Nolim tamen haec ita accipias, ac si decollaverit me spes facta *Domino* Tollio novam Phurnuti editionem animo agitanti.²¹ *Dominus* Iunius de candore viri nullus dubitat, eoque anxie nimis excusationem erroris, aliena culpa commissi, litteris ad se datis °arbitratur institutam; immo iam schedas in Palaephatum, Phurnutumque ex aliis schedis erutas (meo sane iudicio maximi aestimandas) ostendit, paratus eas committere fido, qui designandus est, mercatori.²² De his igitur *Domino* Tollio fidem meam obligabis; neque enim nunc amicissimis eius litteris respondere potero,²³ quandoquidem ulterius me provexit dulcedo quaedam libere tecum familiariterque agendi; ac porro quaedam etiamnum °addenda, quae mihi otium ad alios quoque scribendi eripient.

g Est apud vos *Dominus* Burgius ad potentissimum Russiae Imperatorem exlegatus et quondam mihi hic in Britannia familiarissime °cognitus, hunc velim plurima salute meis verbis impertias, nuntiesque me subinde adhuc gratam pristinae conversationis dulcedinem non sine quadam renovatae recordationis voluptate recolere;²⁴ ac nunc quidem eo magis, quod *Reipublicae* Amstelodamensi (cuius et ipse non contemnenda pars est) me plus quam pro virili parte obligatum puto; non modo quod semper Iuniano Vossianoque nomini faverit, verum etiam quod nuperrime illustrissimam Arundelliae ac Surriae Comitum (cuius ego benevolentiam multis abhinc annis assidue expertus sum, quaeque nobis etiamnum facit haec otia quibus fruimur) non tralati-tia humanitate sit dignata, quum optimae Heroinae tranquillitatem, quae ei in celeberrima urbe prudentissimi consultissimique magistratus beneficio obtingit, inique prorsus turbare conaretur filius eius

e in: [- viros] in | Galliam: [- in] Galliam | **f** arbitratur: [- scriptis] arbitratur | addenda: [- scribenda sunt, quae mi] addenda | **g** cognitus: [- notus] cognitus

²⁰ Junius may have hinted at an Ovid codex which Nicolaas Heinsius had borrowed from Patrick Young almost ten years earlier, **170b**.

²¹ Patrick Young was willing to provide Cornelis Tollius with material for his intended edition of Cornutus and additional material for Palaephatum, **167f**.

²² Apologizing letter from an unidentified person to Young unretrieved; notes for Tollius unretrieved. The merchant was Jean de Teuillers, **170a**.

²³ Unretrieved, **168b**.

that nobody has returned the high-quality manuscripts that were sent to France or the Low Countries after five years, not to say after a multiple of five.

f But I do not want you to take this, as if the hopes aroused with Mr. Tollius, who is considering a new edition of Phurnutus, have decapitated me. Mr. Young does not at all doubt of the man's integrity, and he accordingly thinks that the excuse for the mistake committed through someone else's fault was made over-anxiously in the letter written to him. He has even already shown me notes on Palaephatus and Phurnutus taken from other notes (which must really be valued most highly in my opinion), and he is prepared to entrust them to a reliable merchant, who must be appointed. So you must pledge my word about this to Mr. Tollius, for I cannot answer his most kind letter now, since the pleasure of talking freely and intimately to you has carried me on quite far and I must add more matters which deprive me of the leisure to write to others as well.

g In your town lives Mr. Burgh, the former ambassador to the most powerful emperor of Russia and once most amicably known to me here in England, whom I wish you to impart warmest regards on my behalf, and to tell him that I still frequently remember the welcome sweetness of our former relations with the renewed pleasure of memory, and even all the more so now, because I believe myself obliged to the Amsterdam magistracy (of which he forms a rather considerable part himself) for more than I can, not only because they have always protected the names of Junius and Vossius, but also because they have quite recently deemed the most illustrious countess of Arundel and Surrey (whose benevolence I have intermittently experienced over many years, and who also now grants us this leisure we are enjoying) worthy of an unusual kindness, when her eldest son—a gentleman (not to say anything worse) not sufficiently mindful of her more than maternal goodwill, with which she has always surrounded him at home and elsewhere—altogether unfairly tried to disturb the excellent countess' quiet, which she has been enjoying in that most famous town thanks to the favour of the most wise and prudent magistracy. For sure, since she could not keep the

²⁴ Coenraad Burgh had met Junius in London in 1641, **139a**, **148b**. At the time, he was a councillor in the Amsterdam magistracy and captain of the Citizenry, cf. Elias (1903, no. 158).

natu maior, vir (ne quid gravius dicam) non satis °memor indulgentiae illius plus quam maternae, qua eum domi forisque semper prosecuta est.²⁵ Ipsa certe Domina Comes (agnosce quaeso generosam in principe foemina gratissimi animi indolem) cum tacitum apud se observantiae usque adeo inexpectatae gaudium continere non posset, veluti commota hac non vulgari ac maxime oportuna magistratus vestri benevolentia, litteris non ad alios °modo, sed ad me quoque datis, prolixè praedicat humanitatem eorum qui gubernaculis florentissimae urbis °admissi sunt.²⁶ Apographum eius ad me epistolae, in hac schedula enotatum, ostendes *Domino* Burghio; non ob aliud, quam ut constet optimo viro, ac per eum reliquis inclytæ urbis rectoribus innotescat, nihil esse quod ipsa malit, quam se et gratam esse et videri.²⁷ Quemadmodum interim certo scio illam ex mera humanissimi officii admiratione haec ad me scripsisse, et quod sciebat mihi non ingratas fore meritissimas popularium nostrorum laudes; ita quoque sancte nunc adiuro, me ea prorsus ignara haec in popularium notitiam perferri velle; atque adeo ipsum me (vitam modo viresque largiatur Deus) sedulo semper curaturum, ut nobilissima urbs me sibi vel hoc uno nomine °mancipatum sentiat.

h Plurimum quoque me devinxeris, cognate carissime, si vicem Francisci Iunii peregre agentis tu alter Franciscus Iunius quandoque subeas, et illustrissimae Comiti quaecunque tuum obsequium °subinde offeras;²⁸ quod commodissime fieri poterit per *Dominum* Io. Tailler,²⁹ virum utiliore iuxta atque amoeniore literatura °abunde instructum, et, quod maius est, multa rerum gerendarum experientia imbutum. Quamquam fortasse prima fronte duriuscula tibi videbitur haec provincia, ego tamen pro caetera tui charitate persuasissimum habeo fieri non posse ut taedio tibi sit ullum a me iniunctum officium; totamque

g memor: m[o >e]mor | modo: \modo/ | admissi: adm[+ issi] (*Illegible due to an ink blot*) | Mancipatum: Mancipatam | **h** subinde: [- quando] subinde | abunde: [- instruc] abunde

²⁵ Countess Aletheia had her principal residence in Amersfoort, but also a house in Amsterdam. Henry Frederick Howard, third earl of Arundel, was laying claims to both his father's inheritance, of which his father had stipulated his mother to enjoy the usufruct, and his mother's private property, which she had brought to the Low Countries. Cf. Weijtens (1971:14, 16, 18).

²⁶ Countess Aletheia's letter to Junius is unretrieved.

²⁷ Copy of Countess Aletheia's letter to Junius is unretrieved.

²⁸ This, as well as the phrase "cuius ego benevolentiam . . . otia quibus fruimur" in **g**, indicates that Junius was still in the service of the Arundel family, more par-

joy at such a totally unexpected favour silent to herself and was moved, so to speak, by this uncommon and most convenient benevolence of your magistracy, the countess herself (understand, I pray, the generous nature of a most grateful heart in the princely lady) has profusely praised the courtesy of those who have been admitted to the rudder of that most blooming town in letters written not only to others but also to me. You must show a copy of her letter to me, written on this sheet, to Mr. Burgh, for no other reason than to make clear to the excellent gentleman, and to make known to the other administrators of the glorious town through him, that there is nothing she prefers more than to be and show herself grateful. Meanwhile, just as I know for sure that she wrote this to me out of a genuine admiration of the most kind service, and because she knew that the most deserved praises of our countrymen would not be unwelcome to me, so I also solemnly swear now that, absolutely without her knowledge, I want this to be brought to my countrymen's notice and (provided that God grants me life and strength) that I will always assiduously make the most noble town believe I am its subject even for this single reason.

h You would also much oblige me, dearest Nephew, if you, the other Franciscus Junius, sometimes assume the duty of the Francis Junius who is staying abroad and offer any of your service to the most illustrious countess now and then, which could most conveniently be done through Mr. John Taylor, a gentleman well versed in more useful as well as more pleasant scholarship and, what is more, trained by wide experience in getting business done. Although you may judge this task somewhat hard at first sight, because of the rest of your affection I am still fully convinced that no task I assign to you can be a trouble to you, and you will assess the whole matter in the right way, if you do not hesitate to pass judgement on my

ticularly Countess Aletheia. It may also indicate that Junius had not been in England since 1647, and had also been with Countess Aletheia in the meantime, **164a**. No indications were found that Franciscus F.N. actually did offer his service to her.

²⁹ John Taylor was probably the "Mr Tailler" who was in Countess Aletheia's service in 1648, when she explained about him that "he was employed by my Lord [the earl of Arundel] to fetch my grandchild [Thomas Howard, probably] into Italy," quoted after Hervey (1929:470), although the note to this quotation, following M.A. Tierney, identifies "Mr Tailler" with a Theodoric Taylor who was Countess Aletheia's agent in England after her husband's death; but cf. **164e**. Cf. Weijtens (1971:18), Breuker (1998:136–38).

adeo rem recta reputaveris via,³⁰ si ex hac importuniore animi mei fiducia de meo erga te amore iudicium ferre non dubitaveris. Amat enim qui se sic amari putat, ut taedium non pertimescat.³¹ Plurimam dilectissimis sororibus meis verbis salutem dices. Vale, suavissime cognate, atque omnia arctissimae necessitudinis officia expecta a tibi addictissimo.
Londinii, anno 1650.

⁰ 170_{171,172} 50 08 02 FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N. (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

- a** Nobilissime et clarissime vir, Patruē aetatem honorande, Acceperis, credo, quas ante binas hebdomadas °misimus.² Opportune vero tuae venerunt interim dum hic adest cognatus Vossius, qui proximo die Mercurii rediit ad nos, sed crastino die Holmiam rursum discedere statuit.³ Parisiis emit bibliothecam insignem viri amplissimi Alexandri Petavii;⁴ ac rem gratissimam feceris, si manuscriptos illos de quibus antehac *Dominus* Graef locutum tibi scribis, emere non fueris gravatus.⁵ Mercator hic Ioannes Teuillers, has tibi qui tradit, solvet quodcunque emendum censueris; ac per eum etiam omnia ad nos curari possint. Caeterum manuscriptos codices prae aliis desiderat cognatus, neque enim ausit marmora aut statuas emere sine speciali serenissimae Reginae iussu.⁶
- b** De illis °reverendissimi *Domini* Usserii locutus ei sum, atque nisi nescius fuissem ad summum virum ea pertinere, non misissem cum reliquis Vossianis in Sueciam.⁷ Simulac tamen Holmiam devenerit cognatus, remittet ea, atque ego tum curabo, ut quamprimum ea

a misimus: misi[st > m]us | **b** reverendissimi: [d > r]everendissimi

³⁰ Terence, *Andria* 442, “ipsu’ secum eam rem reputavit via.”

³¹ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 8.21.5.2–3; a favourite of Junius, **26a**.

¹ o: UBA, M 92d. Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**.

² Franciscus F.N.’s letter to Junius, sent mid-July, is unretrieved.

³ Junius’ letter to Franciscus F.N. is unretrieved. In it, he included a request intended for Nicolaas Heinsius, **b**, and asked for Gruteriana, **d**. Isaac Vossius had travelled to Paris in search of books and manuscripts for Christina of Sweden’s library, cf. below. Having already stayed in Amsterdam for some days on his way to Paris at the end of June, he stayed there again on his return journey. Cf. Blok (1999: 333–49).

love for you on the basis of this rather indecorous confidence of my heart. For he loves who believes to be loved in such a way that he does not greatly fear repulsion. You must give warmest regards to my dearest sisters in my words. Farewell, sweetest Nephew, and expect all obligations of dearest relationship.

From your deeply devoted.

In London in the year 1650.

170 50 08 02 FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N. (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS
[LONDON]

- a Most noble and renowned sir, Uncle to be honoured for ever, You will have received the letter we sent a fortnight ago, I assume. Yours has meanwhile promptly arrived now that Cousin Vossius is here, who returned to us last Wednesday, but has decided to leave again for Stockholm tomorrow. He has bought the remarkable library of the most magnificent gentleman Alexandre Petau in Paris, and you would do a great favour if you did not object to buying those manuscripts which Mr. Graef mentioned to you, as you had written before. This merchant Joannes Teuillers, who delivers this letter to you, will pay whatever you judge must be bought, and everything can also be transferred to us through him. Otherwise, Cousin wants manuscript codices above all, for he has not dared to buy marbles or statues without the right serene queen's particular order.
- b I spoke to him about the right reverend lord Ussher's notes, and if I had not been unaware of their belonging to the most high lord, I would not have sent them with the other Vossiana to Sweden. As soon as he arrives in Stockholm, Cousin will send them back, and then I will have them be returned to their proper master as soon

⁴ Isaac bought some two thousand manuscripts from the costly library collected by Paul (1568–1614) and Alexandre Petau (d. 1672) for 40,000 livres for Christina. Cf. Blok (1999:337); on the famous Petau library, cf. de Meyier (1947).

⁵ John Greaves had noticed Arabic and Greek manuscripts for Christina with Cornelius Bee, **167c**.

⁶ Cf. **165a**.

⁷ James Ussher, Primate of Ireland, had requested back his notes on Marianus Scotus, which Franciscus F.N. had shipped together with Vossius' books to Sweden by mistake, **168b**.

suo domino reddantur. *Dominus* Heinsius iam Holmiam discesserat, antequam prima vice huc veniret cognatus Vossius; scribam tamen ei, atque monebit praesens cognatus Vossius.⁸ Doleo admodum quod *Domino* Pricaeo ante discessum non licuerit loqui.⁹ Unis tantum vicibus eius praesentia beari licuit in aedibus nobilissimi Dubletii;¹⁰ hic quae-sivi eum, sed frustra; atque ut iusserat adesse hora pomeridiana hic in platea, obvius parui, sed iam exierat, quod serius forte ac con-venerat accessissem.

- c** Res nostrae publicae non dixerim quo in statu sunt.¹¹ Omnia Hagae Comitum turbulenta sunt, ubi convenere Ordines. Quod de morte cognati De Wit scripsi, si id scripsi, falsum est; ita plerique rumores sunt vani, ut satius sit nihil scribere ea re, siquidem nihil certi scire licet.¹² Uterque tamen consul Bickerus se suo munere abdicavit, spontaneone motu an iussu alterius non dixerim.¹³
- d** Valemus hic omnes, ac gaudemus quotiescunque nos tuae valetudinis certiores reddis. Ego vero | numquam dehinc deero officio, ut scribam,

c nihil: nihi

⁸ Nicolaas Heinsius (1620–1681), classical philologist and Neo-Latin poet, the son of Daniel Heinsius and a friend of Isaac, had been invited to come to Christina’s court on account of his proficiency in composing Latin poetry in 1649. In the spring of 1650, he had returned to Leiden, yet had left for Sweden again two days before Isaac had arrived in Amsterdam in June. From 1651, he travelled in France and Italy, where he had also toured from 1645 to 1648, in search of additions to Christina’s library, **181a**. After Christina’s abdication in 1654, he stayed as Dutch resident at the Swedish court, returned to Holland in 1655 and became secretary of Amsterdam in 1656, but resigned one year later, and went back as resident to Stockholm in 1660, to stay there until his return home in 1671. In 1669–1670 he was an envoy to Moscow. On behalf of Patrick Young, Junius had asked Heinsius to return an Ovid codex which Young had lent to him ten years earlier. Franciscus F.N.’s wrote to Heinsius, “De Ovidiano codice ipse Laetium conveniam, ac monebo, ut domino suo eam restituat, vel restitui curet. Scripserat de eo ad me D. Patricii Iunii iussu Patruus, nec licuit mihi petenti illi id ut significarem non morem gerere” [I will contact de Laet (Johannes de Laet’s son) myself concerning the Ovid codex, and urge him to return it or let it be returned to its owner. Uncle wrote to me about it at Mr. Patrick Young’s behest, and I simply must gratify his request by informing him], 50 11 26, UBL, BUR F 6b. The Ovid was finally returned, together with Heinsius’ letters of apology. Junius may have hinted at this loan in **169e**. Cf. Blok (1949, 1999:334), *NNBW* 2.557–60, Kemke (1898:91, 99, 113–14).

⁹ When John Price was in Holland, his edition of Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses* (1650) was published there in Gouda, **164d**.

¹⁰ George Rataller Doublet, who lived in The Hague.

¹¹ After the States of Holland had increased their influence over the provinces in the late 1640s, the years 1649 and 1650 witnessed essentially a struggle for control over the Republic between Stadholder William II and Holland. On account of

as possible. Mr. Heinsius had already left for Stockholm before Cousin Vossius first came here, but I wrote to him and Cousin Vossius will remind him when he is there. I am very sorry that I could not speak to Mr. Price before his departure. I was granted to enjoy his presence in the most noble Doublet's house once only. I looked for him here, but in vain; and because he told me to be here in the street at noon in order to meet, I went there, but he had already left, perhaps because I came later than we had agreed on.

c I could not say in what state our Republic is. All of The Hague is in turmoil when the States have convened. What I wrote about relative de Witt's death, if I did so, is false; and thus most rumours are vain, so that it is better to write nothing about it, since one cannot know anything for sure. Yet, both burgomasters Bicker have resigned from their office; whether of their own accord or at somebody else's order I could not say.

d We are all doing well here and we are glad as often as you inform us of your good health. I, indeed, will never fail in my duty to write from now on, because I see that whatever we send is welcome to you. As soon as I acquire those Gruteriana, I will exert myself so that you have them as soon as possible. We are already in the stage that

Holland's refusal to comply with the Stadholder's wish for the continuing maintenance of a considerable number of troops even after the Peace with Spain (1648), William II staged a coup which brought the country almost to civil war, but did restore his power, three days before the present letter, on 30 July. His unexpected death in November, a few months after the present letter, however, instantly restored the States faction to power. Cf. Israel (1995:595–609).

¹² Possibly Franciscus F.N. referred to their relative Jacob de Witt, who had been reported dead for some time following a riot of the Dordrecht dockworkers' guild in January 1648. Although this event had occurred long before, Franciscus F.N. may have remembered to inform Junius that the rumour had been false only when writing this letter, as on 30 July de Witt had been arrested by Stadholder William II. On the very day this letter was dated, William had also marched to Amsterdam to enforce its compliance with his desires and order the Bicker brothers to resign from their posts, cf. below, which is when news of what had happened to de Witt may have reached Franciscus F.N. In August, de Witt was released again with the provision that he withdraw from his governmental functions. He was rehabilitated following William II's death in November. Cf. Rowen (1978:20–21, 26–37), *JNBW* 3.1455–58, Israel (1995:607).

¹³ Andries (1586–1652) and Cornelis Bicker (1592–1654), members of a powerful Amsterdam patrician family and of the town magistracy. As a consequence of the dispute between the Stadholder and Holland on the maintenance of troops, the Stadholder requested their resignation from their posts on the very day this letter was dated. Debate on their resignation was continued on 3 August, yet they decided to renounce their posts of their own accord. Following William II's death they were reinstated. Cf. Rowen (1978:34–37), Elias (1903, no. 110, p. 175), Israel (1995:607, 702).

cum videam non ingratum fore, quodcunque miserimus. Simul Gruteriana illa nactus fuero, dabo operam, ut quamprimum ea habeas.¹⁴ Iam sumus in eo, ut nostra fiant. Intra duas hebdomadas publici iuris fient avunculi Vossii piaae memoriae tractatus De Quatuor Artibus Popularibus, De Philologia, et De Scientiis Mathematicis.¹⁵ Dedicavi eos consulibus huius urbis, ac curatoribus Illustris Scholae; videbo dein quo in loco res ac spes nostra sint.¹⁶ Sed vix quicquam sperare liceat, antequam luctuosae hae patriae nostrae turbae fuerint compositae. Mittam tibi duo vel tria exemplaria Vossiani operis. Plura iam non licet addere, quod tempore excludar.

Dabam Amstelodami, raptissime, IV nonas Sextilis Gregoriano MDCL. Tuus ad omnia obsequia paratissimus °fratris filius, F.F.N. Iunius.

¹⁷⁰ 171 50 09 06 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N.
[AMSTERDAM]¹

a Carissime cognate,

Per mihi, per inquam gratum fuit quod me una eademque opera scientem fecisti quid in publicis patriae nostrae rebus ageretur, quidque in privatis cognati Vossii rebus agendum esset². Tu porro consuetudinem hanc serva, nobisque disiunctissimas terras incolentibus Batavicornum motuum statum subinde (quantum tamen sine ullo tuo incommodo tuto fieri posse putabis) perscribe.³

b De *manuscriptis* Arabicis et Graecis nihil adhuc transigi potuit, quoniam bibliopola De Bye (qui eos venditabat) rogatu Domini Greaves eos aliquamdiu reclusos habuit, dum ipse negotiorum causa in Bataviam

d fratris: fra[+ tris] (*Sheet torn*)

¹⁴ Part of the exquisite library of Janus Gruter, **173b**, was auctioned in Amsterdam in June 1650. Franciscus F.N. had bid and bought at the auction on Isaac Vossius' behalf, and had apparently also done so for Junius. Gruter's books or manuscripts acquired by Junius are unidentified. Notice of the prospective auction may have been given in an unretrieved letter, and Junius had probably indicated his wishes in the unretrieved letter mentioned in **170a**. Cf. Blok (1999:343–47), Fechner (1967a, 1967b), Heesakkers (1987:68–69), de la Fontaine Verwey (1979), who believed the Junius present at the auction to be Junius instead of Franciscus F.N.

¹⁵ Vossius, *De quatuor artibus popularibus, de philologia, et scientiis mathematicis, cui operi subiungitur chronologia mathematicorum, libri tres* (Amsterdam, 1650), dedicated by Franciscus F.N. to members of the Amsterdam magistracy and the trustees of the Athenaeum Illustre with letters dated 8, 11 and 16 July. Franciscus F.N. was also the author of the epigram on Vossius in it, and not Junius, as has sometimes been suggested.

they become ours. Within a fortnight the treatises of Uncle Vossius of blessed memory, *On the Four Popular Arts, on Philology and on the Mathematical Sciences*, will appear. I have dedicated them to the burgo-masters of this town and the trustees of the Illustrious School. I will next see in which position our circumstances and hopes are placed. But one can hardly hope anything before these lamentable turmoils of our fatherland are calmed down. I will send you two or three copies of Vossius' book. I cannot add more now, because time fails me. Written in Amsterdam in great haste, on the fourth Nones of August, Gregorian style, 1650 [2 Aug.].

Your brother's son, who is most prepared for all services, F.F.N. Junius.

171 50 09 06 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N.
[AMSTERDAM]

a Dearest Nephew,

It was very, I say very welcome to me that at one and the same time you made me informed of what is being done in the public affairs of our fatherland and of what must be done in the private affairs of Nephew Vossius. You, just keep this habit and repeatedly describe the state of the troubles of Holland to us, who are staying in a quite distant country (yet as much as you think can be done safely without any inconvenience for you).

b Nothing could be settled yet concerning the Arabic and Greek manuscripts, because bookseller de Bee (who had them for sale) had locked them up at Mr. Greaves' request as long as he was over in Holland for business and went to Paris from there, and he will return

In the book, Vossius presented his view of the division of the arts and sciences, first dealing with the "artes populares," writing, reading, gymnastics, music and drawing, then with the "polymatheia," the encyclopaedic disciplines of philology, mathematics and logic, all needed for the next level of learning, philosophy. Theology, considered the pinnacle of the disciplines by Vossius, was not discussed in this book. In his discussion of drawing (1.5.60), Vossius remembered Junius' *De pictura* (1637). Cf. Rademaker (1981:322–29, 371 no. 32), *Literature* 1.lxiv–vn103.

¹⁶ Junius F.N. hoped to obtain a professorship in Amsterdam, **166b**, but he only received 120 guilders for the dedication, **174b**.

¹ ca: UBA, M 92d verso.

² Isaac Vossius wanted Junius to buy manuscripts for Christina of Sweden, **167c**.

³ Pliny the Younger, *Panegyricus* 15.1.1, 25.5.1, and Cicero, *Pro Marcello* 5.8, "disiunctissimas terras." Junius himself may have returned to Holland at the end of the year, **169d**.

traiecit, atque inde Lutetiam petiit, intra duas tresve hebdomadas reversurus.⁴ *Dominus* Greaves statim a reditu bibliopolae de pretio librorum cum eo transiget. *Monsieur* de Teulleres ostendit mihi literas Vickenfortii, et paratus est pecuniam, quandocunque aliquid emtum erit, persolvere.⁵ Plurium interim manuscriptorum spes facta est, de quibus postea uberius certiusque.

- c *Dominus* Iunius intra duas tresve hebdomadas ad nos rediturus est.⁶ Curabo itaque ut scedas *Domino* Tollio promissas una cum *manuscriptis* ad vos transmittam.⁷ Non pauci hic apud nos scire avent numquid cogitetis de editione Originum Vossii.⁸ Saluta meis verbis omnes °arcta necessitudine coniunctos. Da veniam abruptae atque inconditae scriptioni; vix unquam mihi, quod memini, litterae festinantius fuerunt exarandae. Vale.
Londinii, anno 1650, 27 Augusti.
Tuus totus.

¹⁷⁰ 172 50 09 16 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N.
[AMSTERDAM]¹

- a Carissime cognate,
Nunc raptim persolvam quod est promissi ac muneris mei. En tibi igitur indiculos librorum emtorum ac porro, si cognato °Vossio pretium arrideat, emendorum.² Accepi nudiusertius a *Monsieur* Jean de Thieullier octoginta libras sterlingas. Quotquot norunt quam cari sint id genus libri in oriente, quantum adhaec maris piratarumque periculum adeant libri in hos tractus transvehendi, judicant non male collocatam pecuniam. Spero itaque non displicitura, quae emta nunc sunt. °Intimi interim amici mei, inter quos *Dominus* Greaves

c arcta: [- necessarios] arcta

172a Vossio: \Vossio/ | Intimi: [- lator] Intimi

⁴ John Greaves had had the manuscripts reserved for Christina with bookseller Cornelius Bee, 167c.

⁵ Jean de Teuillers and Johannes de Wicquefort.

⁶ Patrick Young may have been in Broomfield, Essex, with his daughter and son-in-law, John Attwood, 200b, or in Oxford, cf. Kemke (1898:xxvi).

⁷ Patrick Young was willing to provide Cornelis Tollius with material for his intended edition of Cornutus and additional material for Palaephatas, 167f.

⁸ Vossius had added five books in manuscript, books 5 to 9, which discuss nat-

within two or three weeks. Immediately on the bookseller's return, Mr. Greaves will agree on a price for the books with him. M. de Teuillers showed me Wicquefort's letter and is prepared to pay the money when something has been bought. Meanwhile, hopes have been aroused of more manuscripts, about which more fully and definitely later.

- c Mr. Young will return to us within two or three weeks, so I will see to sending you the notes promised to Mr. Tollius together with the manuscripts. Many people here with us wish to know whether you consider an edition of Vossius' *Origins*. Greet everybody bound by a close tie on my behalf. Excuse my abrupt and unorganised writing; I have hardly ever had to write a letter in greater haste, so far as I remember. Farewell.

London, in the year 1650, 27 August.

Yours Truly.

172 50 09 16 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N.
[AMSTERDAM]

- a Dearest Nephew,
Now I shall quickly fulfil what is my promise and duty. So, here you see small lists of books bought and still to be bought, if Nephew Vossius is pleased with the price. The day before yesterday I received eighty pounds sterling from M. Jean de Thieullier. All who know how expensive such books are in the East and also what great risks the books, which must be transported to this country, run from the sea and from pirates, judge that the money has not been spent badly. So I hope that what has been bought now will be very pleasing. Meanwhile, my intimate friends, among whom Mr. Greaves is by

ural phenomena, venerable human qualities and the cult of images and symbols, to *De theologia gentili* (1641) as well as annotations to books 1 to 4. The second, enlarged, edition was published not by Franciscus F.N., but by Isaac Vossius in 1668, as Vossius, *De theologia gentili . . . Editio nova, quorum quatuor libri priores ab auctore plurimum aucti, addendaque in calce eorum suis locis inserta, posteriores quinque libri ex auctoris autographo nunc primum prodeunt* (Amsterdam: Joan Blaeu, 1668). In **185b**, Nihusius also referred to the additional books in manuscript. Cf. **118i**, Rademaker (1981:306–09, 368–69).

¹ *d.* UBA, M 92d verso.

² On behalf of Isaac Vossius, Junius and John Greaves had bought Arabic and Greek manuscripts for Christina of Sweden, **167c**. Lists unretrieved.

haudquaquam postremus est, spem praebent plurium, sed haec in praesentiarum sufficient. Tu dabis operam ut quam primum de voluntate cognati reddamur certiores.

- b** Nihil quoque gratius *Domino* Greavio mihi que feceris quam si ex cognato ^oresciscas quo titulo opusculum ^oaliquod geographicum serenissimae Reginae ^opossit inscribi.³ ^oImmo et illud scire expetam, quo titulo inscribendae sint litterae ad cognatum Vossium in aula Regia dandae.⁴ Saluta, quaeso, necessarios; et plurimum vale, mi cognate, a tui amantissimo.

Londinii, anno 1650, 6 *Septembris*.

173 51 07 13 JAMES USSHER (LONDON) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

- a** Viro *clarissimo* Francisco Iunio Francisci filio Iacobus Armachanus salutem.²

A Bonaventura Vulcanio editi habentur viri cuiusdam docti anonymi commentarioli duo, “In literas Gothicas, ex vetustissimo quodam Codice argenteo (ut eum vocat) sumptas,” unus; “In alphabetum Gothicum—quod Gothicum tamen omnino non est—et Notas Lombardicas in alio quodam vetustissimo codice repertas,” alter.³

- b** Argenteus ille codex membranaceus, qui quatuor Evangelia aureis et argenteis literis Gothice descripta continebat, ad Werdeni sive Werdinensis monasterii bibliothecam pertinuit in regione Bergensi

172b resciscas: [- *titulum*] resciscas | aliquod: [- *ap*] aliquod | possit: [- *possit*] possit | Immo: [- *Saluta necessarios*] Immo

³ Greaves wished to dedicate his *Epochae celebriores* (1650) to Christina, **167c**.

⁴ This seems to indicate that Junius had not yet written to Isaac since the latter had been invited to Christina’s court in Stockholm in December 1648, **164aⁿ**. They did exchange letters, unretrieved, in the summer of 1651, **183bⁿ**.

¹ *c*: in Junius’ hand, Ms Jun. 55, f. 4. *p1*: Junius, *Gothicum glossarium* (1665:14–17). *p2*: Parr (1686, no. 263). *c* was carefully copied by Junius on a foldout, pasted in front of his transcription of the *Codex argenteus*, **b**, now Ms Jun. 55, presumably in order to print it in either of his publications on Gothic. The original letter may have contained an introductory section which Junius left out as it did not deal with Gothic. Likewise, Junius seems to have inserted bibliographical information at places to make the text more suitable for publication, but not all additions appear in *p1*. Ms Jun. 55 was probably not Junius’ transcription of the *Codex argenteus* used for printing (Kees Dekker, personal communication), **188a**, so this copy of Ussher’s letter may not have been so either. *P2* contains several inconsistencies, yet seems to have been based on *p1*. The text closest to Ussher’s original is probably the copy

no means the least, are arousing hopes of more. But these will suffice for the present. You will see to informing us of Nephew's wish as soon as possible.

- b** You could also do nothing more welcome to Mr. Greaves and myself than to find out from Nephew with what title a small geographical book could be dedicated to the right serene queen. And, by all means, I also wish to know this, which address must be written on letters to be sent to Nephew Vossius at the royal court. Greet our near and dear, I pray, and warmly farewell, my nephew, From your deeply devoted.
London, in the year 1650, 6 September.

173 51 07 03 JAMES USSHER (LONDON) TO JUNIUS [LONDON]

- a** James Armagh greets the widely renowned gentleman Francis Junius, Franciscus' son.
Two small commentaries by an anonymous scholar have been published by Bonaventura Vulcanius, the one "On Gothic characters taken from a very ancient *Codex argenteus* (as he calls it)," the other "On the Gothic alphabet—but which is not Gothic at all—and Lombardic letters found in another most ancient codex."
- b** This silver codex of vellum, which contained the four Gospels in Gothic written in gold and silver characters, belonged to the library of the monastery of Werden or Werdine in the district of Bergen, about four German miles away from Cologne. From it, Gruterus inserted several excerpts copied by Arnold Mercator from the sixth

in Ms Jun. 55 without Junius' insertions. This copy has been taken as the basic text, with Junius' additions appearing in the commentary. The letter starts on the verso and continues on the recto. Presumably sent to Junius in London, for Junius wrote in Christoph Arnold's *Album* there on 51 08 10, and had returned from England to Amsterdam by mid September, **App8, 174**. He may have been in Holland during the preceding winter and spring, **169d**.

² Ussher's letter is a detailed reply to a request by Junius on Gothic, and more in particular on Gothic script, **e**. At the same time, Ussher displayed a detailed acquaintance with the *status quaestionis* of Gothic studies. For a general discussion of this letter, cf. van de Velde (1966:153–54).

³ Bonaventura Vulcanius, *De literis et lingua Getarum sive Gothorum* . . . (Leiden, 1597:1–15 and 16–30, respectively). The anonymous author of the first commentary was presumably Cornelius Gualtherus, **b**. The second commentary did not discuss Gothic—as Ussher observed—but Tironian notes, **b**. In his book, Bonaventura

quatuor fere a Colonia Germanicis miliaribus distantis.⁴ Inde ex 6^o Matthaei et 1^o Marci capitulo ab Arnolde Mercatore nonnulla descripta Inscriptionum suarum corpori (pag. 147 et 148) inseruit Gruterus.⁵ Indidemque °Dominicam Orationem, cum aliis quibusdam particulis, ab Antonio Morillono transscriptam, in Gotodanica sua⁶ Iohannes Goropius Becanus retulit;⁷ quorum cum iis, quae a Vulcanio sunt edita, collatione facta, oborta mihi aliquando est suspicio, non alium eruditi illius in literas Gothicas commentarioli authorem fuisse, quam °illum ipsum Antonium Morillonum, qui Antonio Perrenoto Cardinali Granvellano a bibliotheca fuit et Latinis epistolis.⁸ Neque °enim ad alium quam ad Cardinalem illum ea verba spectasse sum opinatus, quae in secundi commentarioli principio leguntur, “Quemadmodum Dominatio vestra monet, ita est. Omnino enim praesens opusculum interpret est alterius operis, nempe vocabularii,” etc.;⁹ quamquam authorem simul cum domino suo plurimum a vero hic aberravisse, nullum sit dubium, quum codicem illum a notarum, sive Romanae scripturae compendiorum collectaneis, quae Tyronis ac Senecae nominibus insignita Gruterus postea in lucem edidit, nihil differre

b Dominicam Orationem: *p1, p2* Orationem Dominicam | illum ipsum Antonium: *p1, p2* Antonium ipsum | enim: *p1, p2* vero

Vulcanius, presumably Junius' professor of Greek literature at Leiden, was the first to discuss the Gothic of the *Codex argenteus* linguistically and comparatively, although he also confused it with runes, **169d**. Junius' copy is now Ms Jun. 98. Cf. van de Velde (1966:66–99, *SCW* no. 5209, Stanley (1998:174).

⁴ The *Codex argenteus* (*CA*), now in Uppsala University Library, contains part of the Gospels, mostly Luke and Mark, in the Gothic translation by Bishop Wulfila (c.311–383), and was written in silver, and occasionally gold ink on purple parchment in the Gothic centre Ravenna, Italy, in c.520. The *CA* had been rediscovered by the Flemish theologians Georgius Cassander (1513–1566) and Cornelius Gualtherus, or Wouters (d. 1582), in a Benedictine monastery in Werden on the Ruhr near Cologne in 1554. To them, the Gothic Gospels served both as a justification of Protestant endeavours to translate the Bible into the vernacular, and as a witness of the ancient Germanic civilisation. The *CA* was removed from the monastery to the imperial library in Prague, where it was taken as booty by Sweden in 1648 and placed in Christina of Sweden's library, **188a**. Junius gained access to the *CA* via Isaac Vossius in 1654 and published its *editio princeps* in 1665, with letter **211** as a dedication, **188a**. Cf. van de Velde (1966, esp. 17, 19, 23, 37), van Bree (1995), although his identification (1995:11) of the annotations as being in Junius' hand cannot be supported. For a facsimile edition of the *CA*, cf. *Codex argenteus Upsaliensis* ([1928]).

⁵ Janus Gruterus, *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani*... (Frankfurt, 1602–03), a notable collection of inscriptions from the Roman Empire. Janus Gruterus (1560–

chapter of Matthew and the first of Mark in the corpus of his *Inscriptions* (pp. 147 and 148). Johannes Goropius Becanus reproduced the Lord's Prayer, transcribed from the same place, together with some other pieces by Anton Morillon in his *Gotodanica*, and after I had made a collation of these with what had been published by Vulcanius, the suspicion was aroused with me one time that the author of that learned small commentary on Gothic characters had been none other than this Anton Morillon himself, who was librarian and secretary of Latin letters for Anton Perrenot, Cardinal Granvelle. For I was of the opinion that the words which can be read at the beginning of the second small commentary concerned none other than this cardinal, "It is just as Your Lordship warned. For, to be sure, the present small treatise is the interpreter of the other book, that is, the vocabulary," etc., although there is no doubt that the author, as well as his master, sharply deviated from the truth here, for we discovered that this codex was not at all different from the collections of notes, or abbreviations of Roman writing, which, titled with the names of Tyro and Seneca, Gruterus pub-

1627), Antwerp philologist and librarian of the Palatine library in Heidelberg, was a distant relative of Junius, in that he had been married to Johanna Smetius, a daughter of Johanna van den Corput, a sister of Junius the Elder's second wife Elizabeth, **1a**, **6bn**. Arnold Mercator (fl. 16th c.), a Flemish humanist and acquaintance of Cassander and Gualtherus, had transcribed Matthew 6:7-16 and Mark 1:1-18 from the *CA* around 1573. Cf. *BWN* 7.506-17, 18.752-53, Rademaker (1981:443, 445), van de Velde (1966:36-54).

⁶ sua: c sua \Goropii Originum Antverpianum lib. 7, pag. 739. 740. et 750/.

⁷ Johannes Goropius Becanus, *Origines Antverpianae* . . . (Antwerp, 1569), a philological study seeking to prove that Dutch was the primeval language, included Roman transliterations of the Lord's Prayer (Matthew 6:9-13) and of Mark 1:2,7 and 15:34, which had belonged to Anton Morillon, cf. below, who may have received them from the circle around the rediscoverers of the *CA*. The transliterations are the first published excerpts from the *CA*. Cf. van de Velde (1966:24-35).

⁸ Vulcanius, *De literis* (1597:[v-vi]), had suggested that the author of the anonymous commentaries had been either Anton Morillon (c.1522-1556) or Antonius Schoonhovius (d. 1557), an acquaintance of Gualtherus. Ussher misread Vulcanius, for the latter had also indicated that Morillon was the brother of Maximilian Morillon (1516-1586), the librarian and secretary of Antonius Perrenotus (1517-1586), Cardinal de Granvelle—one of Philip II's champions responsible for many policies of the Spanish government in the Low Countries and a patron of the arts and sciences, who supported Morillon's archaeological research in Italy and to whom Goropius Becanus had dedicated *Origines Antverpianae*. Cf. van de Velde (1966:72-75), *NNBW* 2.1086-92, *BNB* 31.576-80.

⁹ Vulcanius, *De literis* (1597:16). These are the opening lines of the second commentary.

¹⁰ Janus Gruterus, *Notae Romanorum veterum quibus litera verbum facit Tullii Tyronis*

deprehenderimus.¹⁰ Ut frustra author hic sibi °persuaserit, ad aliud aliquod opus referenda ista fuisse “cuius usus fuerit °aulicos legatos, qui Gothi erant, docere Lombardice, ut intra Italiam cum principibus Italicis possent perorare.”¹¹

c Codicem alium Gothicum aureis argenteisque characteribus papyro exaratum, et non Evangelia tantum sed universum etiam Novum Testamentum complectentem, in bibliotheca Hermanni Comitis Newenarii extitisse, Philippus Marnixius Dominus Sanct-Aldegundius¹² confirmat;¹³ in quo °Dominicae Orationis idem quod in libro Werdiensi habebatur initium, “Atta unsar thu in himina,” °etc.¹⁴

d | Cuiusmodi Novum Testamentum ad suas etiam manus pervenisse Matalius Metellus Sequanus¹⁵ est testatus.¹⁶ Ubi et illud notandum, °Dominicam orationem Gothicam °illa doxologia concludi, quae in vetere Latina °editione Bibliorum desideratur, ut ex Graeco fonte Gothicam istam Novi Testamenti versionem derivatam esse

b persuaserit: [- *persuadeat*] persuaserit | aulicos legatos: *p2* aulicus legatus | **c** Dominicae Orationis: *p1*, *p2* Orationis Dominicae | etc.: *p2* de | **d** Dominicam Orationem: *p1*, *p2* Orationem Dominicam | illa doxologia: *p1*, *p2* doxologia illa | editione Bibliorum: *p1*, *p2* Bibliorum editione

Ciceronis liberti et Annaei Senecae (Frankfurt, 1602), listing the Tironian notes and their transliteration, added to his *Inscriptiones*.

¹¹ Vulcanius, *De literis* (1597:[ix]).

¹² Aldegundius: *c* Aldegundius \apud Sibrandum Lubberti de princip. Christianorum dogmatum, lib. 3, cap. 7/; *p1*, *p2* Aldegundius . . . cap. 7.

¹³ The attestation is found in Sibrandus Lubbertus, *De principiis Christianorum dogmatum libri VII* (Franeker, 1591:224), his first reply in a polemic with the Roman Catholic theologian Robertus Bellarminus (1542–1621): “In bibliotheca Domini Hermanni Comitis de Neuenar solet extare liber vetustissimus aureis argenteisque characteribus in papyro exaratus, continens universum Novum Testamentum lingua antiqua Frisonum, ut idem Aldegundius me docuit. Ex hoc libro idem Aldegundius dicit se habere descriptam Orationem Dominicam Frisico vel Saxonico antiquo characterere, qui non multum a Muscovitico characterere differe et ad Graecum accedere videtur. Eius initium est: *Atta unsar thu in himina, waikmi nam thein* etc.” [In the library of (the scholar and university chancellor [c.1491–1530]) lord Hermann, Count of Neuenahr, used to be extant a most ancient book executed in golden and silver characters on paper, which contains the entire New Testament in the ancient Frisian tongue, as the same (Philips Marnix of) St. Aldegonde told me. From this book, the same Aldegonde said to have copied the Lord’s Prayer in ancient Frisian or Saxon script, which seems to differ only slightly from Russian script and to accord with Greek script. Its beginning is . . .], quoted after van de Velde (1966:20). The passage occurs in a chapter arguing for vernacular translations of the Scriptures. On the basis of this information, Ussher erroneously believed there were two Gothic codices *argentei*. Van de Velde (1966:20–22) has suggested that Marnix of St. Aldegonde

lished later. So the author convinced himself here erroneously that those matters should be referred back to another book, “the use of which had been to teach the princely ambassadors, who were Goths, Lombardic, so that they could speak with Italian princes in Italy.”

- c Philip Marnix of St. Aldegonde confirms that another Gothic codex, executed on paper in gold and silver characters and comprising not only the Gospels but even the complete New Testament, was in the library of Hermann, count of Neuenaar, in which the beginning of the Lord’s Prayer is the same as the one in the Werden book, “*Atta unsar thu in himina*,” etc.
- d Matalius Metellus Sequanus declared that such a New Testament had also come to his hands. There, one must also note that the Gothic Lord’s Prayer is concluded by that doxology which is wanting in the ancient Latin version of the Bibles, so that it appears that this Gothic version of the New Testament was derived from a Greek source and copied from the primeval translation of Wulfila himself. For Socrates, Sozomenos, Isidore of Spain in the *Chronicle of the Goths*,

saw the *CA* itself and just mistook its purple vellum for paper—and its language for ancient Frisian or Saxon. The theologian Sibrandus Lubbertus (c.1555–1625) had kept in touch with Junius the Elder, his former professor, and Johan Casimir Junius. Marnix of St. Aldegonde (1540–1598) and Junius the Elder had also known each other. Cf. van de Woude (1963:75, 528–29), de Jonge (1980:12, 18).

¹⁴ The beginning of the Lord’s Prayer in Gothic actually reads, in transliteration, “*Atta unsar þu in himinam weihnai namo þein*.” The early students of the text had not yet identified the Gothic characters correctly, and especially the identification of “*himinam*” proved problematic, appearing as “*himmina*” in Becanus, and as “*himina*” in Mercator, Vulcanius and Scaliger. Junius’ transcription reads “*himinam*.” Cf. Wright (1954:200), van de Velde (1966:26, 42, 75, 82, 90), *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665:14).

¹⁵ Sequanus: *c* Sequanus \apud Suffridum Petrum, “*Praefat.*” in *Script. Frisiae Decad./; p1, p2* Sequanus apud . . . Decad.

¹⁶ Suffridus Petrus, *De scriptoribus Frisiae decades XVI et semis* (Cologne, 1593:[xiii]), which describes the lives of 165 writers and lists their work, “*Et nobis etiam hic coram testatus est clarissimus vir iuris consultus Matalius Metellus Sequanus, ad suas manus aliquando pervenisse Novum Testamentum lingua Gothica characteribus Graecis scriptum*” [And the most renowned lawyer Matalius Metellus Sequanus has also personally testified to us that a New Testament in the Gothic tongue written in Greek characters had come to his hands one time], quoted after van de Velde (1966:22). Matalius Metellus (c.1510–1597), a Burgundian theologian in Cologne who knew the rediscoverers of the *CA*, wrongly identified the Gothic uncials as Greek characters. The Frisian Suffridus Petrus (1527–1597) had been Cardinal de Granvelle’s secretary and librarian, and professor in Cologne, before becoming historian to the States of Friesland in 1590. Cf. *NBW* 5.498–99, van de Velde (1966: 22–23), Bergsma (1994).

appareat, et ex ipsius Wulphilae primaeva traductione descriptam.¹⁷ Hunc enim primum literas apud Gothos invenisse, et Scripturas sacras in eorum linguam convertisse, Socrates, Sozomenus, Isidorus Hispalensis in Gothorum Chronico, et °Scriptor martyrii Nicetae (apud Simeonem Metaphrastam, die 15° °Septembris) °nos docent;¹⁸ quorum °postremus (cum Sixto Senense, libro quarto Bibliothecae sanctae) ex Graeco translationem illam fuisse factam, expresse °indicat.¹⁹ Quo referendus est et ille Walafri Strabi locus, De rebus Ecclesiasticis cap. 7, “. . . et, ut historiae testantur, postmodum studiosi illius [Gothorum] gentis divinos libros in suae locutionis proprietatem transtulerunt, quorum adhuc monumenta apud nonnullos habentur. Et fidelium fratrum relatione didicimus, apud quasdam Scytharum gentes, maxime Tomitanos, eadem locutione divina hactenus celebrari officia.”²⁰ Et quod a Iosepho Scaligero est additum, “Gothos etiamnum in iisdem regionibus degere sub Praecopensi °Tatarorum dynasta, et utrumque Testamentum, iisdem literis quas °excogitarit Wulfila conscriptum, et eadem lingua qua tempore Ovidii utebantur interpretatum, legere.”²¹

d Scriptor martyrii Nicetae: p1, p2 Martyrii Nicaetae Scriptor | Septembris: [-Sp] Septembris | nos: p2 vos | postremus: p2 possumus | indicat: p2 indicare | Tatarorum: p2 Tartarorum | excogitarit: p1, p2 excogitavit

¹⁷ The doxology in the Lord's Prayer, “For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever” (Matth. 6:13), are lacking in the Vulgate, the Bible of the Roman Catholic Church, but do occur in Greek versions on which Protestant ones are based. The fact that the words also occurred in Gothic, “unte þeina ist þiudangardi jah mahts jah wulpus in aiwins,” indicated not only that Wulfila had used a Greek version as his model, but also that his translation was a precursor of contemporary Protestant vernacular translations of the Bible, and that the Gothic peoples had used a Bible that, from a Protestant point of view, was better than the Roman Catholic one. Cf. c^a, Wright (1954:202), Dekker (1999:31–33).

¹⁸ The traditional accounts of Wulfila as the inventor of the Gothic alphabet by Greek Church historians and writers in Latin are basically the same, going back to the same source or using each other as source. The sources mentioned by Ussher are Socrates Scholastikos (5th c. A.D.), *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4.33; Sozomen (5th c. A.D.), *Historia Ecclesiastica* 6.37; Isidore of Seville (c.570–636), *Historia Gothorum VIII*, and *Chronicon Gothorum* for the year 350; Simeon Metaphrastes (10th c. A.D.), “Martyrdom of Nicetas the Goth.” Cf. below, Lendinara (1992), *PG* 67.553–54, 67.1405–06, 115.707–08, Vulcanius (1597:293), and the dedicatory poem by Jan van Vliet, **205e**, to Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, **211A**, prefixed to Junius' *Gothicum glossarium* (1665b), quoted and discussed by Dekker (1999:390–91; 2003); for quotations of the relevant passages and translations into English, cf. Lendinara (1992:217–21).

and the author of the martyrdom of Nicetas (in Simeon Metaphrastes, on the 15th day of September) tell us that he was the first one to invent letters with the Goths and to translate the Holy Scriptures into their language, and the last of them (together with Sixtus of Sena, in book four of the *Holy Library*) emphatically indicates that this translation had been made from the Greek. To this, also this passage of Walahfrid Strabo must be referred, *On Church Affairs*, ch. 7, "And, as the histories testify, afterwards the learned men of that people of Goths translated the divine books into the idiom of their speech, documents of which are still extant with several peoples. And from the narration of trustworthy monks we have learnt that the divine office is still celebrated in the same speech among certain peoples of Scythians, especially the Tomitans." And [to this must be referred] what is added by Joseph Scaliger, "that the Goths still live in the same regions under the Perekopensian ruler of the Tatars and read both Testaments written in the same characters which Wulfila invented and translated into the same language which they used in Ovid's time."

¹⁹ F. Sixtus Senensis, *Bibliotheca Sancta* . . . 2nd edn. (Frankfurt, 1575:334), "Uulphilas Gothus, Gothorum episcopus, cuius Socrates in historia ecclesiastica meminit, primus Gothorum literas adinvenit, primusque illis omnes divinas scripturas e Graeco in Gothicam linguam a se conversas tradidit" [The Goth Wulfila, bishop of the Goths, whom Socrates mentioned in his Church History, was the first to invent the letters of the Goths, and the first to give them all divine Scriptures translated by himself from Greek into the Gothic tongue]. Simeon Metaphrastes, "τούτοις τε τὴν ἱερὰν ἡμῶν Γραφὴν καὶ θεόπνευστον ἀπο τῆς Ἑλλάδος εἰς τὴν Γοθικὴν γλῶσσαν μεταβαλὼν" [translating our holy and divinely inspired Scripture from the Greek into the Gothic language with them (Gothic letters)], quoted after PG 115.708.

²⁰ Walahfrid Strabo, *Libellus de exordiis et incrementis quarundam in observationibus ecclesiasticis rerum VII*. The Scythians, and the Tomitans, to whom Ovid had been exiled, used to live in the Crimea along the Black Sea, where the Crimean Gothic words collected by Ogier Ghiselin van Boesbeeck came from, **42h**, **203**. Strabo believed that Gothic scholars, not Wulfila in particular, had translated the Scripture into their own tongue. Cf. van Vliet's dedicatory poem, van de Velde (1966: 153), Lendinara (1992:223, 225), Metcalf (1974).

²¹ Additum: *c* additum \Scaliger Canon. Isagog. lib. III, pag. 138./; *p1*, *p2* have insertion in running text. *c*: Scaliger: *p1*, *p2* -. Joseph Justus Scaliger, *Isagogiconum chronologiae canonum libri tres* (Leiden, 1602). Scaliger continued the passage by identifying the Germanic nature of Crimean Gothic, just as van Boesbeeck had done, "Sermo enim eorum hodiernus maiori ex parte Teutonicus est" [For their (the Crimean Goths) present-day language is "Teutonic" for the greater part], quoted after van de Velde (1966:81). The sixteenth-century Crimean Goths, however, no longer used Wulfila's translation of the Bible. Cf. van Vliet's dedicatory poem, van de Velde (1966:81).

e Quae eo a me adducta sunt omnia, ut qua ratione Gothicam ex Graeca scriptionem Wulfilas efformaverit, in priore illo °commentario declarari subindicarem. De quo integrum tamen tibi iudicium relinquo. Vale.

Londini, V nonas Iulias anno aerae Christianae °MDCLI.

174¹⁷⁵ 51 10 13 FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N. (GRONINGEN) TO JUNIUS
[AMSTERDAM]¹

a Nobilissime et plurimum honorande Patruē,
Hebdomada est, quod ab Amita Vossia acceperim literas, quales sane, nisi et manum ac nomen subscriptum agnovissem, numquam ab ea proficisci posse existimassem ad fratris filium, qui, id enim volentem nolentem fateri oportebit, id summo studio egit, ut, ubi ubi esset, curaret negocia eius quam vel maxime e re eius esse sciret, ne nihil minus, quam ingratus, videretur.² Summa epistolae haec est, quod nihil nempe acceperit hactenus usurarum sortis, quam mutuo mihi dedit;³ mirari se, ita secum vivi; alienum se non petere, sed suum; nihil se tale meritam de nobis; °alios fuisse illic creditores, qui suum °petierint, sibi vero competere omnimodo ius προτοπραξίας, eoque omnibus se modis caeteris praefereendam esse;⁴ nolle se bona sui dare aliis, quibus adeo ipsi carendum sit. Deus bone! Quid hoc rei est? Itane ipsa sollicita est, °ac se angit, ne pereant ea, quae dedit? Ego securam esse iubeo. Nihil decedet illi ac omnia brevi restituentur, ne posthac creditricem habeam Amitam, quae impertine adeo ac nulla habita sanguinis et necessitudinis adeo propinqua ratione continue atque inhumaniter aures vellet, quasi hactenus

e commentario: *p1* commentariolo | MDCLI: *p2* MDCLI. *Jacobus Armachanus*
174a alios: ali[i >o]s | petierint: petieri[t >nt] | ac: [- itane sollicita est] ac

¹ o: UBA, M 92f. Junius' reply, letter 175, is on the verso. Presumably sent to Amsterdam, from where Junius wrote letter 175 in reply after an unexpected trip to Dordrecht and The Hague, 175a. Junius had returned from England to Amsterdam by mid September, as appears from Countess Aletheia's letter, dated 51 09 05/15, to her sister Elizabeth Grey, "I haue received your very kind letter by Junius," BLO, Rawl. D 395, f. 223, 178a; I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer.

² Elizabeth Junius' letter to Franciscus F.N. is unretrieved. Franciscus F.N. had stayed with Elizabeth after Vossius' death from 1649 until, presumably, earlier in 1651, 165b, 166b.

- e All of this I have adduced in order to indicate that it is explained in that first small commentary with which method Wulfila shaped Gothic writing from Greek. Yet I leave the entire judgement of it to you. Farewell.

London, fifth Nones of July in the year of the Christian era 1651 [13 Jul.].

174 51 10 13 FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N. (GRONINGEN) TO JUNIUS
[AMSTERDAM]

- a Most noble and very honourable Uncle,
A week ago I received really such a letter from Aunt Vossius, that if I had not recognized both her hand and signature, I would never have thought that it could have come from her for her brother's son, who—for he cannot help but acknowledge so—has with the deepest devotion done this, to look after her affairs wherever he was as much as he knew to be of her interest, in order to appear anything but ungrateful. The principal point of the letter is as follows, to be sure, that she had not yet received anything of the interest of the sum which she has given me on loan; that she is surprised that she is treated in this way; that she does not ask anyone else's money but her own; that she does not deserve so of me; that other creditors had been there who had claimed their money, but that the right *of first enjoyment* is, by all means, due to her and that she must therefore be preferred over others in all respects; that she does not want to give her possessions, which she herself must quite miss, to others. Good God! What is this? Is she so anxious and vexed that what she gave is lost? I want her to be at ease. Nothing will fall from her and everything will soon be returned, so that in the future I do not have as creditor an aunt who immediately and discourteously plucks the ears, quite improperly and without taking the family and quite close relationship into account, as if it had up to now been my fault that I have not settled the interest, which I admit to owe of my own accord. To be sure, some expenses had to be made here

³ No details were found on Elizabeth's loan to Franciscus F.N.

⁴ Creditors unidentified.

per nos stetisset, ut usuras, quas debere nos fatemur ^oultra, non miserimus. Nempe expendenda hic fuere quaedam, cum munus hoc professorium ^osusciperem—ut ignorare hodie non potes morem, quo omnia venalia sunt—, quae hoc anno reddi famae meae interest;⁵ ut primo hoc muneris mei anno sane id praestare non potuerim, quod ut praestarem moneri alias noluissem, ac praesertim ab Amita.

b Caeterum, si ita summo iure mecum ^oexperiri libet illi, agedum, ^oinspiciat acta Urbis Amstelodamensis, discet illinc iam usuras anni sibi datas esse a me; neque enim existimet, velim, centum viginti florenos, quos pro dedicatione dedere Amstelodamenses, sibi datos.⁶ Ad acta tantum, ut dixi, provoco. Ne tamen id aegre ferret, quod nihil sibi datum ^oesset, cum iam ante concoquere non posset, exiguum adeo honorarium quod offerretur subticui atque ipsius hos esse dixi, ut saltem aliquo modo diceria eius in Amstelodamenses inhiberem. Interim tuo, nobilissime Patruē, iudicio ac prudentiae relinquo, an communicandum hoc ipsi esse sentias. Parum enim refert; neque enim ex ira in furorem ^oagi ^oeam velim adversus me. Fumos iam sensi satis acres, flammās atque ignem metuo. De aliis creditoribus quod obiiciat, sane non scio, tot esse, quibus multum debeatur, praeter mercatores duos, a ^oquibus pannum sumsi pro veste ac pallio, atque holosericum. Illi molesti ipsi numquam erunt. De expensis aliis quod loquitur, id nihil est; unum forte imperialem ante semestre spacium expendit rogata per tabellarium ut quid emeret, sed et ille restituetur, ne quid desideret a me amplius.

c Caeterum excurrebam Amstelodamum ^oin feriis canicularibus, habebamque itineris comitem typographum nostratem, quocum iam egeram de ^oexcudendis quibusdam hic Vossianis.⁷ Sed omnia distulit in reditum tuum, ut ne semel quidem habuerim copiam videndi Vossiana.⁸ Uno verbo saltem scire desiderem, ^oingratane sit ipsi opera

a ultro: ultr[*i* > o] | suscipere[m]: sus[*r* > c]iperem | **b** experiri: [- *ita*] experiri | inspiciat: [*a* > i]nspiciat | esset: es[*t* > set] | agi: ag[*.* > i] | eam: [*.* > eam] | quibus: qui\bus/ | **c** in: \in/ | excudendis: excuden[*t* > d]is | ingratane: i[*g* > n]gratane

⁵ After unsuccessful attempts to obtain a professorship in Amsterdam, Franciscus F.N. had been made extraordinary professor of law in Groningen earlier in 1651, **158aⁿ, 170d**.

⁶ Franciscus F.N. had dedicated his edition of Vossius' *De quatuor artibus popularibus* (1650) to members of the Amsterdam magistracy and the trustees of the Athenaeum Illustre, **170d**, and had evidently received one hundred twenty guilders for this.

when I assumed the position of professor—as you cannot deny the habit these days, according to which everything must be paid for; it is in the interest of my reputation that they are paid this year, so that in the first year of my position I really could not settle what I would not wish to be admonished to settle otherwise, and especially not by Aunt Vossius.

b Yet, if she thus wants to put me to the test at all costs, well, let her examine the acts of the town of Amsterdam, and she will learn from them that I have already given to her a year's interest; for I would not want her to believe that the one hundred and twenty guilders which the people of Amsterdam gave for the dedication are given to her. I just refer to the acts, as I said. Yet, so that she would not bear it with difficulty—for already earlier she could not digest that nothing had been given to her—I kept silent about the quite small remuneration that was offered, and said it was mine, in order to prevent at least her witticisms on the people of Amsterdam. Meanwhile, I leave it to your judgement and discretion, most noble Uncle, whether you think this must be told to her. For it is of little interest, for I would not wish her to turn from anger to fury against me. I have already smelled smoke heavy enough; I fear the flames and fire. What she retorts about other creditors, truly, I do not know that there are so many to whom much is owed, except for two merchants from whom I bought fabric for an all-silk suit and cloak. They will never be troublesome. What she says about other expenses; it is nothing. She paid perhaps one imperial half a year ago, when asked through a letter-courier to buy something, but also this one will be settled, so that she could not desire anything else of me.

c For the rest, I would have hastened to Amsterdam during the summer holidays and have as travelling companion a printer of our town to whom I had already talked about printing some Vossiana here. But he has postponed everything until your return, so that I have not had a chance to see the Vossiana even once. I would like to know in a single word at least whether our exertion is unwelcome to him, for it is of the greatest interest to the printer himself that I know this, so that he does not delay his workmen here with

⁷ Groningen publisher unidentified. Franciscus F.N. had taken it upon himself to bring out some of Vossius' unpublished work, **166b**.

⁸ The Vossiana were presumably Vossius' "opusculi" [small works], **175a**. Junius must have returned from England after the summer holidays.

nostra, typographi enim ipsius id scire me quam maxime interest, ne suis impensis frustra hic operarios moretur. Iam in primis literis rogaram, ut certior fierem eius rei; ac operam curamque meam certe non multum °aestimaram, quod Amita esset, quacum mihi esset negotium.⁹ Certe plus commodi ad ipsam rediret ex dedicationibus, quam ex pecuniae usuris. Sed nihil tamen desidero praeterquam ut sciam, quid tandem statuerit Amita. Neque enim multum exorari eam velim, ut precario quasi obtinere videar, ut conducat operas meas. Sibi sua habeat. Etenim ut redeam | ad summam argenti mutuo datam, certe si velit, ut quamprimum °restituatur, dabo operam, ut fiat. Nempe exosa mihi est, vel ut rectius °loquar esse debet libertas mea, quod ita iam mecum agi videam. Nec tamen °vilis adeo mihi est illa, ut quovis eam precio velim vendere.

d Iam rogaram Amitam Vossiam, atque Naeranam, Brunaeamque, quibus de Ruytera Hagiensi fueram locutus, ut de ea cum parentibus conferrent; sed ad eos scripserat Amita Naerana.¹⁰ Interim tamen quia nihil hactenus °acceperant responsi, frustra me sane °spem concepisse scribunt. Sed enim non primo quoque ictu deliicitur arbor;¹¹ ut tacens non annuit statim, ita nec abnuit. Ipse ego ad parentes ac filiam quid literarum dabo, ac facile coniiiciam, quis iis sit animus.¹² Dixeram Amitae Vossiae de filiabus Doctoris Verhoeven, sed °mihi respondit illud, noli nimis altum sapere;¹³ quasi vero quicquam praeter opes in iis peculiare sit, quibus an non merito mihi liceat et familiam, et honestum munus academicum opponere, °ac studia, non quod ea tanta sint, sed quod indies ad maiora me moveam, dum hac in statione sum. Certe multum me devinxeris, si ea de re

c aestimaram: aestimar[is > am] | restituar: [+ resti]tuatur (*Sheet torn*) | loquar: loq[+ uar] | vilis: vili[+ s] | **d** acceperant: acceper[i > ant] | spem: \spem/ | mihi: [- *dixerat*] mihi | ac: [- *lic*] ac

⁹ Franciscus F.N.'s previous letter to Junius is unretrieved. Cf. **175a**.

¹⁰ Maria and Johanna Junius. The de Ruyter girl is unidentified; she was probably a daughter or relative of David de Ruyter, councillor at the Supreme Court in The Hague. Franciscus F.N. did not marry her, as he evidently hoped to do. Maria Junius' letter to the de Ruyter family is unretrieved.

¹¹ Saying based on Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 8.774–76, “labefactaque tandem / ictibus innumeris adductaque funibus arbor / corrui et multam prostravit pondere silvam.”

¹² Franciscus F.N.'s letter to the de Ruyter family is unretrieved.

¹³ Romans 11.20, “noli altum sapere.” Dr. Verhoeven's daughters are unidentified.

his expenses to no avail. I had already asked in my first letter to be informed about this, and I had really not valued my exertion and concern much, because it would be Aunt with whom to deal. More profit would certainly proceed for her from the dedications than from the interest of the money. Still, I only want to know what Aunt has finally decided. For I do not want her to be much entreated, so that I would seem to obtain that she hires my services at request, as it were. Let her have hers. For, to return to the sum of money given on loan, if she really wants it to be paid as soon as possible, I will take pains to do so. To be sure, I hate, or to say more properly, I should hate my freedom, because I see I am treated in this way now. Still, it is not so worthless for me that I would wish to sell it at any price.

- d I had already asked of Aunts Vossius, Naeranus and de Brune, with whom I had spoken of the Ruyter girl in The Hague, to talk about her to her parents, and Aunt Naeranus has written to them. But since we have received no answer yet, they are writing that I have really nursed hopes in vain. Still, since the tree is not felled by the first stroke either, just as silence does not immediately imply consent, so it neither implies dissent. I myself will write something to the parents and the daughter, and I can easily predict what they have in mind. I had spoken about Mr. Verhoeven's daughters with Aunt Vossius, but she answered me this, "Be not too high-minded;" as if they have really anything extraordinary besides money; as if I were unable deservedly to match to that the family, the honourable academic position, as well as my studies—not that they are so great now, but I advance to greater ones each day as long as I hold this position. You would really much oblige me if you speak about this quite intimately and seriously with the reverend Mr. Hotton. For

He was probably Theodorus Verhoeven (1611–<1693) from Amersfoort, headmaster of the Latin School in Tiel, and in Grave from 1652 or 1653. When studying at Leiden from 1627, he had befriended Dionysius Vossius. In 1648 he finished writing a detailed history of Amersfoort, which was published by Anthonius Matthaëus, Franciscus F.N.'s former professor, in 1693. At the time, he contributed a poem, dated 51 06 10/20, to Cornelis Tollius' edition of Joannes Cinnamus (1652), to which Antonius Aemilius also contributed a poem. He must therefore have moved in the circle of Franciscus F.N.'s and Junius' acquaintances. No details found on the family's apparent wealth, cf. below. Cf. *Repertorium* (1990, no. 489), Kobus and de Rivecourt 3.171–72.

cum reverendo *Domino* Hottono familiarius ac serio conferas.¹⁴ Vix enim et ne vix quidem credideris, quam misere hic vivam. Ac quamprimum id fieri e re erit, eo quod hic offerantur matrimonia honesta satis, sed lautiora mallet, ut mihi ac venturis forte, quos Deus dabit, melius consulam, ut adeo diu lactare hic loci vana spe miseram non ausim.¹⁵

- e Rogo atque obsecro te, nobilissime Patruae, ut significes, quis sit animus °Amitae, ut sciam tandem, quomodo mihi mea dirigenda sint; et an iam omnem voluntatem seposuerit quaedam mittendi, quae hic praelo subiiciantur; ac, quod pene palmarium est, siquidem iam aliter non licet, ut me expediam de *Domino* Hottono ac dotata uxore.¹⁶ Vale ac salve plurimum a matre. Proculdubio iam Amstelodami sit, aut fuerit, soror, cuius iam hodie miraberis ac dolebis ingenium; quamquam certis anni tempestatibus dilucida habeat intervalla.¹⁷ Dabam Groningae, 3 Octobris *stilo vetere* 1651.
Nobilissimo nomini tuo addictissimus fratris tui filius F.N. Iunius.

0, 174 **175** 51 10 20 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N.
[GRONINGEN]¹

- a Suavissime cognate,
Prioribus tuis litteris non potui respondere maturius, propterea quod ad manus meas perlatae sunt, quum Hagiensis Durdrechtanique itineris ratio nullam amplius pateretur moram;² quamvis ne nunc quidem, quid respondere possim, reperio, quum soror universum de edendis opusculis consilium ad *Dominos* Hottonum, Fisscherum, Syndicum Beuninghen, Rectoremque Iunium retulerit.³ Nonnihil etiam

e Amitae: [.. > A]mitae

¹⁴ Godfried, or Godefroy, Hotton (1596–1656), minister of the Walloon Church in Amsterdam from 1634 until 1655. In his first letter to James Ussher, dated 52 01 28, Hotton confessed he had undertaken to write him because “Dominus Iunius, tuarum virtutum cultor” [Mr. Junius, the admiror of your virtues], had persuaded him to do so. Cf. *NWBW* 8.855–56, Parr (1686, no. 269).

¹⁵ Franciscus F.N. was to marry the Groningen Deborah van Heeck, **158a**.

¹⁶ Cf. **175a–b**.

¹⁷ No details were found on Maria Junius the Younger.

¹ *ca.*: UBA, M 92f verso, on the same sheet as letter **174**. Reply to letter **174** and an unretrieved one, **a**.

² One of these letters is **174**; the previous one is unretrieved, **174c**. The reason why Junius urgently had to go to The Hague and Dordrecht is unidentified.

hardly, if at all, you could imagine how miserably I am living here. Yet it will be important that this happens as soon as possible, because honourable enough marriages are being proffered here, but I would prefer more splendid ones in order better to care for myself and perhaps for the offspring which God will grant, so that I dare not deceive the unfortunate girls here with fair words too long.

- e I pray and implore you, most noble Uncle, to indicate what Aunt has in mind, so that I finally know how I must arrange my affairs, and whether she has laid aside yet all inclination of sending what may be submitted to the press here, and, what is almost the masterpiece, since it cannot happen otherwise now, that I prepare myself concerning Mr. Hotton and a gifted wife. Farewell and be well from Mother. Without doubt, Sister is or was in Amsterdam now; you will be surprised about and sorry for her character today now, although every cloud has a silver lining.

Written in Groningen, 3 October old style 1651.

Your brother's son, who is deeply devoted to your most noble name, F.N. Junius.

175 51 10 20 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO FRANCISCUS JUNIUS F.N.
[GRONINGEN]

- a Sweetest Nephew,

I could not answer your first letter any sooner, because it was brought to my hands when the reason for a trip to The Hague and Dordrecht allowed no further delay; although even now I do not know what can be answered, because Sister referred all decisions for the publication of the small works to Mr. Hotton, Mr. Fisscher, pensionary van Beuningen and rector Junius. The hope she was nursing of her

³ In Franciscus F.N.'s absence, Elizabeth Junius had left the concern for the publication of Vossius' educational treatises, *De studiorum ratione opuscula* (Utrecht, 1651), to Godefroy Hotton, Fisscherus (unidentified), Coenraad van Beuningen, **214c**, and Hadrianus de Jonge or Junius (not related) headmaster of the Latin school at the *Nieuwe Zijde* in Amsterdam. De Jonge published Junius' *Paraenesis* together with another selection of Vossius' educational treatises in 1654, **152e**^a. Junius' reference to de Jonge here partly solves Heesakkers' riddle (1998:104) why the *Paraenesis* was published in this collection. Since they appear to have known each other, and to have both concerned themselves with posthumous publications of Vossius' works—for Junius' part, cf. **186b**, the *Paraenesis* was presumably added to Vossius' treatises by mutual agreement. Cf. Heesakkers (1982b:211), Rademaker (1981:372, no. 35).

moratur eam spes, quam de filii Isaaci adventu concepit.⁴ Ipsum denique *Dominum* Blaeu, praeter quotidianas curiae occupationes, aliquantisper adhuc detinet (quemadmodum ipse mihi proxime praecedenti die Lunae retulit) Dantiscanorum bibliopolarum princeps, qui apud ipsum divertit, et cum quo tempus omne, vacuum a curia, in^o conferendis componendisque ratiunculis transigit.⁵

b *Dominum* Hottonum conveni; spondit se propediem nonnihil ad te super istis rebus perscripturum.⁶ Quam vellem, ipse tibi quoque possem operam aliquam navare; sed nosti quam haec aliena sint ab indole hominis semper-coelibis et saeculi huius mores minus intelligentis.

c Ego totus iam sum in adornanda secunda editione opusculi mei *De Pictura*; non desinunt nempe amici eam urgere et *Dominus* Blaeu expectare.⁷ Vale cum optima matre.

Amstelodami, 1651, 20 *Octobris stilo* novo.

Tuus toto animo.

176¹⁷⁷ 51 11 17 JOHANNES F. GRONOVIVS (DEVENTER) TO JUNIVS
(AMSTERDAM)¹

A *Myn Heer Myn Heer Franciscus Iunius, ten huysse van Juffrouw Vossius op de Cluveniersgracht tegenover de Slicksteeg. tot Amsterdam. port.*

a Viro summo Francisco Iunio F.F. Iohannes Fredericus Gronovius *salutem plurimam dicit.*

Itineris in Hollandiam postremi mei potissimus is mihi fructus fuit, quem minime expectaveram. Neque enim sperabam fore, ut viderem

175a conferendis: [- *componendis*] conferendis

⁴ In August, Christina of Sweden had desired Isaac Vossius to leave on a long journey to Spain as soon as possible, but in November he was still waiting for the day of his departure. His journey finally led only to Amsterdam, where he arrived at the end of February 1652. Cf. 177b, 181a, Blok (1999:381–82, 385, 393).

⁵ Joan Blaeu had become a member of the Amsterdam city council in this year. Publisher from Danzig is unidentified. Cf. *NNBW* 10.72.

⁶ Franciscus F.N. had asked Junius' and Hotton's advice on marrying, 174d. Hotton's letter to Franciscus F.N. is unretrieved.

⁷ Junius had already been working on the second edition of *De pictura* (1637) in 1643, 155b. Possibly he had left it behind in Holland when he went to England in the late 1640s, 164aⁿ. Johannes Fredericus Gronovius also informed Nicolaas

son Isaac's coming has also delayed her somewhat. Finally, besides his daily occupations at the Council, Mr. Blaeu himself is still delayed for a while by the principal bookseller of Danzig, who is staying with him, and with whom he spends all time vacant from the Council in comparing and arranging accounts (as he told me himself last Monday).

b I have met Mr. Hotton; he promised to write you something about those matters very soon. How I wish I myself could also do something for you, but you know how foreign these matters are to the heart of a confirmed bachelor, who little understands the manners of this time.

c I am wholly applying myself now to preparing the second edition of my little work *On Painting*; to be sure, friends do not cease to press for it, nor Mr. Blaeu to expect it. Farewell, together with your excellent mother.

Amsterdam, 1651, 20 October new style.

Wholeheartedly Yours.

176 51 11 17 JOHANNES F. GRONOVIVS (DEVENTER) TO JUNIVS
(AMSTERDAM)

A *Mr. Francis Junius, at Mrs. Vossius' house at the Cluveniersgracht opposite the Slicksteeg in Amsterdam. Postage.*

a Johannes Fredericus Gronovius gives warmest regards to the excellent gentleman Francis Junius F.F.

The greatest fruit of my latest trip to Holland was one which I had expected least. For I had not expected to see you, most noble and

Heinsius in a letter of 51 10 27, "Franc. Iunium maiorem Amstelodami nuper conveni . . . Alteram editionem operis de pictura adornat" [I recently met Francis Junius sr (as opposed to Franciscus F.N. [SvR]) in Amsterdam . . . He is preparing a second edition of the book *De pictura*], Burman 3.233. Apparently, Joan Blaeu wanted to print the second edition of *De pictura*, just as he had printed its first edition, **99g**. This contradicts Lucas' opinion (1998:182) that Junius' dealings with Blaeu were only through Vossius when Junius himself had been in London. The reason why the second edition appeared only posthumously is probably that Junius first lacked the money due to his outstanding stipend with the Arundel family, **188a**, then preferred to publish the results of his Germanic studies first, and then was prevented by war, **216a, c**.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 89b. Junius' reply, letter **177**, is on the verso.

te, nobilissime et excellentissime Iuni, veterem amicitiam renovarem,² luculentam illam tuam in Saxonice, immo °omnium propemodum Europae vulgare hodie linguarum, originibus °operam admirarer, muneribus denique tuis ditarer.³ Nunc tu unus es, qui mihi inopinanti hanc profectionem in omnem aetatem feceris iucundam.

b Quod autem de glossario Latinotheotisco dixi, vereor ut res sit tanti,⁴ nam cum recorder, quae apud te monumenta partim integra partim excerpta vidi, satis intelligo nihil hic te inventurum, quod non melius noris.⁵ Atque in tam paucis tamen et corrupta quaedam existimo, quae tibi emendare pronum erit. Misi nihilominus, ut mea fides apud te constaret. Tu tam parvi ea facias licet, quam sunt quamque tibi exactissimo harum rerum iudici videbuntur.

c Si quid de Salmasii adventu certi habes, gratissimum erit cognoscere.⁶ °Item si quid ab Isaaco ex Suecia novi, praecipue de Freinshemii Boeclerique discessu.⁷ Nam et ea res rumores alit. Perfectissimas et sanctissimas matronas, socrum et nurum Vossias omni cum observantia et reverentia saluto.⁸ Vale.

Daventriae, VII idus Novembris Iuliano MDCLI.

a omnium: omn[ibus > ium] | operam: \operam/ | **c** Item . . . alit: \Item . . . alit/

² Junius and Gronovius had met in London in 1639, **126c**.

³ Junius' "Etymologicum teutonicum," **169d**. Gronovius also informed Nicolaas Heinsius of this "Etymologicum" in a letter of 51 10 27, "[Junius] habet paratum Lexicon originum linguae patriae, in quo multa praeclara ex Anglosaxonum veteribus monumentis; an tamen ita omnia nostra possint, debeantque ad Graecos reduci, ut illi visum, tu iudicabis; malo saltem nostra esse Graeca, quam Graeca et Latina esse Scythica" [(Junius) has ready a lexicon of the origins of his mother tongue, in which there is much excellent material from ancient Anglo-Saxon documents. But whether all our words can and should be brought back to Greek (origins) in the way he believes, you must judge for yourself; I at least prefer our words to be Greek rather than Greek and Latin to be Scythian], Burman 3.233. For Scythian, cf. **173d**. Junius may have presented Gronovius with a copy of *Schilder-konst* (1641), **129e**, although it is perhaps less likely that the gift was a Dutch book.

⁴ The Latin-Old English glossary based on Ælfric's glossary, in a late sixteenth-century hand, now among Joast Hiddes Halbertsma's papers in the Provincial Library of Friesland. Junius added corrections in the margin, **177a**. Gronovius probably used "Theotiscan" for the Old English as a general term indicating a Germanic vernacular language. Cf. Bremmer (1998b:207-08), Dekker (1999:245).

⁵ For Junius' Old English transcriptions made in England, cf. **169e**.

⁶ At Christina of Sweden's invitation, Claudius Salmasius and his wife had stayed at the royal court in Stockholm since August 1650, but he had suffered from various illnesses all the time. In September 1651 they had left Sweden to settle their affairs in Holland and France and come back afterwards. Instead of returning to

excellent Junius, to renew an ancient friendship, to admire your substantial book on the origins of Saxon, or indeed of almost all the vernacular languages in Europe today, and finally, to be enriched by your presents. Now you are the only one who made this trip agreeable to me for ever, beyond my expectation.

b Yet what I said about the Latin–Theotiscan glossary, I fear that it is not very important, for when I remember which documents—some whole, some in excerpts—I saw with you, I quite understand that you will find nothing here which you do not know better. Even within so few words I nevertheless think that some are corrupt, which it will be easy for you to emend. I have sent it all the same in order to live up to my promise to you. You can consider them of as little value as they are and as they will appear to you, a most accurate judge of such matters.

c If you know anything definite about Salmasius' coming, I will be most pleased to know. Likewise, if there is any news from Isaac from Sweden, especially concerning Freinsheim's and Boeckler's departure. For this affair is also feeding rumours. I greet the most perfect and pious ladies Vossius, the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law, with all respect and reverence. Farewell.

Deventer, on the 7th before the Ides of November, Julian, 1651 [17 Nov.].

Sweden, however, Salmasius was to die in the Low Countries in 1653. Gronovius was also kept informed of Salmasius' moves by Nicolaas Heinsius' letters. Cf. Blok (1999:351, 354–58, 383–84, 459–60).

⁷ Since August, Isaac Vossius had been awaiting Christina's orders to leave Sweden on a journey via Holland to Spain, **175a**. Johann Freinsheim (1608–1660), German philologist and historian, had become professor of eloquence and politics in Uppsala in 1642, probably on Vossius' recommendation to his former student and boarder Bengt Skytte (1614–1684), **86gn**. He had been appointed Christina's librarian and historiographer in 1647, but had resumed his professorship in the autumn of 1650 at the university Senate's request, possibly as part of a scheme to vacate the position of librarian for Isaac. In July 1651 he was granted leave to return to Germany for health reasons. Gronovius, however, believed Freinsheim's health was a pretext for discontent with the change of positions. In 1656 Freinsheim became honorary professor in Heidelberg. Johann Heinrich Boeckler (1611–1672), theologian, had succeeded Freinsheim as professor in Uppsala in 1648 and vacated the chair again in the summer of 1650, to stay at Christina's court as a historian. Early in 1652, he returned to Strasbourg to assume a professorship in History. Gronovius had heard how Boeckler was on bad terms with Isaac, Freinsheim, and several other people in Sweden. Cf. *ADB* 7.348–49, Blok (1999:255–62, 351–54, 362–63), *NDB* 2.372.

⁸ Probably Johanna de Veno, Matthaeus Vossius' widow, was staying in Amsterdam.

¹⁷⁶ **177** ₁₈₀ 51 12 07 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JOHANNES F. GRONOVIVS
(DEVENTER)¹

A Eximio viro *Domino* Ioanni Friderico Gronovio, Historiarum ac Politices Professori, Daventriam.

a Viro clarissimo Iohanni Frederico Gronovio Franciscus °F.F. Iunius salutem plurimam dicit.

Longius quam destinaveram tempus Amersfordiae consumpseram, quum tuas, Amstelodamum reversus, a sorore Vossia recepi, una cum glossario Theotisco, quod ego quidem tunc, obiter modo lustratum, in aliud tempus reiiciebam, quandoquidem intentionibus oculis atque omni cogitatione percensendum pertractandumque videbatur.² Tandem igitur, post quaedam negotiorum intervalla, nactus vacuum tempus et liberum, retuli me ad glossarium foede mutilatum ab homine Anglo-Saxonicarum °literarum penitus ignaro. Passim enim per *d* vel *b* expressit illud ∅ quod cum *þ*, altera eiusdem potestatis litera, respondet Graeco *θ* vel Latino *th*.³ Frequenter etiam confudit *p* istud (quod respondet nostro *w*) cum Latino *p*, saepius cum Anglo-Saxonico *þ*. Rarissime adhaec observavit discrimen literarum *c* et *t*. Immensi laboris esset omnes id genus errores annotare, proinde quoque satius duxi genuinam Anglo-Saxonicarum vocum orthographiam ad oram adiicere, ut ipse deprehendas quantas antiquissimis quibusque monumentis offundant tenebras qui ea hominibus imperitis tradunt exscribenda, atque istiusmodi apographa aliis deinde relinquunt describenda.⁴ Est interim quod magnam tibi de communicato hoc glossariolo habeam gratiam, eius etenim mentione semel a te iniecta, impatienter eo diutius caruissem. Nunc vero pulcre discedo et probe,

a F.F. Iunius: *ca* \F.F./ Iunius [- F.F.] | literarum: *ca* \literarum/

¹ *o*: UBM, Cod. mix. 617, f. 43. *ca*: UBA, M 89b verso, on the address side of letter **176**.

² Junius may have gone to see Countess Aletheia and Johanna and Maria Junius there, **169g**, **168c**. Elizabeth Junius, with whom Junius stayed, handed him letter **176** with the accompanying Latin–Old English glossary, **176b**.

³ Junius had a great concern for the typographically best representation of the various Germanic languages, to the extent that he had special type fonts made for use in his own Germanic publications, **187a**.

⁴ Having examined original Germanic manuscripts, notably the Anglo-Saxon ones

177 51 12 07 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JOHANNES F. GRONOVIVS
(DEVENTER)

A To the distinguished gentleman Mr. Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, professor of history and politics. To Deventer.

a Francis F.F. Junius gives warmest regards to the widely renowned gentleman Johannes Fredericus Gronovius.

I had spent more time in Amersfoort than I had intended, when I received your letter from Sister Vossius on my return to Amsterdam, together with the Theotiscan glossary, which I actually postponed to another moment then, having examined it only cursorily, since it appeared to require inspection and investigation with more concentrated eyes and all attention. Finally then, after some intervening occupations, I had leisure and spare time and returned to the glossary, which has been horribly mutilated by someone completely ignorant of Anglo-Saxon characters. For he represented the ð , which, together with þ , the other character of the same value, corresponds to Greek θ or Latin th , by means of d or b throughout. He also frequently confused the p (which corresponds to our w) with Latin p , and more often with Anglo-Saxon þ . In addition, he very rarely observed the distinction between the characters c and t . It would be an enormous task to note down all such mistakes, and therefore I also thought it better to add the true orthography of the Anglo-Saxon words in the margin, so that you yourself may perceive what a great darkness is spread over all most ancient documents by those who give them to unskilled people to be copied and then leave such copies to other people to be transcribed. Meanwhile, I have reason to be most grateful to you for imparting this small glossary to me, for after you had made mention of it once, I missed it the longer in my impatience. And now I excellently and readily part from it, but not contrary to expectation. For truly a long time, I seriously and deliberately believed that there is too much difference between

in England, **169e**, Junius came to distinguish between, on the one hand, faulty manuscript copies of the later Middle Ages and more recent times, and on the other, early medieval manuscripts, which still contained pristine language forms. The latter he seems to have envisaged as witnesses of a northern antiquity, possibly comparable to classical antiquity. For this distinction, cf. below, **202**, **204d**, **x**, **211a-d**. Cf. van Romburgh (2001:19–20).

nec tamen praeter opinionem. Olim certe serio iudicatoque existimavi, pernium interesse inter vetusta Britanniae monumenta atque apographa temere apud nos vulgata; nec experimentum contra fuit. Unde mihi porro certum erit ab ipsissimis antiquioribus monumentis digitum nusquam.⁵

- b** De Salmasii adventu nihil etiam num certi ad nos perlatum.⁶ Isaacus quoque noster coactus est reditum aliquantisper adhuc differre.⁷ Vale, vir clarissime.
Dabam raptim, Amstelodami, 7 Decembris 1651.

178 51 12 17 JOHN SELDEN (LONDON) TO JUNIUS [AMSTERDAM]¹

- A** For my worthy freind Mr Franciscus Junius at Mrs Vossius hir house in Amsterdam these

- a** Worthy Sir,
This letter inclosed I beseech you with all dispach deliver to my Lady the Countesse of Arundell. It contains the most sad news here of my Lady of Kents death, so universally bewailed as I think never was or shalbe any other.² Really she was a most incomparable person.
- b** For litle Will Lidall, let me know from you what is wanting or when, & all shalbe supplied at your direction.³ I know I need not desire you to take Care of him. Commend me °to Will, & tell him he must be a good boy for his Ladies sake.
- c** Sir I °heare nothing yet more of Vettius or of Vitruvius.⁴ Tis my misfortune,
Sir I am by many obligations
Your most affectionat freind & humble servant J. Selden
December 7 1651 Whitefriars London.

178b to: \to/ | **c** heare: he\|a/re

⁵ Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 7.3.11, “ab honestissima sententia digitum nusquam.” Junius repeated this *credo* to oppose his own method to that of Johann Clauberg, who etymologized on the basis of present-day German, **202a**. The search for and use of the oldest, most authentic documents available was part of the true humanist course of study, as expressed in the saying “ite ad fontes” [go to the sources] **187a**, **189c**, **204d**. In the beginning of his Germanic studies, Junius had apparently had access only to transcripts, possibly until seeing the Anglo-Saxon material in England. Cf. Grafton (1991), Dekker (1999:9–24), van Romburgh (2001:17–19, 22–25).

the most authentic English documents and the transcripts which are accidentally circulating with us, and it was not contrary to my experience. For this reason, I will from now on be determined not to swerve a finger's breadth from the most authentic documents themselves.

- b Nothing definite has been told us yet about Salmasius' coming. Our Isaac has also been forced still to delay his return for a while. Farewell, widely renowned gentleman.
Written in haste; Amsterdam, 7 December 1651.

178 51 12 17 JOHN SELDEN (LONDON) TO JUNIUS [AMSTERDAM]

[See the original letter.]

⁶ Claudius Salmasius had left Sweden for Holland in September 1651, **176c**.

⁷ Since August, Isaac Vossius had been awaiting Christina of Sweden's orders to leave on a journey via Holland to Spain, **175a**.

¹ *o*: UBL, PAP 2.

² Elizabeth Grey (1581–1651), countess of Kent, the second daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury, and a sister of Countess Aletheia. Selden had lived with her since the earl of Kent's death in 1639. She died at the Friary House in Whitefriars, which she bequeathed to Selden, together with most of her property. Cf. *DNB* 23.181–82.

³ William Liddall (b. c.1641), a boy whom Countess Elizabeth had put under Junius' care to be educated in Holland, **182**, as appears from a codicil dated 53 06 11/21 which Selden appended to his will, "the right honourable the Lady Elizabeth late countess dowager of Kent, did put to school in Holland, under the care of Mr. Francis Junius, William Liddall a young boy to be brought up there, and made fit for some course of life, being now past the age of twelve years," Wilkins (1726:lv). Junius had brought him to Holland by mid September, as Countess Aletheia wrote to her sister, "I was gladd to see the pretty good child you sent by Junius, who is so like his mother I will take what care I can of him, & hope he will doe well," 51 09 05/15, BLO, Ms Rawl. D 395, f. 223; I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer. In the codicil, Selden stipulated to bequeath to William fifty pounds yearly for his education and "five hundred pounds for a stock to set up with, for himself, or otherwise to enjoy it for his best advantage" when he turned eighteen, and to William's sister Jane, who was apprenticed in St. Martin's at the time, "three hundred pounds for a portion to marry her with," Wilkins, *ibidem*. No further details were found on the Liddall children and Countess Elizabeth's concern with them.

⁴ Selden had lent his manuscript of Vettius Valens, *Anthologies* (A.D. 152–162), a work on astrology in nine books, to Claudius Salmasius in 1648, at the same time as the Cottonian Vitruvius manuscript for Johannes de Laet, **164b**. Since neither of them had been returned yet, Selden sought news of their whereabouts with several friends. In a letter dated 51 01 29, the German Marcus Meibomius (1621–1671?), who lived in The Hague, had written to Selden, "ecce vir clarissimus Franciscus

179 52 02 09 BARTHOLDUS NIHUSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS
[AMSTERDAM]¹

- a Clarissime amicissimeque Domine Iuni,
Dedi literas ad illustrissimum Dominum Archiepiscopum Trapezuntium, ut hic videre est.² Utinam prosint.³ Sed et alias gratificari sum paratus, ubi saltem novero, quid futurum sit acceptum. Nescio, num quisquam Pragae me praeterea noverit, nisi si supersit Dominus Bartoldus Heros, Canonicus Strahoviensis, qui mihi olim aderat Ilfeldae.⁴ °Neptis quidem Domini Bolandi, Consulis Coloniensis, Elisabetha van Berg, Susannae soror, nupta pridem domino cuidam Ultraiectino, Assessori Curiae Appellationum Pragae, forte non recordatur amplius mei.⁵ Salveat plurimum tamen in Domino, si vivit. Excellentissimus Dominus Graen, quem audio factum esse Comitem, cognitam habet meam personam; sed forsan ille Viennae degit.⁶ Inquisivi ex bibliopolis hic, Pragane veniant etiam Francofurtum sui generis homines; at negant. Alias libenter mitterem illustrissimo Domino Suffraganeo aliquem librum.
- b Ex illustrissima sua dominatione sodes vestra dominatio sciscitari velit,

a Neptis: [*Fratris* > Neptis]

Iunius, doctrina atque humanitate conspicuus, laetissimum a te adfert nuntium . . . [V]ellem me . . . tuos codices duos, Vettium Valentem et Vitruvium, Salmasio mutuo datos, quos ille apud clarum virum Jac. Golium, amicum meum deposuit, ad mensis spacium utendos accipere posse. Heri Dominus Junius in prandio horum mentionem apud nos iniecit. Qui hac de re . . . apud te se intercessurum benevole admodum obtulit" [See, the renowned man Francis Junius, conspicuous for his learning and kindness, brings most happy news from you . . . I would want to be able to receive your two codices, Vettius Valens and Vitruvius, given on loan to Salmasius, which he left with the renowned man Jacob Golius, a friend of mine, to use for the space of a month. Yesterday, Mr. Junius made mention of them to us at dinner, and he offered quite willingly to become surety with you for this], BLO, Ms Selden supra 109, ff. 304r–305r; I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer. Meibomius subsequently kept postponing to return the manuscripts, but eventually they both came back correctly, as Vitruvius is still in the Cotton collection, 105h, and Vettius in Selden's in BLO. Cf. 169e, Toomer (forthcoming 2), *OCD* (1996:1594).

¹ o: KB, 121 D 2/24.

² Bartholdus Nihusius (1589–1657), German Roman Catholic priest and future suffragan bishop of Erfurt. Raised a Lutheran, he was tutor to the later general Bernard of Sachsen Weimar at the court of Sachsen Weimar. In 1622, he moved to Cologne to be converted to Roman Catholicism. From 1629 to 1631 he was abbot of the Premonstratensian monastery in Ilfeld in the Harz, from where he fled to Amsterdam. He served the Roman Catholic clandestine church, and worked

179 52 02 09 BARTHOLDUS NIHUSIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JUNIUS
[AMSTERDAM]

- a Widely renowned and friendly Mr. Junius,
I have written a letter to the most illustrious lord archbishop of Trebizond, as can be seen here. I hope it can be of good use. I am prepared to do you a favour also at another occasion, when at least I have heard what will be welcome. I do not know whether anyone else knows me in Prague, unless the [nobleman Barthold], a canon at Strahov, who used to be with me in Ilfeld, is still alive. The granddaughter of Mr. Boland, a burgomaster of Cologne, Elizabeth van Berg, Susanna's sister, formerly married to a gentleman from Utrecht, assessor of the Court of Appeal in Prague, may actually not remember me anymore. Yet, may she fare very well in the Lord, if she is alive. The most excellent Mr. Graen, whom I hear has been made an earl, knows my face, but perhaps he lives in Vienna. I asked of booksellers here whether their kind of people also come to Frankfurt from Prague, but they denied it. Otherwise, I would gladly send a book to the most illustrious lord suffragan.
- b Your lordship kindly wished to know of his most illustrious [ladyship/lordship] whether a woman who had been commended by me

as a corrector of the Roman Catholic works in Blaeu's printing office. Notwithstanding his religious zeal, he was a friend of Vossius, Caspar Barlaeus and Joost van den Vondel. In 1653, he returned to Germany and was appointed suffragan bishop of Erfurt in the diocese of Mainz, **184a**. Crispin Fuk (d. 1653), archbishop of Trebizond, Turkey, suffragan bishop of Prague, and abbot of the flourishing Premonstratensian monastery of Strahov outside Prague, which kept its founder St. Norbert's relics. Nihusius' letter to Fuk is unretrieved. Cf. Rademaker (1981:266–69), *NNBW* 7.909–10, *ADB* 23.699–700, Frind (1873:312), R.J.W. Evans (1979:220–21).

³ Junius may have asked for such letters on behalf of William Howard, viscount Stafford, who seems to have been in Vienna at the time and who was in the Palatinate in the summer, **184a**.

⁴ Nobleman Barthold, or Barthold Heros, a canon of the Premonstratensian monastery Strahov, is unidentified.

⁵ Elizabeth van Berg, her sister Susanna, Mr. Boland are unidentified. Possibly Marx von Bergh, who worked in the imperial chancery from 1666 to 1673, is the assessor meant, cf. R.J.W. Evans (1979:143–44).

⁶ Mr. Graen is unidentified.

an necdum istic appulerit femina, aliquoties a me commendata.⁷
Vereor, ne impedimento fuerit hiems.

- c In Germania diversi Principes facti nuper Catholici; et in his °quidem | Ernestus, Hassiae Landgravius, Mauritii filius natu minimus, literas commutans mecum; qui et maiora molitur.⁸ Benedictus Deus, Cui *dominationem vestram* commendo.

Amstelaedami, 9 Februarii 1652.

Clarissimae *dominationis vestrae* servus officiosissimus, Bart. Nihusius.

¹⁷⁷ 180 52 02 22 JOHANNES F. GRONOVIVS (DEVENTER) TO JUNIVS
[AMSTERDAM]¹

A Nobilissimo et clarissimo viro, *Domino* Francisco Iunio Fr.F.

- a Viro summo Francisco Iunio Fr.F. Iohannes Fredericus Gronovius *salutem plurimam dicit*.

Tantam humanitatem praestitisti mihi in corrigendo glossario Anglo-saxonico, Iuni nobilissime, ut cum laborem, quem in meam gratiam imperasti tibi, contemplor, rubore suffundar, qui tantum tibi munus imprudens imposuerim.² Merito ergo gratias ago magnas et hoc Catone °interim ero contentus, meque oblectabo, donec plenis buccis locupletissimum opus tuum hauriam.³

- b Habes hic exemplum libelli, cuius spem faciebam, cum illic essem.⁴ Addidi literas et exemplaria ad Vossium et Reginam, sed seclusi lit-

c quidem: qui-

180a interim: [*frequenter* > interim]

⁷ This section may indicate either that Junius hoped to hear from Countess Aletheia whether an unidentified woman, whose name it was probably too risky to write down, had already arrived in Amsterdam, or that he hoped to hear from William, viscount Stafford, if this woman had already arrived in Vienna.

⁸ Ernst, Landgraf von Hessen-Rheinfels (1623–1693), son of Landgraf Moritz von Hessen-Kassel, had received a strict Reformed education, but converted to Roman Catholicism, possibly partly out of political motives, when he was in Vienna in 1650. In January 1652, he and his wife formally professed their faith in Cologne. Cf. *ADB* 6.284–86.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 89c.

² Junius had corrected a Latin–Old English manuscript glossary which Gronovius had sent to him, 176b, 177a.

³ Erasmus, *Adage* 3903, “Catone hoc contenti sumus,” used by the emperor Augustus to urge one to accept the present state of affairs just as it is, cf. Suetonius,

several times has arrived [here/there] yet. I fear the winter was an obstacle.

- c In Germany several princes have recently become Roman Catholics, and among them Ernest, Landgraf of Hessen, Moritz youngest son, who corresponds with me, and who also endeavours greater projects. Blessed be God, to whom I commend your lordship.

Amsterdam, 9 February 1652.

The most obedient servant to your widely renowned lordship, Bart. Nihusius.

180 52 02 22 JOHANNES F. GRONOVIVS (DEVENTER) TO JUNIVS
[AMSTERDAM]

- A To the most noble and renowned gentleman Mr. Francis Junius Fr.F.

- a Johannes Fredericus Gronovius sends warmest regards to the excellent gentleman Francis Junius F.F.

You have shown so much kindness to me by correcting the Anglo-Saxon glossary, most noble Junius, that I blush with shame when I, who inconsiderately gave you such a great task, consider the toil which you imposed on yourself to please me. I am therefore deservedly very grateful and will meanwhile be satisfied with this Cato and amuse myself until I will swallow your over-opulent work with cheeks full.

- b Here you have a copy of the booklet of which I raised your expectation when I was there. I added letters and copies for Vossius and the queen, but I separated the letters from the parcel, in case it is

Divus Augustus 87.1. Commentators, including Erasmus, identified Cato as Cato Uticensis, who refused to yield on his defeat at Utica in Africa, of whom Augustus said that “quisquis praesentem civitatis statum mutari non vult, is et civis et vir bonus est” [anyone who does not want the existing political order changed is a good citizen and a good gentleman], but since this cannot satisfactorily explain the adage, which seems to refer to someone or something imperfect instead, the adage may be corrupt. Junius’ work was the “Etymologicum teutonicum,” which Gronovius had admired, **176a**. Cf. Carter (1982:198–99).

⁴ Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, *Observationum liber novus. In quo cum alia ad optimorum utriusque linguae auctorum intellectum, tum promissi in Notis ad T. Livium quorundam locorum uberiores tractatus repraesentantur* (Deventer, 1652), with a preface dated 51 12 2/12. Junius’ copy not found in UBL. Gronovius had seen Junius in the autumn of 1651, **176a**.

eras a fasciculo, si forte hic non tam prompte mitti posset; nam literas statim mitti velim.⁵ Ante omnia, teque et nobilissimam et sanctissimam sororem tuam plurimum salvere et diu valentes vivere. Daventria, pridie idus Februarii Iuliano MDCLII.

^o 181 52 05 24 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JOHN GREAVES [-]¹

a Worthy Sir,

The Queen's intention was at the first, that Vossius should have gone for Spain by way of England, and so I thought he would have spoken to you himself; but the Queen having altered her former intentions that way, he is now gone back again for Sweden with Monsr Bouchart.² When I spoke to him about some books in England, he answered, that they found in Sweden a mighty difference in the price of books had in England and other places. For in England they esteem their things too high; whereas at Venice, Florence, Rome, Naples, Sicily, (in all parts *Dominus* | Nicolaus Heinsius is now employed for the Queen) they meet with divers old libraries, in the which old Latin and Greek manuscripts are at this present (the love of learning being but cold in them parts) at the rate of so much a pound; as if books were to be valued only by the weight of parchment.³ The Queen is now likewise about the sending of one into Turkey for Greek manuscripts. I heard my kinsmann Vossius name him, but forgot his name.⁴

b I meant, according to Mr Marsham's desire, to have waited upon⁵ Monsr Salmasius, and to have acquainted him with some additions to Aeschylus and his Scholiast, a young English gentleman hath met with, and to have upon that occasion inquired, if he had any thing that might conduce to a new edition of Aeschylus;⁶ but I have been hindered by a strange breach betwixt him and my kinsman Vossius,⁷ some particulars of which I have acquainted Mr Phillips at large

⁵ Isaac Vossius and Christina of Sweden. Gronovius' letter to Christina is unretrieved, but the one to Isaac is dated 52 02 22, in which Gronovius explained that the parcel also contained a copy for the professor of history in Uppsala, Joannes Loccenius (1598–1677), and a copy of Gronovius' *Aulus Gellius* (Amsterdam, 1651) for Isaac. Junius probably handed the letters and parcel to Isaac in person, for the latter arrived in Amsterdam at the end of February, 175a. Cf. Dibon, Bots and Bots-Estourgie (1974:210), UBL, Burm. F 11 I, f. 293.

perhaps impossible to send it so quickly, for I want the letters to be sent immediately. Before all else, may you and your most noble and pious sister fare exceedingly well and live long in good health. Deventer, on the day before the Ides of February, Julian, 1652 [22 Feb.].

181 52 05 24 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JOHN GREAVES [-]

[See the original letter.]

¹ *o*: BLO, Ms Savile 47, f. 37 (not seen); *p*: Birch 2.468–69. Reply to an unretrieved letter, which must have contained the questions answered in the present letter. *o* was brought to my attention by Gerald Toomer, who recollected, in personal communication, that *p* is “essentially accurate.”

² In an unretrieved letter, Greaves must have informed Junius and Isaac Vossius of books for sale in England which might be of interest to Christina of Sweden, as he had done before, 167c. Instead of going to Spain, Isaac had stayed in Amsterdam from the end of February and returned to Sweden again in the first week of May, together with his friend, the Huguenot minister at Caen Samuel Bochart (1599–1667), who had been invited by Christina through Isaac’s mediation, and Bochart’s amanuensis, the philologist, mathematician and astronomer, and future bishop of Avranches, Pierre Daniel Huet (1630–1721). However, Isaac was refused entry into Sweden by Christina due to his quarrel with Claudius Salmasius, b. He was presumably on his way back to Amsterdam at the time of this letter, but had obviously not yet returned. He was forced to stay in Amsterdam for more than a year, still in expectation of a potential journey to England, Spain and possibly Constantinople for Christina. In Stockholm, Bochart took Isaac’s task of ordering the library, especially middle-eastern manuscripts, upon himself. Cf. 175a, 186a, Blok (1999:335, 396–406), Callmer (1977:70), DBF 6.743, Blok (1999, s.v. Bochart).

³ Nicolaas Heinsius travelled in France and Italy from the summer of 1651 until the summer of 1653 in search of manuscripts and books for Christina’s library. In Italy manuscripts and early printed editions of classical, especially Greek authors were indeed so cheap that Heinsius suggested they were used as wrapping paper. Cf. Blok (1949:129, 133–35, 102–183).

⁴ Actually, she suggested Isaac himself might travel to Constantinople in search of manuscripts. The other person whom Christina wished to send to Turkey is unidentified. Cf. Blok (1999:405).

⁵ Wait upon: “to pay a respectful visit to,” cf. *OED*.

⁶ Sir John Marsham may have expressed his desire in an unretrieved letter, or via Greaves’ letter to Junius. Sir John Marsham (1602–1685), writer on chronology, had a great reputation for his knowledge of history, chronology and languages. He is said to have deciphered Egyptian. He wrote the preface to the first volume of William Dugdale’s *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655). Thomas Stanley (1625–1678), Marsham’s nephew-in-marriage, made a new edition of Aeschylus, published in 1663, which was regarded as the standard edition, 220c. Claudius Salmasius had collated Aeschylus. Cf. *DNB* 36.254, 54.78–81, Blok (1999:38).

⁷ The conflict between Isaac Vossius and his former preceptor Salmasius was a lingering affair which was to end in a breach. Isaac had lent a considerable sum of money to Claude Saumaise, a son of Salmasius, in Sweden, but was not paid

with.⁸ Thus wishing I might have been better able to do you or Mr Marsham any service, for the manifold respects and favours formerly received, I must still desire to meet with some other opportunity, whereby I might shew myself to be,
 Worthy Sir, Your most affectionate Friend and Servant, F. Junius.
 Amsterdam 1652. 24 May, *stilo novo*.

182 52 07 08 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JOHN SELDEN [LONDON]¹

a Worthie Sir,

This bearer Mr William Couse was upon my Lord of Dorsetts commendation foure yeeres since entertained by my Ladie of Arundell to bee one of the agents in Her affaires, and having lately bene sent for by Her, he was some eight or tenn dayes here at Amsterdam with us, and is now hastening his return.² Not knowing therefore when such an other oportunitie in these uncertaine times might bee offered unto mee, I could not forbear to bring him first to the litle gentlemans schoole, and afterwards to an English marchand Mr. Bridgman, who liveth but eight or ten houses from the sayd schoole, & hath taken so much notice of the litle gentleman that hee hath him often at his hous to play with his little sonne.³ This Mr. Bridgman told us then plainly, what upon a late experience hee did suspect, that his neighbour the schoolemaster was a very honest man, but that his wife was held to bee a covetously griping woman.⁴ His testimonie therefore concurring with what I had found, I asked him where °hee did thinke wee might place him better; hee told us that there was an excellent French schoole at Naerden, some three or four miles from Amsterdam, where manie other marchands children are kept in very good order, & hee had also a little kinsman in that schoole, whom hee saw almost everie second or third weeke, when hee went to a countrie house his father in law, Mr. Watson, hath neer the towne of Naerden, and would bee readie to looke after this little councieman of his, with the same care hee taketh for his kinsman.⁵ The rest of our discourse Mr. Couse can relate with more ease then that I should write all.

b The accompt & bills payed will shew that of the 630 gl. received, I have yet 135 gl. to bee answerable for; which (God willing) shall bee cleered in the following accompts. At this present not anie thing is left unpayed; but when the last quarterly payement shall bee made

182 52 07 08 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JOHN SELDEN [LONDON]¹

[*See the original letter.*]

a hee: [- *I did thinke*] hee

back. He accordingly tried to move Salmasius to pay, but the latter refused on the grounds that he had nothing to do with it and that Christina of Sweden had already recompensed Isaac. During his stay in Amsterdam, Isaac had threatened to take the matter to the Leiden academic court. Suspicious by nature, Salmasius, in turn, had already taken a dislike to Isaac when the latter had arranged for Nicolaas Heinsius, whom Salmasius hated, to come to Christina's court in 1650, and he refused to come to an agreement with Isaac. Both complained to Christina, who favoured Salmasius, and had Isaac fired as her librarian and refused entrance into Sweden. On 1 May, she had sent a letter with this information to Salmasius, who accordingly knew of the prohibition before Isaac did. At Christina's request, Isaac sent an excuse for the conflict to Salmasius, who, however, refused to respond or forgive. Cf. Blok (1999:299, 302–06, 359–60, 382, 394–402, 407–11).

⁸ Junius' letter to Fabian Philipps is unretrieved.

¹ *o*: BL, Hl. 7001, f. 232. On the verso, in an unidentified hand, "Given by Mr Gro. Holmes."

² William Couse is unidentified. Edward Sackville, fourth earl of Dorset (1591–1652), who was to die soon after this letter, cf. *DNB* 50.89–92.

³ The "little gentleman" is William Liddall, a protégé of the late Elizabeth Grey, who had put him in Junius' care, **178b**. Merchant Mr. Bridgman and his son are unidentified.

⁴ Schoolmaster and his wife are unidentified.

⁵ French school, Mr. Bridgman's little kinsman, his father-in-law Mr. Watson are unidentified. Naarden is further away from Amsterdam than just three or four miles.

unto the schoolmaster about Michaelmasse, and some little accompts of shoes, stockins, mending of clothes, &c. shall bee in the meane while discharged, some thing more will bee required to provide him of necessaries for the removing him to an other schoole. The next bill of exchange therefore (if you meane to keepe the little man longer in this contrie)⁶ could bee made with more profit to the little gentleman, & with more convenience to mee upon the sayd Mr Bridgman by the meanes of a London marchand Mr Thomas Corbet, a Northfolkman, & (if I doe not mistake) brother to Miles Corbett that noted parliament man.⁷ In the last bill two things were amisse; first, °whereas I had moved that it should bee made upon sight, so that I might have received the monie as I should passe thorough Rotterdam towards Amsterdam, this was not done; but the bill was made upon halfe use after the shewing off it.⁸ This I perceived onely when I came in Holland.⁹ for as I went by Paules church yard in all haste late at night, not to loose the tide towards Gravesand, I called for the bill hastily at the three pidgeons & putt it up without examining it, conceiving it to bee upon sight, as I doubted not but you had given °order.¹⁰ When therefore I went at Rotterdam to a marchand I had bene long acquainted with, to desire his companie at the receipt of the monie, hee shewed mee cleerely that there was not onely that error in the bill, but also that for 30 l., payed afore hand in England, here ought to bee repayed three hundred & thirtie guldens at the least, if not three hundred & five or six & thirtie:¹¹ so that both the former bills (setting downe 315 gl. for 30 l.) procured by Mr Robbinson from I know not what Dutch marchand (if they had bene duely ordered) would have yeilded some 30 or fourtie guldens more for the use of the young gentleman. Having spoke afterwards with Mr Bridgman about it, hee was of the same opinion. so that it is likely the bills which shall here after bee drawne upon him, will bee for the childs advantage and my ease. Sir, I could not but advertise you of these particulars, leaving the rest to Mr Couse his relation.¹² whom I pray God to bring over safely, & finde you in perfect health, according to the wish of your most devoted frend & servant FFF Junius.

with much haste. at Amsterdam. Anno 1652. the 8 of °July, *stilo novo*.

b whereas: [- *that*] whereas | order: [- *him*] order | July: Jul[*ie* > y]

⁶ After the death of Elizabeth, countess of Kent, Selden felt or was responsible for William, **178b^a**.

⁷ No further details were found on the Norfolk merchant Thomas Corbet. Miles Corbet (d. 1662) was one of the regicides, who had signed the death-warrant of Charles I, **164a^a**. He was to be executed on the charge of high treason in 1662. Junius' use of "noted," meaning "special of note, famous," cf. *OED*, is both ironic and safe, in case this letter was intercepted. Cf. *DNB* 12:202.

⁸ Made upon sight: "at (so many) days' sight," e.g. "a Bill drawn . . . at 6 days sight," which is the earliest attestation, dating from 1701, in *OED*; upon half use: "at [half] interest," cf. *OED*.

⁹ Unless Junius had been in London earlier in 1652, this letter describes how William and he had fared since the latter's return to Holland in the autumn of 1651, **174c**, **178b**.

¹⁰ The "Three Pigeons" was a bookshop at Paternoster Row, St. Paul's Churchyard, London, conducted by H. Robinson from 1627 until 1670. Gravesend is situated on the Thames estuary near the coast. Cf. Pollard and Redgrave 3.239, 244-45.

¹¹ Possibly Abraham van Barthem.

¹² Relation: "account," cf. *OED*.

183 53 01 04 CHRISTOPH ARNOLD (NUREMBERG) TO JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM)¹

A Viro nobili atque clarissimo *Domino* F. Iunio F.F., philologo celeberrimo, amico singulari, Amstelodamum. *Bij Is. Vossius te bestellen.*²

a Feliciter annare, ac perennare!³

Quoties in mentem mihi venis, vir clarissime—venis autem saepicule, imo quotidie—toties ego Anglosaxonica illa cimelia cogito, de quibus olim inter nos στόμα πρὸς στόμα.⁴ Caeterum de mythologico quodam *manuscripto* quod a reverendissimo Hibernorum Primate, quum essem Astelodami, acceperas, iam nunc scribere habeo.⁵ *De prudentia veterum apud poetas occultata* nuperrime inauguralem meam in urbe nostra

¹ o: UBA, M 81. Nuremberg still used the old style calendar, cf. Duncan (1998:295).

² Junius was obviously staying at the house of Isaac Vossius and Elizabeth Junius in Amsterdam.

³ Annare: hapax, Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 1.12. Christoph Arnold (1627–1685), Lutheran deacon and professor in Nuremberg. After his education in Nuremberg and at Altdorf University, he made a tour from October 1649 until July 1652. He stayed in Leiden, sailed to England in July 1651, visiting London, where he met Junius, a, Oxford and Cambridge, and returned to Holland at the end of the year. Back in Nuremberg, he became professor and deacon of the Marienkirche. He was active in the fields of religion, poetry and classical philology, and also interested in archaeology and numismatics. His keen interest in vernacular poetry and membership of the Nuremberg *Pegnesischer Blumenorden*, a society devoted to raising the standard of German poetry by means of purification and embellishment of the vernacular, had induced him to publish *Kunstspiegel Hoch-teutscher Sprache* (1649) praising the beauty and power of German and its suitability as a poetic language as compared with other vernaculars and Latin. His concern with archaeology is displayed in his Latin translation of the Dutch treatise (1647) on the pagan cult of the goddess Nehalennia in Zeeland by the Leiden professor Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn (1602–1653). Cf. Blom (1982, esp. 4–17).

⁴ Arnold had met Junius in London in the summer of 1651, when Junius contributed an entry to his *Album amicorum* dated 51 08 10, the one-but-earliest entry in England, **App8**. Probably, Arnold had had an unretrieved letter of introduction for Junius from one of his Dutch friends. According to this section, they met again in Amsterdam after Arnold's return from England, that is, between November or December 1651 and June 1652, when Arnold embarked on his journey home. Cf. Blom (1982:13–14).

⁵ The manuscript of Old English biblical poetry, now Ms Jun. 11, one of the four surviving codices of Old English literature, comprising the poems commonly called "Genesis," "Exodus," "Daniel" and "Christ and Satan," illuminated with fine illustrations. Archbishop Ussher had put the manuscript at Junius' disposal, as Junius also explained in *Observationes* (1655:248), **188c**, and the letter to the reader in his edition of the manuscript, *Cædmonis paraphrasis* (1655:[.2]), cf. below. Since Ussher had previously lent the manuscript to Johannes de Laet, Sir Simonds D'Ewes and William Somner, he may actually also have lent it to Junius, who kept it on Ussher's

183 53 01 04 CHRISTOPH ARNOLD (NUREMBERG) TO JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM)

A To the noble and widely renowned gentleman Mr. F. Junius F.F., a most famous philologist and extraordinary friend. *To be delivered at Is. Vossius*, Amsterdam.

a May you have a happy year and many years to come! As often as you come to mind, widely renowned sir—and you come to mind rather often, even daily—so often I think of those Anglo-Saxon treasures about which we spoke *face to face* previously. Yet, I can write just now about a primeval manuscript, which you had received from the right reverend Primate of Ireland, when I was in Amsterdam. Quite recently in our town I propitiously held my inaugural lecture, “On the Wisdom of the Ancients Hidden in Poets,” which I intend to publish by order of my superiors together with a special booklet of observations on primeval subjects. Yet, I remember

death in 1656. The impression that the manuscript still belonged to Ussher when Junius published its edition is supported by the latter’s reference to it in the letter to the reader, *Cædmonis paraphrasis* (1655:[.2]), as “*ipsis reverendi Antistitis veteribus membranis*” [the reverend archbishop’s ancient membranes themselves], to which the reader might turn for future collations. Junius took the manuscript to Holland in 1651 and published its *editio princeps* as *Cædmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica genesios ac præcipuarum sacrae paginae historiarum, abhinc annos 1070 Anglo-Saxonice conscripta et nunc primum edita* (Amsterdam: Chr. Cunradi, 1655), without dedication. Because of the similarity in subject matter and style to the biblical poetry by Cædmon, a lay brother at the Northumbrian monastery of Whitby during Hild’s abbacy (657–680), as explained in Venerable Bede, *Ecclesiastical History* 4.24, **b***, Junius attributed the poems to Cædmon, thus initiating a popular tradition, cf. e.g. Gollancz (1927). For his early opinion of the manuscript, cf. this section. According to Jan van Vliet, *’t Vader Ons* (1664:[viii]), **210b**, the edition “werdt noch in gehouden tot dat de Uijtleeggingen mede sullen gereedt wesen” [is still kept back until the explanations will be finished as well]. These explanations, which have remained in the manuscripts now Mss Jun. 73* and 113, reveal that Junius was primarily interested in the special poetic vocabulary of the texts. *Cædmonis paraphrasis* was re-issued with a new title page in 1755. Arnold must have used the word *mythologicus* in the sense “very ancient” rather than “mythological,” for both the Latin description of the first text in the manuscript and the illustrations leave no doubt about the biblical subject matter of the poems. Breuker’s suggestion (1998:149) that Ussher may have given the manuscript to Junius only after the latter had Old English fonts made in 1654, **187a**, cannot be supported. Cf. Ker (1957, no. 334), Madan (1937:965), Raw (1984), van Romburgh (2001:25, 35n104), Bennett (1938:27), Bremmer (1998b:208), Lutz (2000:45–46), Timmer (1948/54:3–10). For a facsimile edition of the Ms, cf. Gollancz (1927); for a facsimile edition of Junius’ *Cædmonis paraphrasis* (1655) and an edition of these manuscript notes, with introduction, cf. Lucas (2000).

auspicato °recitavi, quam iussu superiorum, cum singulari quodam observationum mythologicarum libello edere, animus est.⁶ Satis autem memini, multa praeclara de mythica nongentorum amplius annorum poesi apud East-Saxones in illo *manuscripto* haberi, ceu ipse mihi eius indicium feceras.⁷ Quapropter °si vacat, aut si libet, submitte, quaeso, nonnulla, quibus me iuvare pariter ac ornare (ceu soles) tu solus poteris. Runerum Eddas scio;⁸ sed Hibernorum °mirifica singularum, sive alternarum subsidentium (ut ita dicam) vocum poetice, de qua coram magnus ille Usherius, iterum excidit.⁹ Num veterum Saxonum poesis vernacula fuerit rhythmica, vel saltem numerosa, et in quo campo aut regione disciplinarum curriculum (vox Comici)¹⁰ fecerit, inprimis scire velim. Quodsi igitur, mi charissime, si me, inquam, hac in re graphice edoctum dederis, singulari amicitiae tuae omnia libenter accepta referam.

b Magna illa literarum numina Usherius, Seldenus, Whelocus quid rerum agunt?¹¹ Salvere ac bene rem gerere velim omnes amicos nostros, quibus pectus sapit.¹² Salutem dic meo nomine, licet parvo quidem ac tantillo, maximis illis viris, Blondello atque Gronovio.¹³ Salmasius quid respondit?¹⁴

a recitavi: [- *dab*] recitavi | si vacat: sivacat | mirifica: [- *singularis atque*] mirifica

⁶ Arnold had become professor of Greek, Rhetorics, Poetry and History at his former school, the “Aegidien-gymnasium” on 12 December 1652. Inaugural lecture and treatise unidentified; not mentioned in Blom (1982) and Spahr (1960).

⁷ This is Junius’ earliest known appreciation of the Junius Ms. It reveals that Junius knew the texts were poetry, just as de Laet and possibly other contemporary Anglo-Saxonists did—so that de Laet need not have been the first to do so, contrary to Timmer’s suggestion (1957b:201). The suggested age of the poems corresponds to Cædmon’s lifetime, cf. below, although it is unclear why Junius increased their age to 1,070 years old in the title of his edition. The attribution of the poetry to the East-Saxons was probably on account of the fact that Cædmon’s monastery of Whitby was on the East coast of Northumbria.

⁸ Ole Worm, *Runer* (1636:191–96; 1651:177–82), **164c**, quoted the discussion by the Icelandic minister and poet Magnús Ólafsson (1573–1636) on vernacular poetry, referred to as “Edda,” its composition in stanzas and rhythm, and added to this the funeral poem for Ragnar Lodbrog “Krákumál,” and the “Drapa” of Egill Skallagrímson in runes with a Latin interlinear translation (1636:197–241; 1651:183–218). The word “Edda” was commonly used “to signify native poetry in the traditional manner, with all ornaments of ancient diction and allusion,” Dronke (1969:xiii). Cf. Benediktsson (1948, s.vv.).

⁹ The *dán díreach*, or strict metres of Irish poetry, used ever since the early Middle Ages up to Ussher’s time, set the rules for rhymed stanzaic verse containing a fixed number of syllables in corresponding lines and a rhymed foot of fixed rhythm at the end of certain corresponding lines. The *dán midseng*, for instance, had an alternation of a disyllable—an accented trochee—and trisyllable—an accented dactyl—in the line endings. Cf. Murphy (1961, esp. 21–25), Knott and Murphy (1966:23–28).

well that there is much remarkable material on the primeval poetry of more than nine hundred years ago among the East-Saxons in that manuscript, just as you pointed out to me yourself. For this reason, if you have time or if you please, I pray, send some material with which only you can assist as well as honour me (as you are used to do). I know the runic Edda, but the wonderful Irish poetry of single or alternate decreasing words (so to speak), about which that great Ussher spoke with me, has escaped me again. I would especially like to know whether the vernacular poetry of the ancient Saxons was rhythmic, or at least in metre, and in which field or area of studies it made its course (a word of the comics). If, therefore, my dearest sir, if you, I say, are able to make me exactly instructed in this, I will gladly ascribe everything received to your extraordinary friendship.

b What are those great divinities of letters Ussher, Selden and Wheelock doing? I would like all our friends whose hearts are wise to fare well and be fine. Give greetings in my name, although it is actually small and little, to those greatest men, Blondel and Gronovius. What does Salmasius respond?

¹⁰ Plautus, *Trinummus* 1103, "Facere unum curriculum."

¹¹ Ussher had written in Arnold's *Album amicorum* in London on 19 October 1651. John Selden had written in Arnold's *Album amicorum* in London on 9 August 1651. Abraham Wheelock (1593–1653), librarian of Cambridge University from 1629, professor of Arabic from 1632, and, from 1640, the first lecturer of the Cambridge lectureship on Anglo-Saxon history and Old English, **189c**. In 1643 he had published sources fundamental to Anglo-Saxon studies, the *editio princeps* both of the Old English version of the venerable Bede, *Historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum libri V*, with the Latin version, and of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, with a Latin translation. One year later, he edited William Lambarde's *Archaionomia* . . . (Cambridge, 1644), containing the Anglo-Saxon law codes, to which Sir Roger Twysden, **201e**, also contributed. Junius' annotated copy is now Ms Jun. 10. The prestige Wheelock attributed to a proficiency in Old English is testified in an Old English poem he composed. He had written in Arnold's *Album amicorum* in Cambridge on 26 September 1651. Cf. Blom (1982:30–31), *DNB* 60. 443–44, Lutz (2000:34–40), *SCW* no. 5122, Dekker (unpubl. ms), Plumer (2000:250–53).

¹² A Plautian expression, *Bacchides* 659, "pectus quoi sapit;" *Miles gloriosus* 786, "cuique sapiat pectus;" *Trinummus* 90, "quoi pectus sapiat."

¹³ David Blondel (1590–1655), predicant and Vossius' successor as professor at the Amsterdam Athenaeum. Johannes Fredericus Gronovius had written in Arnold's *Album amicorum* on 1 June 1650. Cf. *NNBW* 7.143–44, Blom (1982:28).

¹⁴ Claudius Salmasius had for some years been promising a reply to *Pro populo Anglicano defensio contra Salmasium* (1650), the official, highly praised defense of the Commonwealth by the poet and parliamentarian John Milton (1608–1674), which itself was a refutation of Salmasius' denouncement of the Commonwealth in *Defensio regia* (1649). Salmasius' reply was eventually published posthumously, and unfinished, as an over three-hundred-page invective *Ad Ioannem Miltonum. responsio* (Dijon, 1660),

Semper is auditor tantum? nunquamne reponet
Vexatus toties?¹⁵

Verum, ne longior sim, finem scribendi facio, °ut ne forte funestas
atque molestas mittam, quae mortem amici *vestri*, non ita crediti,
lugent.¹⁶ Bene vale.

Datis Norimbergae, ante diem *Salvatoris* nativitatis, anno salutis
MDCLII.

Clarissimi tui observantissimus Magister Arnold, ad *Sanctae Vir-*
ginis Diaconus et Eloquentiae Poeseos ac Graecae Linguae Publicus
Professor.¹⁷

- c *Postscriptum. Mijn Heer gelieve maer een Antwoord weer by te leggen in [dr]*
*Floris Visscher logis.*¹⁸

184 [53 00 00] HANS HECTOR ZUM JUNGEN [FRANKFURT] TO JUNIUS
[FRANKFURT]¹

A *Claro viro Domino Iunio, amico plurimum colendo.*

- a Praeter omnem opinionem accidit, ut cum amicis quibusdam
Swalbacum in aquas acidulas excurrerim, inde cum ante proximum
diem Saturni vix rediturus sim, *Dominationi tuae* id significandum
duxi, ne frustra ad me inviseret.² Collocutus *autem* sum cum Doctore

b ut: \ut/

dedicated by Salmasius' son Claude to Charles II. Milton's *Pro populo* had been a
topic in unretrieved correspondence between Isaac Vossius and Junius in 1651; pos-
sibly in the first week of June, Isaac had asked Junius about Milton, and received
an answer by the first week of July, as he described to Nicolaas Heinsius, "de
Miltono iam certior factus sum ab avunculo meo Iunio, qui cum eo familiaritatem
colit. Is mihi significavit cum Parlamento esse a secretis in negotiis externis, esse
multarum linguarum peritum, non quidem nobili, sed tamen generosa, ut ipsi loqu-
untur, ortum stirpe, discipulum Patricii Iunii, comem, affabilem, multisque aliis
praeditum virtutibus" [I have already been informed of Milton by my uncle Junius,
who cherishes a friendship with him. He indicated to me that he is the secretary
of foreign affairs with Parliament, competent in many languages, born indeed not
of a noble, but still of a gentile family, as it is called, a pupil of Patrick Young,
courteous, affable, and gifted with many other virtues], 51 07 08, Burman 3.52.
Notwithstanding their acquaintance, no indications have been found for the sug-
gestion, sometimes made, that Junius helped Milton interpret the Old English poetry
in Ms Jun. 11, which may have served as a source of inspiration for Milton's great

Is he always just a listener? Does he never answer,
 Troubled so often?

But in order not to be too lengthy, I put an end to my writing, in order not to send a sad and troublesome letter, which laments the death of your friend, who is believed not so. Farewell.

Written in Nuremberg on the Saviour's day of birth in the year of Salvation 1652 [4 Jan. 1653].

Deeply devoted to your wide renownedness,

Master Arnold, deacon at the [church] of the Holy Virgin and public professor of rhetorics, poetry, and Greek language.

c *Please sir, return an answer again at Dr. Floris Visscher's lodgings.*

184 [53 00 00] HANS HECTOR ZUM JUNGEN [FRANKFURT] TO JUNIUS [FRANKFURT]

A To the renowned gentleman Mr. Junius, a most honourable friend.

a Beyond all expectation it has happened that I have hastened to Schwalbach to the mineral waters with some friends, and since I will hardly have returned before this Saturday, I felt this must be indicated to your lordship, so that you would not come to see me in vain. Yet, I spoke with the physician Dr. Scheffer, who offered

poems "Paradise Lost" and "Fall of Men." De Hoog (1908:10) misinterpreted the quotation as if Milton had praised Junius as someone competent in many languages. Cf. Parker (1996:192, 574–75, 844, 986n120, 1086, 1298–99), Burman 3.38, 44, 45, 51, Lever (1947).

¹⁵ Juvenal, *Saturae* 1.1–2.

¹⁶ Dead friend unidentified.

¹⁷ Apparently, Arnold was formally ordained deacon of the Nuremberg Marienkirche only on 30 November 1653, cf. Blom (1982:14).

¹⁸ Floris Visscher is unidentified; he was probably a relative of Adolf Visscher (1605–1652), the Lutheran minister in Amsterdam, who had written in Arnold's *Album amicorum* in Amsterdam on 13 November 1649, cf. Blom (1982:27).

¹ *o*: UBA, M 91. Written during Junius' stay in Frankfurt in the summer of 1653, a, 185a.

² Hans Hector zum Jungen (1603–1668), a member of an influential patrician family from Frankfurt, and a brother of Johann Maximilian (1596–1649), 185c. From mid January until November 1653, Junius was in Germany on an errand to release William, viscount Stafford, who had been imprisoned, possibly by order of the Prince Palatine, Charles Louis, on an unspecified charge of misdemeanour in

illo medico Scheffero, qui operam suam pollicitus est, promisitque se cum uno alterove istorum canonicorum collocaturum.³ Si interim Dominationi tuae °ita visum erit, ipsamet praedictum Dominum Dr Schefferum adire, amicitiamque cum eo contrahere poterit, quod ipsi haut ingratum fore, scio. Haut longe ab hospitio tuo habitat; domum eius hospes tuus facillime commonstrabit.⁴ Bibliopola etiam ille heri Wormatiam profectus est, cui negotium illud sedulo commendavi.⁵ Utinam alicubi aliquid efficere possimus, quod opto, speroque, °te, vir humanissime, bene interim valere iubens.

E museo

Tuus ad omnia, Iohann Hector Zum Jungen.

⁰ 185 53 09 18 BARTHOLDUS NIHUSIUS (REGENSBURG) TO JUNIUS
(FRANKFURT)¹

A Clarissimo Domino Francisco Iunio, Francofurtum.

a Clarissime vir,

O quam doleo, latuisse me, quod esses Francofurti, quum transirem illac mense Quinctili proximo, vel saltem non superfuisse mihi tantillum temporis, ut inquirere licuerit, quot amicorum pristinorum ibi esset superstes.² Equidem libentissime loquutus tecum fuissem de negotio, quod anxiam tenet excellentissimam Dominam Arundeliam.³ Cui significaveram, abiens Amstelaedamo, fieri posse ut, Ratisbonam tendens, attingerem Heidelbergam; sed Moguntiae mihi autor erat Proprinceps, ut, quia me vocasset Elector suus, recto properarem

184a ita: [- ul] ita | te: te[- que]

Zwingenberg Castle on the Neckar in the summer of 1652. Cf. Körner (1971:80–95, esp. 88), Weijtens (1971:17), Bremmer and Rácz (1998:121, 124, 126), Breuker (1998:146n), 210d.

³ Probably Sebastian Scheffer (1631–1686), a Frankfurt physician and philologist who wrote in the *Album amicorum* of Andreas Arnold (1656–1694), son of Christoph Arnold, in 1680. Junius presumably did meet him, for he seems to have referred to him, possibly sending his greetings, in an unretrieved letter to Bartoldus Nihusius, 185c. Junius' wish may have had to do with his search for Germanic texts and dictionaries, for instance the ancient Latin–Franconian dictionary which he had seen in the Dominican monastery in Frankfurt, 210d, 187a. Cf. Blom (1982:37).

⁴ Junius' lodgings in Frankfurt unidentified.

his assistance and promised to talk to the one or other of those canons. Yet, if it so pleases your lordship, you could go to the afore-said Mr. Dr. Scheffer yourself and form a friendship with him, which will be most welcome to him, I know. He lives quite close to your lodgings; your host will most easily point out his house. The book-seller to whom I zealously commended this affair also left for Worms yesterday. If only we were able to accomplish anything anywhere, which I wish and hope, wishing that you, most courteous sir, are doing well in the mean while.

From my study.

Yours in everything, Johann Hector zum Jungen.

185 53 09 18 BARTHOLDUS NIHUSIUS (REGENSBURG) TO JUNIUS
(FRANKFURT)

A To the most renowned Mr. Francis Junius, Frankfurt.

a Widely renowned sir,

Oh, how I am sorry that I did not know you were in Frankfurt when I passed there last July, or at least that I had too little time left to be able to inquire how many of my old friends were still alive there. I would really most gladly have talked to you about the affair which is keeping the most excellent countess of Arundel anxious. On my departure from Amsterdam, I indicated to her that I could call at Heidelberg on my way to Regensburg, but the bishop-elect of Mainz advised me to hasten on a straight journey, because his elector had summoned me. So, I just do not know what, and how, to

⁵ Merchant unidentified. The affair may again have concerned Junius' searches for Germanic texts.

¹ *o*: UBA, M 94. Reply to an unretrieved letter which Junius had sent from Frankfurt and which included references and possibly greetings from Junius' Frankfurt acquaintances, *c*.

² The Latin is awkward; one would expect "essent superstites." Junius was in Germany to release William Howard, viscount Stafford, **184a**. After a ten-years' stay in Amsterdam, Nihusius returned to Germany to become suffragan bishop of Erfurt in the diocese of Mainz, **179**.

³ Countess Aletheia was deeply troubled that the imprisonment of her son, viscount Stafford, was a disgrace to the family. She must have stayed in her house in Amsterdam at the time, **169g**. Cf. Bremmer and Rácz (1998:126).

itinere.⁴ Sic nescio iam, quid quomodo aggrediar hic in Comitiiis eodem fine, quantumvis degens in aula Maguntina, ipsiusque adeo Domini Boineburgii quasi contubernio.⁵ Suggere idcirco sodes, si quid occurreret pro moestissima Domina ista, cuius profecto vices ex animo doleo. Neque vero, hic loci, mentio fit eius rei ulla.

b Monstravit mihi perillustris Dominus Boineburgius catalogum librorum a clarissimo Vossio meo conscriptorum.⁶ Laetatus fui summpere, nisi quod indignari totus pergo, sic periisse Chronologicum opus illud elaboratissimum; de qua calamitate saepe apud me oquesta viri magni vidua, soror tua.⁷ Sed omemini me videre quoque, ante sexennium, ea quae videbantur confectura Theologiae Gentilium tomum tertium.⁸ Spero et haec proditura suo tempore, ut et ea quae continent locupletiores historias Pelagianam.⁹

c Gaudeo, clarissimum Schefferum superesse in vivis. Obsecro, salveat amicus ille vetus, iuxta cum nobilissimis Dominis Zum Jungen.¹⁰ O utinam viveret Io. Maximilianus meus!¹¹ Vale.

Ratisbona, XVIII Septembris MDCLIII.

Clarissimi nominis tui studiosissimus, Bartoldus Nihusius.

186 53 12 09 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (STOCKHOLM)¹

A Isaaco Vossio, Holmiam.

a Salutem plurimam. Quamquam Suecicum iter, mi cognate, tibi volo bene feliciterque evenire, subinde tamen doleo me dulcissima

b oquesta: qu[a > e]sta | memini: memin[e > i]

⁴ Johann Philipp von Schönborn (1605–1673), elector and bishop-elect of Mainz, and bishop of Würzburg, cf. *ADB* 32.274–76, Jürgensmeier (1992:91–94).

⁵ Johann Christian von Boineburg (1622–1672), diplomat, had been appointed marshal and councillor of the archbishop of Mainz in Regensburg in 1653 on the condition that he became a Roman Catholic, cf. *NDB* 2.424–25.

⁶ Why Boineburg had a list of Vossius' books which was apparently more detailed than Nihusius knew from his contacts with Vossius, Elizabeth Junius, and Isaac Vossius, is unclear.

⁷ For years, no trace had been seen of the manuscript of Vossius' work on the chronology of the world and the division of the times in accordance with the Old Testament, and Elizabeth Junius had suspected Vossius' amanuensis Alexander Tollius (c.1630–1675) of having stolen it. It was, however, found and published by Isaac Vossius as Vossius, *Chronologiae sacrae isagoge sive De ultimis mundi antiquitatibus*, ac

undertake here at the Councils to the same end, although I am staying at the court of Mainz and even in Mr. Boineburg's company, so to speak. So, please indicate it, if anything occurs to you for the benefit of that most sorrowful countess, whose misfortunes I deeply regret with all my heart. But here the affair was not mentioned.

b The most illustrious Mr. Boineburg showed me a list of books written by my widely renowned Vossius. I was greatly pleased with it, except that I wholly continue to consider as improper that this most elaborate chronological book has been lost in such a way. The great gentleman's widow, your sister, has often complained to me about this misfortune. But I also remember to have seen what seemed to complete the third volume of the *Pagan Religion* six years ago. I hope this will also appear in due time, as well as the book which comprises the more substantial *History of Pelagianism*.

c I am pleased that the widely renowned Scheffer is still in the land of the living. I pray, may this ancient friend fare well, as well as the most noble gentlemen zum Jungen. Oh, I wish my Johann Maximilian were still alive! Farewell.

Regensburg, 18 September 1653.

Deeply devoted to your widely renowned name, Bartoldus Nihusius.

186 53 12 09 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (STOCKHOLM)

A To Isaac Vossius, Stockholm.

a Warmest regards. Although I wish your journey to Sweden to turn out well and happily, my nephew, I often feel sorry that I have been

imprimis de temporibus rerum Hebraearum, dissertationes VIII (The Hague: Adriaan Vlacq, 1659). Cf. Rademaker (1981:310–12, 374), Blok (1999:347–49).

⁸ Vossius, *De theologia gentili . . . Editio nova* (1668), 171c. Nihusius referred to the additional books 5 to 9, which Vossius had left in manuscript.

⁹ Vossius, *Historiae de controversiis . . . Secundo editio emendatissima, et ultra quartam partem ad auctoris apographum sparsim locupletata* (Amsterdam: Lodewijk and Daniel Elzevier, 1655), an enlarged edition published by Isaac Vossius. Cf. 28c, Rademaker (1981:357).

¹⁰ The Frankfurt patrician zum Jungen family, among whom Hans Hector zum Jungen, cf. Körner (1971:80–95).

¹¹ Johann Maximilian zum Jungen (1596–1649), diplomat and Frankfurt patrician, patron and book collector, a brother of Hans Hector. Cf. *NDB* 10.682–83, Körner (1971:87–88).

¹ *ca*: UBA, M 79.

illa consuetudine privatum, cuius vivus etiamnum sensus in memoria mea insidet.² Acerbum quidem hoc, sedate tamen constanterque absentiam tuam laturus mihi videor, si frequentibus ad *optimam* matrem literis qualemcunque tui conspectum nobis indulgeas, nosque subinde certiores facias de iis quae °pertinebunt ad typographos editioni posthumorum operum intentos.³

b Ita nunc Blauwius, opusculis de poetis Graecis Latinisque prope iam ad finem perductis, sollicitus est de epistola dedicatoria, vel Epistola ad Lectorem utriusque opusculo praemittenda.⁴ Ego certe propter longam inter externos moram, ac nuperam quoque absentiam variis atque insolitis curis multum diuque exercitam, usque adeo sum ignarus °negotiorum huius nostrae patriae, ut dispicere nequeam quibus quid potissimum videatur esse dedicandum, qualiterque epistolae dedicatoriae pro cuiusque indole ac rerum temporumque circumstantia sint instituendae. Non gravaberis, spero, hanc curarum nostrarum partem prima quaque occasione per otium suscipere, ac brevem aliquam dedicatiunculam tuo vel sororis nomine a me nunc primum prodeunti libro praefigendam, ad nos transmittere. Ego sorori in reliquis industriam meam probare conabor.

c Miseret me Manassis nostri; scis quid animum eius mordeat, teque id probe scire ac meminisse ad medelam suffecturum arbitror.⁵ Vale ac, nostri subinde memor, feliciter rem gere.
Amstelodami, 1653, 9 Decembris.
Tuus totus.

a pertinebunt: [- *spectabunt*] pertinebunt | **b** negotiorum: [- *rerum*] negotiorum

² Notwithstanding his conflict with Claudius Salmasius, at the end of May Isaac Vossius had been invited to return to Christina of Sweden's court and resume the position of librarian in August, after a forced one-year stay with Elizabeth Junius and Junius. In September Salmasius died, which helped to clear the situation. Cf. **181a–b**, Blok (1999:452–53, 457, 459).

³ Isaac concerned himself with the posthumous (re-)publication of Vossius' work. Cf. **b**, **175a**, **187c**, Blok (1999:395–96).

⁴ Vossius, *De veterum poetarum temporibus libri duo, qui sunt de poetis Graecis et Latinis* (Amsterdam: Joan Blaeu, 1654), comprising a catalogue of Greek and Latin poets, who included Caspar Barlaeus and Grotius, and a short history of the art of Latin poetry. The book was given a preface by the publisher instead of a dedication composed by Isaac. This section indicates how Junius also concerned himself with Vossius' posthumous publications, **187c**, **194**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:306).

robbed of that sweetest company, the still vivid feeling of which has settled in my memory. It is bitter indeed, yet I think I will bear your absence calmly and steadily if you grant us a kind of glimpse of yourself in frequent letters to your excellent mother and often inform us of what concerns the publishers who are preparing the edition of the posthumous books.

- b Thus, now that the small books on Greek and Latin poets have almost been brought to an end now, Blaeu is now eager for a dedicatory letter or a letter to the reader to be prefaced to each small book. I, for sure, am so unaware of the circumstances of our fatherland, because of my long stay abroad and also because of my recent absence, which was plagued much and long by various and unusual concerns, that I cannot perceive what seems to be dedicated best to whom, and how the dedicatory letters must be drawn up in accordance with the disposition of each of them and the circumstances of time and place. You will not be annoyed, I hope, to take this part of our cares upon yourself in your spare time at the first possible opportunity, and to send us a short dedication in your own or my sister's name, which I must preface to the book that appears first now. I will try to make my diligence serviceable to Sister for the rest.
- c I feel pity for our Mennaseh; you know what vexes his heart and I believe that it will suffice as a cure that you know and remember this well. Farewell and be well and think of us often.
Amsterdam, 1653, 9 December.
Yours Truly.

⁵ Menasseh ben Israel (1604–1657), rabbi in Amsterdam, an inspired preacher and writer, and a friend of the Vossius family and their circle. Many of his writings were intended to make Judaism accessible to Christians, and the Bible to a lay audience. Dionysius Vossius had translated his *Concilhador* (1632) into Latin, 94a. In 1626, Menasseh had set up a Hebrew press in Amsterdam, and in 1655, he visited England to plead for the re-admittance of Jews there. Menasseh had sent copies of his own publications, as well as a collection of Hebrew books especially acquired for the purpose, to Christina of Sweden for nine hundred guilders in total in 1651–52. The Hebrew books never arrived in Sweden, however, and the expenses he had advanced were not paid back, which greatly injured him. Isaac seems to have managed to arrange the affair to Menasseh's satisfaction in 1654–55. Cf. *NNBW* 10.604–13, *BWN* 12.121–25, Katchen (1984:125–59), Kaplan (1989), Blok (1999:379–81, 424–27, esp. 425).

187 54 05 08 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JOHN SELDEN [LONDON]¹

A To my much honored freind, Mr. John Selden.

a [. . .] The long stay I made the last year in Germany, occasioned me to take some pains in excussing some old Francick monuments, though I lighted but on very few:² but haveing met here in these our parts with four *MS. glossaria*, besides 26 *Hymnos veteris ecclesiae cum antiqua interlineatione Theotisca*, I begin to think my self now so wel instructed with good subsidyes, as that I shal be bold to try how to ad something to what Goldastus and Freherus have commented in that kind.³ In the meane while have I here Anglo-Saxonick (I know not whether you call them Punchons) a cutting, and hope they will be matriculated, and cast within the space of seven or eight weeks at the furthest.⁴ As soon as they come to my hands, I wil send you

¹ *p*: Hickes (1705:xlili-iv). I used the copy now UBL, 365 A 2. Hickes did not edit the beginning of the letter, as he indicated by the initial “. . .”. It is therefore not known how much text actually preceded section a. Hickes’ use of italics and upper case has been silently reduced to italics for phrases in a foreign language, excluding personal names.

² This sentence occurs in *OED-CD*, quoted after Webster 1864, to illustrate the meaning of “to excuss” 2, “To shake out the contents of anything; hence, to investigate thoroughly, discuss (a question or document); also, to get (the truth) from (a person).” Junius had been in Germany to release William, viscount Stafford, **184a**. He had acquired a copy of the Latin and Old High German version of Tatian’s *Diatessaron*, **195a**, and seen a Latin-Franconian glossary, **184a**, **210d**.

³ The manuscripts now Mss Jun. 25 and 83. Ms Jun. 25, which dates from eighth- and ninth-century Murbach, contains the Latin and Old High German glossary on Genesis distinguished as ‘A’ by Junius, on ff. 158–183r; the alphabetical Old High German–Latin glossary distinguished as ‘B’ by Junius, on ff. 87v–107; the Latin vocabulary with Old High German glosses distinguished as ‘C’ by Junius, on ff. 118–120; the so-called *Murbach Hymnal* of Latin hymns with Old High German interlineation, on ff. 116–17 and 122–29. Ms Jun. 83 contains the thirteenth-century Old High German glossary which Junius called “nomenclator” and distinguished as ‘D,’ on ff. 49v–71, **203d**. The manuscripts had been bought by Isaac Vossius at the auction of Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn’s books on 11 March. Junius transcribed ‘A’ and ‘B’ in Ms Jun. 116a, ‘C’ in Ms Jun. 116b, and ‘D’ in Ms Jun. 116c, adding explanations and including many references to his other glossaries. He intended to publish them, **213a**. He copied the hymns in Ms Jun. 74, with an alphabetical index of words, and wrote hymns in Old High German and Latin in Ms Jun. 13, ff. 153v–154. The German historian Melchior Goldast von Haiminsfeld (1578–1635) and the lawyer and polyhistor Marquard Freher (1565–1614) had published several important ancient German texts in the early 1600s. Junius made various excerpts of both their publications. His copy of Tatian had belonged to Freher, **203b**. Ms Jun. 64 contains Junius’ transcripts and notes from Freher, *Orationis Dominicae et symboli apostolici Alammanica versio vetustissima* ([Heidelberg], 1609), *De secretis*

187 54 05 08 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO JOHN SELDEN [LONDON]

[See the original letter.]

iudiciis ([Heidelberg], 1610), and Goldast, *Alamannicarum rerum scriptores aliquot vetusti* . . . (Frankfurt, 1606). Ms Jun. 39 contains Junius' transcript of the Old English Decalogue with Freher's notes from Freher, *Decalogi* ([Heidelberg], 1610). Ms Jun. 106 contains notes from Freher, *Originum Palatinarum commentarius* (Heidelberg, 1599). Ms Jun. 116d contains Junius' "Glossarium G," a transcript of the few Old High German ("Theodiscam") glosses in the seventh letter of Ruodpert of St. Gall, and "Glossarium M," a transcript of the brief "Glossae Latino-barbaricae de partibus humani corporis" of Hrabanus Maurus (c.780–856), abbot of Fulda, both from Goldast's *Alamannicarum rerum*. Ms Jun. 84 comprises a copy of the extensive glossary by Kero, monk of St. Gall, on the Rule of St. Benedict, also from Goldast. This glossary formed the basis of Junius' "Glossarium K," Ms Jun. 116e, ff. 3–278, which includes many references to his other glossaries. Possibly, Junius acquired only later his copies of Goldast, *Alamannicarum rerum*, now Ms Jun. 20, and *Paraeneticorum veterum* (Lindau, 1604), now Ms Jun. 52. Junius must already have been working on Tatian, for he laid it aside in order to make his *Observationes* (1655), which were being printed by the end of the year, **188c**. Cf. Breuker (1990:55, 1998:145–46), Stanley (1998:163, 173), Dekker (unpubl. ms), *NDB* 6.601–02, *ADB* 7.334–35, *SCW* nos. 5137, 5194, 5175, 5151, 5217, 5228***, 5195, 5227, 5132, 5164.

⁴ Punchons: "punches, made of steel, at the end of which the required letter pattern was cut in relief by hand;" matriculate: "to make matrices by hammering the punch into small blocks of copper so as to make a mould from which types could be 'cast' in sufficient numbers to make up a fount adequate for the printer's needs," Lucas (1998:181). Junius' "Pica Saxon" was actually a "Pica Roman" to which special sorts for eight Anglo-Saxon capitals and eleven Anglo-Saxon lower case characters were added. In the course of his projects, Junius increased his Germanic types to "Pica Gothic," "Pica Runic," "Pica Islandic," "Pica Saxon," and "English Swedish," which he bequeathed as "printing utensils" to Oxford University by deed of gift dated 77 07 20/30. They were used for the printing of subsequent publications of Germanic philology, and are still part of the Oxford University Press Archive. Initially, Junius had intended to dedicate his Germanic types to Countess Aletheia, but her delay in paying his outstanding stipend, which he needed to pay the expenses of having types made, **188a**, and her death, must have made him decide otherwise; cf. "hee [Junius] had by eight or ten yeeres studie made some observations which were readie for the presse; but that hee was first to undergoe the charges to have Anglo-Saxonike, Runike, & Gothike letters cutt & cast, to divulge his Observations the better, by giving unto everie one of these dialects their owne auncient characters & orthographie . . . that if hee should receive his owne & by that meanes bee enabled to goe thorough the worke . . . that he would . . . give Her [Countess Aletheia] the glorie of such new letters; a thing which great Monarches formerly have bene and still are ambitious off, to have types and typographers go by their names," *GAA*, *Not.Arch.* 2435, 42–43, quoted after Bremmer and Rác (1998:124). Howarth (1998:136) quoted PRO, London, Court of Delegates Processes, 7, no. 14, 1147–48, in similar words. In the present edition, Junius' Anglo-Saxon font has been used in the computer version by Peter Baker, University of Virginia, for the Old English passages: abcøerghijklmnopqrucv, p[w], xyz, æ[ac], ð[th], þ[th]. Cf. Weijtens (1971:43n103), Breuker (1990:50, 1998:139–40n38); for a detailed discussion of Junius' types, their models and possible punchcutter, cf. Lucas (1998).

some little specimen of them, to the end I might know how they will be liked in England, and afterwards goe in hand with the fore-mentioned glossaries, illustrateing and comparing them one by another; but especially with the Anglo-Saxonick;⁵ and so goe in hand with some of these Anglo-Saxonick monuments I transcribed by your favour out of divers Cottonian MSS.⁶ The mutual collation of both, I am sure, will give much light to both.⁷

b As for Strozza or Sforza *De condenda urbe nova*, I could not meet with him any where, neither found I here as yet any Stationer that knew him.⁸ I shall not forbear to continue looking after that book; and you may be sure to have it, if it be to be found here, or at Leiden.

c Elzevier meaneth shortly to begin with that great work of Vossius his *Origines*, and his *Pelagiana historia* much augmented.⁹ But I thinke he stayeth till my kinsman be returned out of Suede, we lookeing for him to be here within four, or five weeks:¹⁰ as yet no great matters is printed of old Vossius:¹¹ but (as it seemeth) they will shortly fall to it with better times, which God grant us to meet with.

Amsterdam. the 8 May. *stilo novo*. 1654.

Your assured Freind, and most Humble Servant, Fr. Junius.

⁵ Junius presumably meant his transcript of Ælfric's glossary from Cott. Ms Jul. A.iiA, collated with the version in Cott. Ms Faust. A.xA and a fragment from Sir Simonds D'Ewes' library, now BL, Hl. Ms 107, in Ms Jun. 72. He had probably also already made his transcript of the so-called "Archbishop Ælfric's Vocabulary," which for a long time was believed to be the same as Ælfric's glossary, in Ms Jun. 71, distinguished as "gl. R.," 203e. In addition, he was compiling the Old English-Latin dictionary, now Mss Jun. 2 and 3, for his own use, 190b. Cf. Stanley (1998:170-71), *SCW* nos. 5182, 5183.

⁶ In the course of his Germanic studies, Junius made numerous transcripts and excerpts from Old English texts in the Cottonian library, some of which have gained in importance since the originals were damaged or lost in the Cottonian fire of 1731. Among Junius' manuscript legacy, now Mss Junius, are excerpts or collations from Cott. Ms Aug. ii.15, "Wynflæd's agreement," in Ms Jun. 62; Cott. Ms Cal. A.vii, "Heliand," in Ms Jun. 103; Cott. Ms Dom. viii, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, in Ms Jun. 10; Cott. Ms Faust. A.xA, Ælfric's glossary, in Ms Jun. 72, 77, 84; Cott. Ms Jul. A.ii, "Adrian and Ritheus," in Mss Jun. 45, 61; Cott. Ms Jul. AiiiA, Ælfric's glossary, in Ms Jun. 72, 77, 84; Cott. Ms Jul. A.vi, "glossed hymns," in Mss Jun. 107, 108; Cott. Ms Jul. A.x, "martyrology," in Ms Jun. 101, "Menologium," in Ms Jun. 101; Cott. Ms Nero A.i, pieces by Wulfstan and excerpts from Alfred's "Boethius," in Ms Jun. 65; Cott. Ms Nero D.iv, "Lindisfarne Gospels," in Mss Jun. 50, 76;

Cott. Ms Otho A.vi, "Alfred's Boethius," in Ms Jun. 12; Cott. Ms Otho B.ii, "Alfred's Pastoral Care," in Ms Jun. 53; the miscellaneous Cott. Ms Tib. A.iii in Mss Jun. 38, 41, 44, 46, 48, 59, 63, 66, 69, 92, 100, 107, 108; Cott. Ms Tib. B.i, "C, or Abingdon, Chronicle," including "Maxims II" and "Menologium," in Ms Jun. 67, "Orosius," in Ms Jun. 15; Cott. Ms Tib. B.xi, "Alfred's Pastoral Care," in Ms Jun. 53; Cott. Ms Tit. A.iv, "Rule of St. Benedict," in Ms Jun. 52; Cott. Ms Vesp. D.vi, Kentish glosses to Proverbs, in Ms Jun. 71; Cott. Ms Vesp. D.xii, "glossed hymns," in Mss Jun. 107, 108; Cott. Ms Vit. A.vii, "coronation oath," in Ms Jun. 60; Cott. Ms Vitellius A.xv, "Solomon and Saturn," in Ms Jun. 45, 61, "Judith," in Ms Jun. 105; Cott. Ms Vit. A.xvA, "Alfred's Soliloquies of St. Augustine," in Ms Jun. 70. It is difficult to identify which of these transcriptions Junius had already made by the time of this letter, and which he was to make during subsequent visits to the Cottonian library. Among the early Cottonian transcripts were presumably at least the excerpts from the Lindisfarne Gospels in Ms Jun. 76, **169e**, the Rule of St. Benedict in Ms Jun. 52, **App8**, and Ælfric's glossary, cf. this section. Cf. Stanley (1998), Dekker (unpubl. ms), *SCW*.

⁷ This seems to be suggestive of the dawn of Junius' new philological approach in his Germanic studies, that is, not to trace all northern words straight back to Greek, as he had still done in his "Etymologicum teutonicum," **169d**, but to compare the northern languages with each other in order to arrive at the etymologies of the words examined, **177a**, **189c**, **204d**. At the time of this letter, his comparative approach was still in its very beginning, for Joannes Georgius Graevius informed Gronovius at the same time that Junius "in glossis veteris linguae Anglicae, Francicae et Saxonicae est occupatus, quarum originem ex Graecia deducavit" [is occupied with glosses of the ancient English, Frankish and Saxon language, the origin of which he has derived from Greek], 54 04 29, quoted after Breuker (1998:146). The first results of the comparative approach to appear in print were his *Observationes* (1655), **188c**. This approach was to make him the father of comparative Germanic philology, **164c**. Cf. Breuker (1990:55, 1998:145), van Romburgh (2001:9–10).

⁸ Possibly Kyriacus Stroza, *De republica libri duo nonus et decimus* (Florence, 1563), an addition to Aristotle's *Politics*, although it is doubtful that this text was so unknown that neither Selden, nor Junius, nor the booksellers Junius consulted could make out what text was meant; the text in Greek and Latin had been republished in *Aristotelis operum* . . . 2 vols. (Paris, 1629), 2.461–91. Personal communication Gerald Toomer.

⁹ The important publishers Daniel (1626–1680) and Lodewijk (1604–1670) Elzevier, the latter the founder of the Amsterdam Elzevier publishing house. Vossius, *Historiae de controversiis* . . . *Secundo editio* (1655), and *De theologia gentili* . . . *Editio nova* (1668), which was, however, published by Blaeu, **171c**, **185b**. Cf. *NNBW* 9.233–35, 239–40, Willems (1880/1974), Dongelmans, Hoftijzer, and Lankhorst (2000).

¹⁰ At the end of February, Isaac Vossius had received a pass to return from Sweden to Holland, but he postponed the trip until early June in order to travel together with Coenraad van Beuningen, **214c**, who had been a special envoy of the Dutch Republic to Christina of Sweden. Several days after their departure, Christina formally abdicated and prepared for a leisurely journey to Rome, during which she stayed considerable time in Antwerp, **165a**, **188A**. By mid July, Isaac had returned in Amsterdam. His principal concern in Sweden had been the retrieval of his library, which had mixed with Christina's in his absence, and the collection of substitutes for it from among Christina's books. Ten chests of his books arrived in Amsterdam in the middle of March, and a second load, which included the *Codex argenteus*, **188a**, by mid July. Cf. Blok (1999:448–50, 452–54, 63–66, 469–73).

¹¹ Cf. **170d**, **175a**, **185b**, **186b**, **194**.

188 54 11 12 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (ANTWERP)¹

- A** *Aen mijn Heer mijn Heer Isaacus Vossius op de Meer, tegen over 't klooster van de Minimes tot Antwerpen.*² *port.*
- a** Salutem plurimam. Licet multum oblectet me Codex Argenteus ac totum fere animum ad se trahat, tractumque retineat,³ non tamen id potest efficere, ut (quod subvereri videbare) immemorem me reddat negotii illius Staffordiani.⁴ Quatriduum enim nunc est ex quo Amersfordiam profectus, securitati meae consulere coepi; ne forte iniquae Dostonis illius morae aliquando mihi fraudi °esse possint.⁵
- b** Grave interim fuit redeunti sororem debilitatam offendere; at nunc secundo a reditu nostro °die (litteris tuis nonnihilo credo recreata) meliuscule habet.⁶ Obstitit tamen valetudo quo minus ipsa scribendi laborem subiret. Defungor itaque hoc scribendi officio, ut ipsam (scribere paratam) hoc onere liberem, tibi quoque sollicitudinem demam quae silentio utriusque animo tuo iniici posset.
- c** Observatiunculæ nostræ in Williramum ad 13am nunc perductæ philyram, potuissentque reliquæ quinque vel sex philyræ ante hoc tempus absolvi, si strenue magis operam navassent tyothetæ.⁷

a esse: [- *sint futurae*] esse | **b** die: [- *d*] die

¹ o: UBA, I 89c.

² Isaac Vossius was with Christina of Sweden to arrange her library in Antwerp from mid-August until September 1655, when he left her service and returned to Holland, cf. Blok (1999:475–96).

³ The *Codex argenteus* containing the Gothic Gospels, **173b**, was part of the collection of books and manuscripts which Isaac had selected in Stockholm to compensate for his own library. The treasure had appeared as “manu scripta in folio. Evangelistarum fragmenta sermone et caractere Gothico,” [folio manuscripts. Fragments of the Gospels in Gothic speech and characters], quoted after Blok (1999:366), in the catalogue made of Christina’s collection under Isaac’s supervision. Since Junius had shown interest in Gothic for some years, **169d**, **173**, it is not unlikely that Isaac had selected the manuscript especially for his uncle. The *Codex argenteus* was among the second shipment of Isaac’s books which had arrived in Amsterdam by mid-July, **187c**. In 1662, when Junius must have finished transcribing it, Isaac sold it back to Sweden, to Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, **211A**. For Junius’ *editio princeps* of the text, **209b**. Cf. **187c**, Blok (1999:366, 469–73).

⁴ Junius claimed £1,200, and some years later even £1,370, as outstanding stipend for his various duties for the earl and countess of Arundel, from their son William, viscount Stafford, who contended that his mother had left all her possessions to him by verbal agreement in June. In October, the Arundel movables in Amersfoort had been sequestered at the request of eleven English creditors, who feared Stafford

188 54 11 12 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (ANTWERP)

- A *To Mr. Isaac Vossius. At the Meer opposite the monastery of the Franciscans in Antwerp. Postage.*
- a Warmest regards. Although the *Codex argenteus* pleases me much and draws almost all of my attention and, having drawn it, holds it, it still cannot make me forget Stafford's affair (which you seemed to fear somewhat). For it is four days ago now since I went to Amersfoort and began to care for my security, so that this Doso's unfair delays could not perhaps tend to my injury one time.
- b Meanwhile, it was bitter to find Sister sick on my return, but now, on the second day after our return, she is somewhat better (being somewhat revived, I believe, by your letter). Still, her health prevents her from enduring the toil of writing. So I perform this duty of writing to relieve her from this burden (although she is prepared to write) and to remove any concern from you, which could be put into your heart by our joint silence.
- c Our small *Observations on Willeram* have been brought up to the thirteenth quire now, and the remaining five or six quires could have been finished by this time, if the compositors had more briskly exerted themselves. Meanwhile, from this delay of the press I took the

might sell them to acquire money. Thereupon, Junius, one Anna Henshaw and one Colonel Henry Crow had lodged an appeal at the Court of Utrecht by the creditors' proxy, Emanuel Halton. They received permission to claim their dues from the sequestered movables too and to summon Stafford to Court. Although Stafford's proxy allowed the case to drag on, Stafford was imprisoned in January 1656, but released again and cleared of the charge in the province of Utrecht, **190b**, **191a**, **b**, **192b**, **193a**, **199a**, **200c**, **206a**. At issue was the question whether Stafford, who as the youngest son could not inherit from his father but only from his mother, had appropriated inheritance he was not entitled to, and if so, whether he could be summoned to pay his father's debts. When some creditors had Stafford arrested again on the basis of a warrant from the Court of Holland, Junius had transferred the case from Amersfoort to the Court of Holland, **193b**. Cf. ARA, Weijtens (1971:19–22), Bremmer and Rácz (1998).

⁵ Erasmus, *Adage* 3492, "Dosones," from δώσω [I shall give], hence someone who keeps promising to give something. Junius had presumably been in Amersfoort to consult on his claim.

⁶ Elizabeth Junius had also been seriously ill in September, when Isaac had even been forced to return to her in Amsterdam for some time, cf. Blok (1999:477–78).

⁷ Junius' first Germanic publication, his *Observationes in Willerami Abbatis francicam paraphrasin cantici canticorum* (Amsterdam: Christopher Cunradi, 1655), which he dedicated to the trustees of Leiden University with letter **189**. The book was printed

Interim ex hac praeli mora hoc coepi commodi, quod nonnihil etiam ex Codice Argenteo hac occasione delibavi ac lectori gustum aliquem thesauri istius exhibui, quo maiora suo tempore speret.⁸ Sed desino nunc porro magna spondere, malim reipsa exequi quidquid tandem ex isthoc monumento poterit erui.

- d** Utinam aliquantisper nobis hac hieme liceat tua frui praesentia. Nihil interim °aeque nobis est in votis, quam ut subinde certiores fiamus te gaudere et bene rem gerere.

Amstelodami, 1654, 12 Novembris *stilo* novo.

Tuus totus.

- 189** 55 01 30 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO VAN DEN BOUCKHORST, SCHAEF, VAN BEVEREN, VAN DER MAERSCHE, VAN BAERSDORP, VAN DER AA, VAN WALBECK, AND VAN WEVELICHOVEN [LEIDEN]¹

- a** Nobilissimis magnificisque viris *Domino* Amelio a Bouchorst, *Domino* de Wimmenum, equestris ordinis nomine Ordinum Hollandiae Delegato, Rhenolandiae Praetori, Praefecto aggerum, etc., *Domino* Gerardo SchaeF, *iuris Consulto* ad serenissimos Daniae ac Sueciae Reges Exlegato, Ordinum Hollandiae Delegato, etc., *Domino* Cornelio a Beveren, Equiti, Stevelshouckii, Westiselmondae, et Develsteinii *Domino*, ad serenissimos Daniae ac Sueciae Reges Exlegato, Ordinum

d aeque: [- *nihil*] aeque

with Junius' own types, **187a**, by Christopher Cunradi, or Kristof Konrad, a publisher originally from Germany, who was active in Amsterdam from 1650 until 1684 and also printed Junius' *Cedmonis paraphrasis* (1655), **183a**. He may have been recommended to Junius by Joost van den Vondel, who had his *Q. Horatius Flaccus Lierzangen en dichtkunst* (1654) printed by him—no copy of *Lierzangen* of Junius is to be found in UBL. The book was offered for sale with Adriaan Vlacq in The Hague. Junius' *Observationes* comprise his philological annotations to the so-called "Leiden Willeram," a late eleventh-century version from Egmond Abbey, Holland, of the eleventh-century Old High German prose paraphrase of the Song of Songs by Abbot Williram of Ebersberg, Bayern, adapted by the Egmond scribe to his own dialect. The text had been published by the professor of history and librarian of Leiden University, Paulus Merula (1558–1607), with a Dutch translation by the secretary of the trustees of Leiden University, Jan van Hout (1542–1609), and a commentary by the philologist Pancratius Castricomius (d. 1619), presumably, in 1598. Junius' copy of Merula, *Willeramii abbatis in Cantica Canticatorum* (Leiden, 1598) is now Ms Jun. 79. Junius' annotations are indicative of the new philological approach he

convenience to gather something from the *Codex argenteus* on this occasion as well and give a foretaste of this treasure to the reader, so that he may look forward to more in due time. But I cease to promise great projects now any further, preferring actually to publish what can finally be elicited from this document.

- d I wish we may delight in your presence for a while this winter. Meanwhile, nothing is as much among our wishes than to be informed often that you are happy and are doing well.
Amsterdam, 1654, 12 November new style.
Yours Truly.

189 55 01 30 JUNIUS (AMSTERDAM) TO VAN DEN BOUCKHORST,
SCHAEP, VAN BEVEREN, VAN DER MAERSCHE, VAN
BAERSDORP, VAN DER AA, VAN WALBEECK, AND
VAN WEVELICHOVEN [LEIDEN]

- a To the most noble and magnificent gentlemen Mr. Amelis van den Bouchorst, lord of Wimmenum, delegate for the nobility in the States of Holland, high bailiff and dike-grave of Rijnland, etc.; Mr. Gerard Schaep, lawyer, former envoy to the right serene kings of Denmark and Sweden, delegate in the States of Holland, etc.; Mr. Cornelis van Beveren, knight, lord of Strevelshoek, West-Ysselmonde and Develstein, former envoy to the right serene kings of Denmark

was developing, **187a**. It is not known why Junius made these annotations his first Germanic publication, for which he had even interrupted his commentary on Tatian, **195a**. His claim that he did so “amicorum quorundam rogatu” [at the request of some friends], *Observationes* (1655:302), seems topical rather than explanatory. The copies now UBL, 579 G 14 (from Isaac Vossius’ collection), and Ms Jun. 75 contain Junius’ corrections and some annotations, **210c**. Junius intended to prepare a second edition, **210c**. Cf. Lucas (1998:184–85), Unger (1888, no. 510), Schuytvlot (1987, no. 796), Junius (1655a:[i]), *SCW* no. 5186, 5190, Stanley (1998:172), Voorwinden (1992:viii, x, xviii), *Observationes* (1655:302), Dekker (unpubl. ms), Bremmer (1998b:233); for a facsimile edition with an introduction of *Observationes*, cf. Voorwinden (1992).

⁸ This and the following sentence indicate that Junius had already conceived the intention of publishing on the *Codex argenteus*, or the text of the *Codex* itself, contrary to Voorwinden’s suggestion (1992:ix). References to the *Codex argenteus* in *Observationes* reveal that Junius had not yet studied the text in detail, and that most correct Gothic forms occur from p. 233, that is, quire ‘P.’ Cf. Breuker (1990:58, 1998:149), Voorwinden (1992:viii–ix).

¹ p: Junius, *Observationes* (1655:[iii–ix]). I used f. f: Voorwinden (1992:[iii–x]). Dedicatory letter of Junius’ *Observationes* (1655), **188c**.

Hollandiae Delegato, Curatoribus Academiae Lugdunum Batavorum;² ut et amplissimis prudentissimisque viris Consulibus urbis Leidensis, Domino Ioanni van der Maersche, Domino Simoni a Baersdorp, Domino Mauringo van der Aa, Domino Theodoro Lucae a Walbeeck, denique Domino Ioanni a Wevelichoven iuris Consulto Leidensis Reipublicae syndico, nobilissimis illustrissimisque Curatoribus a secretis.³ Dominis omni observantia dignissimis, hasce suas Observationes libenter meritoque dat dedicat Franciscus Iunius F.F.⁴

b | Illustres ac vere magnifici Domini,

Quamvis omnibus olim admirationi fuerint qui gestum agebant in scena, spectante Roscio—quis enim sese commovere poterat, cuius ille vitia non deprehenderet?⁵—ausus tamen sum tenuem hanc opellam ingerere oculis virorum in cultiore literatura egregiorum et in notandis animadvertendisque vitiis prudentissimorum.⁶ Id ni esset, nunquam certe publica suffragia curam celeberrimae Academiae vobis iniunxissent, neque ipsi in hoc dignitatis gradu collocati gravem provinciam usque adeo feliciter obire, et non nisi optime cogitata ac publice utilia decernere possetis. Caeterum haec atque alia his maiora, quia cognita sunt ab omnibus, verborum ornamenta non quaerunt.

c De me potius hoc tantum dicam; per mihi, per inquam gratos semper fuisse scriptores usitata patribus nostris lingua nobiscum agentes, qui tamen maiorem apud me gratiam consecuti sunt, posteaquam ex frequenti eorum tractatione didici quantopere conducant ad Teutonicam nostram immensa praestantissimorum significan-

² Amelis van den Bouckhorst (1613–1669), lord of Wimmenum, delegate of the nobility and presider at the Delegate Council of Holland from 1653, High Bailiff and dike-grave of Rijnland from 1636, and a trustee of Leiden University from 1643; Gerard Schaep (1594–1666), lord of Kortenhoeft, envoy extraordinary to the kings of Denmark and Sweden in 1644, at the time a member of the board of the Council of the Delegate Council of Holland, and a trustee of Leiden University from 1641; Cornelis de Beveren (1591–1663), knight, lord of Strevelhoek, West-Ysselmonde and de Lindt, residing at Develstein House, magistrate in Dordrecht since 1622, envoy extraordinary to Denmark and Hamburg in 1631, delegate at the Delegate Council of Holland, delegate at the States General, trustee of the Dordrecht Latin School and its library, and a trustee of Leiden University from 1644. Cf. *NBW* 3.108–09, 4.262–63, van Poelgeest (1985:14–16, [25], [92–93]), *BWN* 17.199.

³ The Leiden burgomasters Joannes van der Maersche, Simon van Baersdorp, Mauringh Cornelisz van der Aa and Dirk Lukas van Walbeeck, and Jan van Wevelichoven, syndic of Leiden and secretary to the trustees from 1620, cf. *Bronnen* 2.81.

⁴ Junius had probably dedicated his *Observationes* (1655) to the Leiden trustees because the “Leiden Willeram,” which he had annotated in it, had been published

and Sweden, delegate in the States of Holland—trustees of Leiden University, as well as to the most glorious and prudent Messrs burgomasters of the town of Leiden, Mr. Joannes van der Maersche, Mr. Simon van Baersdorp, Mr. Mauringh van der Aa, Mr. Theodoor Lukas van Walbeeck and also Mr. Joannes van Wevelichoven, lawyer, syndic of the town of Leiden and secretary of the most noble and illustrious trustees. To these gentlemen most worthy of all esteem Francis Junius F.F. presents willingly and deservedly these *Observations*.

b Illustrious and truly magnificent sirs,

Although formerly those who acted on stage caused surprise to all when Roscius was watching—for who could stir himself without him noticing the mistakes?—I still dared present this trifling little exertion to the eyes of gentlemen distinguished in elegant literature and most prudent in noticing and observing mistakes. If you were not so, the common opinion would never have charged you with the care for the most famous academy, nor could you yourselves, placed in this position of dignity, have performed the serious task so felicitously and have decided only for the best plans useful to the common weal. Yet these and other qualities larger than these do not require the embellishment of words, for they are acknowledged by everyone.

c Concerning myself I will rather say only this, that writers discussing the language used by our ancestors with us have always been very, I say, very welcome to me; writers who have acquired even greater gratefulness with me, when from their repeated discussions I learnt how much they serve to enrich our Teutonic by a vast addition of most excellent and meaningful words, and that the true origins of Teutonic words can be found nowhere else with more certainty than from the pristine orthography of such documents. The Franconian

by a former professor of Leiden University, Paulus Merula, and translated by a secretary of former trustees, Jan van Hout. **188c**.

⁵ Cicero, *De Oratore* 2.233.9, “Quis sese commovere potest, cuius ille [Roscius] vitia non videat?” cf. Erasmus, *Adage* 3685, “Roscius.” Q. Roscius Gallus (d. 62 B.C.), an actor in Rome whose excellence became proverbial, and an intimate friend of Cicero, cf. *OCD* (1996:1336).

⁶ Junius addressed the Leiden trustees as judges of the arts by first comparing them to Roscius, who easily discerned the flaws in any aspirant, and then, in **d**, by alluding to Petronius, the classical judge in matters of taste. More than his other dedications, **108**, **116**, **194**, **211**, this dedication is primarily a plea for favour and support—for his book, his studies, their joint mother tongue and contemporary endeavours to raise its status. Junius hardly emphasized the excellence of the trustees and the function of the book as a tribute to their virtues.

tissimorumque vocabulorum accessione locupletandam; neque aliunde veras Teutonicarum vocum origines certius peti posse, quam ex prisca istiusmodi monumentorum orthographia.⁷ Antiqua certe est lingua Francica, antiquior Anglo-Saxonica, longe vero antiquissima est Gothica; quarum singulae ut ut mirifice vernaculam nostram illustrare natae sint, constat tamen mutuam trium istarum cum nostra collationem praecipue facere ad exornandum atque amplificandum superioris inferiorisque Germanicae decus.⁸ Luce ad haec meridiana clarius est, aliarum quoque minime ignobilium gentium linguis plurimum lucis ex hac antiquissimorum idiomatum collatione posse accedere, in iis praesertim vocabulis, quae senescente iam Romanae monarchiae gloria a victoribus Gothis, Hunnis, Vandalis, Longobardis in Galliam, Italiam, Hispaniamque illatae.⁹ Plures profecto viri magni et docti pulchre intellexerunt quo valeret haec collatio. Et quamvis Olaus Wormius, Arngrimus Ionas, Stephanus, ac plures alii, strenue ab Orco veluti revocaverint Gothicam et veterem Cimbricam,¹⁰

⁷ The writers must have been the authors of Dutch literature in Junius' and Vossius' circles, such as Joost van den Vondel, Jan de Brune, Johan de Brune, Johan van Heemskerck and, probably, Pieter Cornelisz Hooft (1581–1647). They were all consciously elevating their mother tongue as a literary language not only by writing in it, but also by taking part in the contemporary discourse on its usefulness and nature. Junius suggested that one of the principles of his Germanic studies, that is, that one should etymologize with the help of the orthography of the most ancient and pristine documents in the language, was a result of his discussions with these writers. His reference to the status of Dutch was not merely intended to please his addressees, the trustees of a Dutch university, but an allusion to his own motivation for involving himself in the study of the Germanic languages, **d**, **211a–d**. Cf. this section, **129e**, **169d**, **177a**, **187a**, **204d**, **211**, van der Wal (1994:183–99, 218–25, 230–31), van Romburgh (2001:13–14).

⁸ Junius elaborated this brief indication of his paradigm of northern (Germanic) languages in his Letter to the Reader, by explaining that “ex Gothica certe profluxit vetus Cimbrica . . . nec non moderna Suecica, Danica, Norvagica, Islandica. Ex Anglo-Saxonica vero promanavit magna pars Anglicae et Scotiae, tota quoque Belgica, praecipue tamen Frisica illa vetus . . . Ex Francica denique derivata est superior Germanica; atque adeo cuius, qui vel ἀκροθιγῶς Gothicam Anglo-Saxonicamque delibavit, statim liquere potest ipsam Francicam (quae Alamannica quoque vel Theotisca dicebatur) ex Gothica Anglo-Saxonicaque desumptam. Vides igitur, mi lector, quanta sit plurimarum linguarum affinitas” [from Gothic, for sure, has proceeded ancient Cimbric, as well as modern Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Icelandic. From Anglo-Saxon has emanated a large part of English and Scots, as well as all Dutch, yet especially that ancient Frisian . . . From Franconian, finally, higher German has been derived; and it can indeed immediately be clear to anyone who has only *superficially* tasted of Gothic and Anglo-Saxon that this Franconian (which is also called Alamannic or Theotisc) was taken from Gothic and Anglo-Saxon. So you see, my reader, what a great affinity exists between most languages],

language is surely old, the Anglo-Saxon one older, but the Gothic one is oldest by far. However wonderfully each of these individually is found to illustrate our vernacular, it is still certain that a joint comparison of these three with our language is particularly good for the embellishment and increase of the grace of higher and lower German. Besides, it is clearer than bright daylight that very much light can come to the languages of other most noble peoples from this comparison of most ancient dialects too, especially on those words which entered France, Italy and Spain by the triumphant Goths, Huns, Vandals and Longobards when the glory of the Roman Empire was in decline. Several great and learned men, by all means, have understood well how valuable this comparison would be. However, although Ole Worm, Arngrímur Jónsson, Stephanius, and many others have arduously recovered Gothic and ancient Cimbric from the Underworld, as it were, and although Lawrence Nowell, Lambard, Spelman, Selden and Wheelock have wonderfully advanced Anglo-

Observationes (1655:[xiii]). In these paradigms, Junius did not indicate how he believed Gothic and Anglo-Saxon to relate to one another and to Greek, to which he had traced back northern words in his “Etymologicum teutonicum,” **169d**. Possibly, his recent acquaintance with the Gothic in the Gothic Gospels had disturbed his original paradigm with Greek as the source of Germanic vocabulary, but had not yet allowed him to adapt it to the new evidence. In the course of his studies, Junius developed the paradigm by including “Scythian” as the ancestor of Gothic—and possibly Anglo-Saxon, **173d**—which he held to have the same, unnamed, ancestor as Greek. When listing the “Germanic” languages in his texts, he did so in what he considered was their (reverse) chronological order, **169d**. The importance attributed to the comparison of languages is an indication of Junius’ new comparative method in the study of the ancient northern languages, **187a**. For the language of higher and lower Germany, cf. **204y–z**. Cf. **211d**, Dekker (1999:257–61).

⁹ The influx of words from Germanic languages in mainly late Latin had been studied in detail by Vossius in *De vitii sermonis et glossematis Latino-barbaris libri quatuor* (Amsterdam, 1645), probably one of the incentives for Junius’ Germanic studies, **169d**. For Junius’ opinion on late Latin, the precursor of French, Italian and Spanish, **205d**. Driven away by the non-Germanic Huns, Germanic tribes such as the Vandals, Goths and Longobards had invaded the Roman Empire from the North and East, settled, and sacked Rome in the 5th century A.D., thus heralding the fall of the Roman Empire. Cf. Dekker (1999:219–22), Rademaker (1981:296–98), van Romburgh (2001:15), Goffart (1980).

¹⁰ For Ole Worm’s studies, cf. **164c**. The Icelandic scholar Arngrímur Jónsson (1568–1648), a friend of Ole Worm, had included Icelandic in his histories and descriptions of Iceland, *Crymogaea sive Rerum Islandicarum libri III* (Hamburg, 1609) and *Specimen Islandiae historicum, et magna ex parte chorographicum . . .* (Amsterdam, 1643). No copy of Junius found in UBL. Stephanus Joannis Stephanius (1599–1650), professor of history and eloquence at Sorø, and a friend of Joannes Meursius and Vossius, had published *Saxonis Grammatici Historiae Danicae libri XVI* (Sorø, 1644), the

quamvis etiam Laurentius Noelus, † Lambardus, Spelmanus, Seldenus, Welochus mire promoverint Anglo-Saxonicam;¹¹ licet denique Melchior Goldastus, Marquardus Freherus, Lindenbrogius, Opitius non infeliciter excoluerint Francicam;¹² eorum tamen singuli, contenti operam aliquam collocasse in ea quam vernaculae suae maxime affinem esse deprehendebant, magis optarunt ut exoriretur aliquis tres illas coniuncturus, quam ut ipsi hac opera defungerentur. Mea vero semper fuit hac in re voluntas et sententia, quemvis ut hoc mallet de iis, qui essent idonei, suscipere, quam me; me ut mallet, quam neminem.

d Videtis igitur, illustres Domini, veram instituti nostri rationem, et in quo studiorum genere omne curriculum mediocris industriae nostrae aliquot ab hinc annis desudaverit. Quod vero vos, gravissimi firmisimique iudicii viros, scripti huius arbitros adsciverim,¹³ non eo sit, quod minimam susceptae operae partem explesse mihi videar (libens enim agnosco me hanc commentandi rationem tantummodo inchoasse, et veluti vestigia quaedam ac rudia lineamenta philoteutonibus

Danish history by Saxo Grammaticus (fl. 12th c.), and a commentary on Saxo, *Notae uberiores in Historiam Danicam Saxonis Grammatici; una cum prolegomenis ad easdem notas* (Sorø, 1645). No copy of Junius is to be found in UBL. Other scholars who had studied the Scandinavian literary heritage include the Swedes Johannes Magnus (1488–1544), archbishop of Uppsala, Olaus Magnus, and Johannes Buraeus (1568–1652). Junius did not yet distinguish between “Cimbric” and Gothic, **164c**. Cf. *DBH* 1.268, Rademaker (1981:276–77), *DBL* 14.96–98, Dekker (1999:23–24), Aili (1995).

¹¹ The antiquary Laurence Nowell (1510/20–1571/2) had compiled the first early modern Old English glossary, “Vocabularium Saxonicum,” and made transcripts of Ælfric’s *Grammar* and *Glossary*, as well as of Anglo-Saxon laws. The latter texts formed the basis of the first edition of part of the Anglo-Saxon laws in Latin and Old English, *Archaionomia, sive de priscis Anglorum legibus* (London, 1568), published by his friend, the antiquary William Lambarde (1536–1601). A revised edition of the *Archaionomia* was brought out by Abraham Wheelock in 1644. The antiquary Sir Henry Spelman (1564?–1641) had published *Archaeologus in modum glossarii ad rem antiquam posteriorem* . . . (London, 1626), an encyclopaedia of Latin and Old English legal terminology up to the letter L, and *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones* . . . (London, 1639), containing sources for the history of the English Church up to the Norman Conquest. The second volumes of both books were brought out by Sir William Dugdale, with a reissue of the first volumes, in 1664. Spelman had initiated the lectureship in “Antiquitates Britannicae et Saxonicae, cum ecclesiae tum politicae” [British and Anglo-Saxon antiquities, both ecclesiastical and political], in Cambridge in the late 1630s, of which Wheelock became the first lecturer in 1640. Junius’ annotated copy of the 1626 edition is now UBL, 362 A 2 (from Isaac Vossius’ collection). John Selden had concerned himself with Anglo-Saxon particularly for his edition of the twelfth-century chronicle of the Canterbury monk Eadmer, *Spicelegium in Eadmer* (1623), for his *Mare Clausum* (1635), and for his controversial *History of Tithes* (1618), **58b^a**, **117c**. No copies of Junius are to be found in UBL. For

Saxon, and although, finally, Melchior Goldast, Marquard Freher, Lindenbrog and Opitz have cultivated Franconian felicitously, nevertheless, satisfied to apply some energy to that language which they observed to have the greatest affinity to their own vernacular, each of them wished that somebody would appear to connect these three rather than that they would acquit themselves of this task. Yet, in this respect it has always been my wish and intention to favour one of those who would be capable of taking it upon themselves rather than me, but to favour myself rather than nobody.

- d So you see, illustrious sirs, the true scheme of our intention, and in what kind of studies the entire course of our modest diligence has been tiring itself for some years. Still, my reason for adding you, gentlemen of most serious and determined judgement, as judges of this writing is not because I believe I have completed the slightest part of the task undertaken (for I willingly acknowledge to have only commenced this scheme of examination and shown some traces and rough features, as it were, to the lovers of Teutonic), but in order to stimulate also other people of sharper intellect and more tenacious

Wheelock's contributions to Anglo-Saxon scholarship, cf. **183b**. Cf. Hetherington (1980:1–24), Buckalew (1982:22–42), Grant (1992), Berkhout (1998), *DNB* 31.438–39, 51.212, 53.328–33, Parry (1995:118–25, 157–81), Lutz (2000:26–40), Bremmer (1998b:233); for appreciations of the English Anglo-Saxonists, cf. Berkhout and McCormick Gratch (1982), Graham (2000), Hetherington (1980), Damico (1998).

¹² For Melchior Goldast's and Marquard Freher's contributions to Germanic studies, cf. **187a**. Friedrich Lindenbrog (1573–1648), philologist and lawyer, published important collections of ancient Germanic laws, *Codex legum antiquarum* (Frankfurt, 1613), including the *Salic Laws*, the Carolingian *Leges Alamannorum*, Frisian and Langobardic laws, and a glossary. He had also published Paulus Warnefrid *De gestis Langobardorum libri VI ad MS. et veterum codicum fidem editi; cum notis et variis lectionibus* (Leiden, 1595) when a student of law, philosophy and classical philology at Leiden. No copy of Junius is to be found in UBL. Martinus Opitius, or Opitz (1597–1639), the father of German baroque poetry, had published the Old High German *Annolied*, or verse life of Archbishop Hanno of Cologne, *Incerti poetae Teutonici rhythmus de Sancto Annone . . . Mart. Opitius primus ex membrana veteri edidit et animadversionibus illustravit* (Danzig, 1639), the only full version of the text now left. Bonaventura Vulcanius had included lines 19 to 74, from a different manuscript, likewise now lost, in *De literis* (1597), **173a**. Junius' transcription from Opitius' edition, yet with normalised spelling, is now Ms Jun. 16, ff. 5–77. Junius quoted several passages from the "Annolied" in his *Observationes*. No copy of Junius found in UBL. Cf. *NDB* 14.596–97, 19.552–54, Meisen (1946:11), Dekker (1999:173–74).

¹³ An allusion to Petronius Arbiter (d. A.D. 66), author of *Satyricon*, whom the Emperor Nero had appointed as "arbiter elegantiae," or judge of elegance, at his court. Cf. **b^a**, *OCD* (1996:1149).

ostendisse)¹⁴ sed ut hoc qualicumque specimine (si vos non prorsus aspernandum censebitis) alii quoque acrioris ingenii pertinaciorisque industriae viri ad similem linguae nostrae cultum excitarentur.¹⁵ Novi acria vegetaque Belgarum ingenia, scio quanti sint amatores nitoris omniumque elegantiarum, exploratum quoque habeo quanto communis patriae patriique sermonis amore flagrent; atque adeo in spem maximam, et, quemadmodum confido, verissimam adducor, nunquam defore decora nostratium ingenia quae Teutonicam iuxta mecum ad pristinae authoritatis maiestatisque gloriam tota virium suarum contentione revocare satagent.¹⁶

- e Unum tamen hic grave publico consulere volentibus obiicitur praepedimentum, cui prima quaque occasione vehementer severeque occurrendum. Neque enim admirabilis illa progressio incredibilisque sermonis Belgici cursus ad omnem excellentiam sperari potest, nisi exegetico sive (ut vulgo loquimur) dictionario vernaculae nostrae linguae bene semel constituto atque ab avarorum typographorum iniuriis strenue vindicato.¹⁷ Nunquam certe defuere, nec porro deerunt typographi importuna praediti avaritia, qui omnia non tam utilitate publica, quam quaestu suo metiuntur, quique non contenti lucro concesso atque honesto, usque eo fervent ferunturque avaritia, ut iis nunc sit quaestus | multo uberrimus nobilem priorum scriptorum operam speciosi alicuius tituli obtentu enervare, castrare, corrumpere. Hoc fatum graviter quoque afflixit ac tantum non perdidit optimum Kilianum optime de publico meritum, dum eximium illum Belgarum

¹⁴ Junius had presumably begun to develop a comparative method only at the receipt of the *Codex argenteus* in the summer of 1654, cf. Breuker (1990:55, 1998:145), 187a.

¹⁵ With his *Observationes*, Junius may have hoped to arouse a regard for the earlier stages of Dutch language and culture comparable to that for Anglo-Saxon in England, where Old English studies had been institutionalized at Cambridge in 1640. Cf. c^a, Lutz (2000:34–35).

¹⁶ The Peace of Munster of 1648, part of the Peace of Westphalia, had made an end to the Eighty Years' War between the Dutch and Spain, and made Spain formally recognize the Dutch Republic as an independent country, so that the Dutch officially had an independent fatherland from 1648. Junius emphasized again his concern with increasing the status of Dutch, and recovering its supposed pristine splendour, c. Cf. Israel (1995:542–45, 596–98).

¹⁷ "Neque enim admirabilis . . . patefaciatis." edited and translated in Breuker (1990:67–68, 1998:156–57). Junius called for a proper dictionary of Dutch. Dutch had had its acclaimed dictionary in Cornelis Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae sive Dictionarium Teutonico-Latinum* (Antwerp, 1599), which included etymological and dialectal information, and had been reprinted five times in the first half of the seventeenth century. In 1642, however, a re-edition, *Kilianus auctus seu dictionarium*

diligence to a similar cultivation of our language by this humble example (if you do not decide to reject it completely). I know the sharp and vigorous talents of the Dutch; I know how great the lovers of splendour and all elegancies are; I also know for certain with what a great love for a joint mother tongue and fatherland they are burning; I am so roused to the greatest and, as I trust, truest hope that there will always be the exceptional talents of our people, who apply themselves, together with me, to recovering Teutonic to the grace of pristine prestige and grandeur by all application of their energy.

- e Still, one serious impediment, which should be fiercely and profoundly opposed at the first possible opportunity, is raised here for those wishing to care for the common weal. For that admirable progress and incredible course of the Dutch language towards all perfection cannot be expected, except with an exegesis or (as we commonly say) a dictionary of our vernacular language, which is well-arranged and energetically stripped of the mistakes of greedy publishers at the same time. For sure, there have always been and will always be publishers possessed of improper greed, who esteem everything not so much by its usefulness for the common weal as by the profit for themselves, and, not satisfied with the honourable profit granted, who are boiling and borne with greed to such an extent, that by far the richest profit for them now is to weaken, enfeeble and corrupt the noble exertion of previous writers under the pretext of a fanciful title. This fate has also seriously afflicted and almost ruined the excellent Kiliaan, who deserved best of the common weal, because they are forcing that distinguished thesaurus, enriched in name, but mutilated and corrupted in reality, upon the hands of the young (who should be accustomed only to the best

Teutonica-Latino-Gallicum (Amsterdam, 1642) had appeared, in which the publishers Jan and Jodocus Janssonius—active in Amsterdam from 1613 to 1665 and 1642 to 1655, respectively—had replaced the dialectal and etymological information with French translations of the Dutch entries. Evidently, they expected such a design to have a wider appeal than the original format. Junius' copy of Kiliaan is unretrieved, but he made frequent use of it. His denigration of publishers, who do anything for profit, is topical, **213g**. He had had no direct dealings with the Janssonius brothers, but the collection of didactic treatises which included his *Paraenesis* (1654) had been printed by Johannes Janssonius jr, **152e^a**. Cf. van den Branden, Cockx-Indestege and Sillis (1978:88–92, 122–24), Breuker (1990:57–58, 1998:48), Dekker (1996, esp. 522–30), van Romburgh (2001:15–16), Gruys and de Wolf (1989:97, 98), Lucas (1998:182–83).

omnium thesaurum nomine quidem auctum, at re ipsa mutilatum corruptumque, manibus iuventutis (quam nonnisi optimis patriae linguae authoribus assuescere oportebat) obrudunt. Frustra certe hactenus fuerint tot praeclara illustrium Belgarum ingenia, quae aliquot ab hinc annis linguae nostrae pristinum splendorem, copiam, emphasin conata sunt reddere, si male feriatorum hominum infinita atque effraenata licentia impunitate diuturna porro incitetur atque alatur. Mihi certe vehementer haec res misera videtur, et miseranda; quo magis vos, ad omnia virtutum exempla magnos profecto homines atque excelsos, oro atque obsecro, ut pro ea qua apud praepotentes foederati Belgii *ordines* polletis gratia, publice obviam eatis perniciosae huic audaciae, ac sedulo provideatis ne acri atque importunae certorum hominum avaritiae, quae occulto adhuc angustoque speciosi obtentus itinere ad turpe compendium properat, viam illustrem latamque tolerantia | vestra patefaciatis.¹⁸ Quod ne contingat, supplex oro Deum *optimum maximum* ut eundem vobis publico hactenus utilem tribuat animum atque animo isti quem longissimum habet vita progressum largiatur.

Amstelodami, propriodie kalendas Februarii, MDCLV.

Magnifico nomini vestro devotus, Franciscus Iunius F.F.

⁰ 190₀ 56 01 28 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [LONDON]¹

A For his worthie and very much respected freind Mr William Dugdale.²

a Worthie Sir,
Seeing there is seldome a day that I doe not looke upon some Anglo-Saxonike antiquities, which (by the meanes and favour of Mr Selden)

¹⁸ Cicero, *In Verrem* 2.3.219.3–5, “id providete, ne avaritiae, quae antehac occultis itineribus atque angustis uti solebat, auctoritate vestra viam patefaciatis inlustrem atque latam.” This may be a plea from Junius to be assigned the task of emulating Kiliaan by preparing a dictionary based on Junius’ new source material in Gothic, Old High German and Old English, **187a**, and on his new comparative method described in **c**—an updated version of his “*Etymologicum teutonicum*.” There are no indications that the trustees took his plea to heart. Cf. Breuker (1990:57–58, 1998:48).

¹ *p*: Hamper (1827, no. 100). Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**, and replied by an unretrieved letter to which letter **191** is a reply.

writers of their mother tongue). Really so many exceptional talents of illustrious Dutchmen who have endeavoured to recover the pristine splendour, wealth and power of expression of our language several years ago have been to no avail as yet, if the never-ending and unrestrained autonomy of scroungers is further encouraged and fed by continuing impunity. I surely consider this situation extremely miserable and deplorable, which is why I all the more pray and beseech you, gentlemen absolutely great and excellent in all examples of virtuousness, to oppose officially this destructive effrontery in accordance with the favour with which you are esteemed among the lofty States of the United Netherlands, and eagerly to take care not to open a well-lit and broad way for some people's sharp and improper greed, which is still hastening along the secret and narrow path of fanciful pretension, by your tolerance. In order for this not to happen, I humbly pray All-good and Almighty God to grant to you the same state of mind which has so far been useful to the common weal, and to bestow upon that mind a durability which life will keep as long as possible.

Amsterdam, two days before the Kalends of February, 1655 [30 Jan.].
Devoted to your magnificent name, Francis Junius F.F.

190 56 01 28 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [LONDON]

[See the original letter.]

² Sir William Dugdale (1605–1686), antiquary, Chester herald, and the future Norroy. Through his patron Christopher, first baron Hatton, **205a**, and Sir Henry Spelman, he had been appointed pursuivant extraordinary in 1638, Rouge Croix pursuivant in 1639, and, following Charles I to Oxford in 1642, was created Chester herald in 1644. A prolific antiquarian, he assiduously collected material from a wide variety of sources for his antiquarian projects and publications, including the *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655–1673) in cooperation with Roger Dodsworth, **206a**, the *Warwickshire Antiquities* (1656), **191b**, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (1658), **216a**, the *History of Imbanking and Drayning* (1662), **195c**, *Origines iuridicales, or Historical Memorials of the English Laws, Courts of Justice, etc.* (London, 1666), **206**, and *The Baronage of England, or an Historical Account of the Lives and Most Memorable Actions of our English Nobility* (London, 1675–76). Wenceslaus Hollar made the drawings for several of these books, and William Somner provided translations of the Old English in the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. Dugdale was appointed Norroy in June 1660, **205a**. Cf. *DNB* 16.136–42, Hamper (1827), Parry (1995:217–48).

I saw and transcribed out of the famous Cottonian librarie, I cannot but confesse that an everlasting obligation bindeth mee to serve the Cottonian familie in what I can, being sorrie that to the enquire made in your letter I can onely avouche the following pointes.³ Since the late Countesse of Arundell carried over a vast treasure of rarities, I heard the mentioned old Genesis to have bene also | convaighed away out of England; but seemeth to have bene hid somewhere, without comming in her librarie; even as at London it selfe it was kept close, and came not in the librarie whilst I kept it.⁴ For being at Antwerpe in the year 1644, Shee caused mee to sett her librarie in some order, and to make a catalogue of all the bookes that were in it, the sayd Genesis no where appearing among them, though I found divers Greek bookes in folio of the Aldinian edition with excellent limming⁵ at the beginning and ending of some of them; which bookes I remembred well to be a part of the Pirkheimerian librarie brought from Nurnberg.⁶ After the Countesse was newly removed from Antwerpe to Alkmaer, I saw her bookes againe, putting them (with some little new addition) in the order of the former catalogue;⁷ but neither then did the Genesis appeare: which I should have knowne very well, if I had met with it, as having formerly (by Mr. Pettie his meanes) seene the booke, with Fronto Ducaeus his letter in it.⁸ Some five moneths before her death, I had for the third time at Amersford the inspection of her bookes; but no Genesis was to bee found neither then among them.⁹ As therefore about the booke I can not give anie further accompt, so doth it runne in my mind that Mr. Henry van der Borch (who now is in the Palatinate, and Mr. Hollar can best tell how to write unto him) told mee that hee had seene it among her things, and knew where it had bene kept.¹⁰ He can best resolve you whether anie such thing be, or whether my memorie deceiveth mee. My kinsman | Vossius telleth mee also that the Visconte Stafford hath within these five or sixe dayes spoken to him of the sayd ancient monument which hee bragged to have.¹¹ As for Sir Edward Walker, I can not now learne what he can say to the booke, seeing hee is not in this countrie, but (as Mr. Joseph Jeane telleth mee) at Coln.¹²

³ Junius had copied numerous Old English texts from the Cottonian library through John Selden, **187a**. Dugdale's letter to which Junius replied in this section is unretrieved.

⁴ Countess Aletheia. The so-called Cotton Genesis, now BL, Cott. Ms Otho B.vi, and once, before its burning to fragments at the Cottonian fire of 1731, "one of

the richest and most splendid biblical manuscripts in existence," Weitzmann and Kessler (1986:[ix]). Dating from the late fifth century, its superb cycles of miniatures—to which those of Ms Jun. 11 are related stylistically, **183a**—exerted a wide influence during the Middle Ages. Robert Cotton had lent it to Junius' patron the earl of Arundel, together with six other manuscripts, including the so-called Utrecht Psalter, **c**, in the late 1620s. It remained with the Arundel family for about half a century, and was evidently also taken with them to the Continent. In 1683, Lady Mary Stafford, wife of William, viscount Stafford, even claimed it was legitimately theirs, so that John Cotton, **214e**, was forced to buy it back. The fact that the manuscript was not Arundel's own no doubt accounts for the secrecy surrounding it and its being kept tucked away. Thomas Cotton must have asked of Dugdale to inquire Junius after its whereabouts and that of the Utrecht Psalter. Junius had been librarian of the Arundel collection from at least 1639, **131a**. Cf. Weitzmann and Kessler (1986:[ix], 3, 6, 24), Tite (1997:271–73).

⁵ Limming: "limming, a (manuscript) illustration, painting," cf. *OED*.

⁶ Junius had been with Countess Aletheia in Antwerp in the summer of 1644, **156b^a**. His catalogue of the library is unretrieved. Presumably, the Greek books in folio had been placed together in Arundel's library, and the Genesis might have been among them. The Greek folio books printed by Aldus Manutius (c.1449–1515) in Venice, and bought by Arundel from the Pirkheimer legacy in 1636, **126a**, may have included Xenophon's *Paraleipomena* (1503), Plutarch's *Opuscula* (1509) and *Vitae parallelae* (1519), Lucian's Work (1503), Plato's Work (1513), Demosthenes' Work (1504), and Aristotle, *De natura animalium* (1513), all of which were translated, and consequently probably owned by Willibald Pirkheimer, and are now in the British Library. Future study should determine if any of these copies were Pirkheimer's and Arundel's. Cf. Glock (1970:114–15), Isaac (1928:48ff.).

⁷ For Countess Aletheia's stay in Alkmaar, and Junius' being with her there, cf. **163a**.

⁸ Sir Robert had lent the Genesis to the French scholar Nicolas Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637) in Paris from 1618 to 1622, when Claudius Salmasius and Fronton le Duc (1558–1624), a Jesuit teacher of rhetoric and theology, examined it too. Le Duc had praised the codex as the oldest in the Christian world in a letter to Cotton. Such a letter must have been enclosed in the Genesis, before the Cottonian fire. Cf. Weitzmann and Kessler (1986:3), *DBF* 7.1300–01.

⁹ Countess Aletheia had moved to Amersfoort at the end of March 1649. Junius must have seen her library there around January 1654. Cf. Weijtens (1971:16).

¹⁰ Henry van der Borcht the Younger had been with Countess Aletheia in Antwerp, Amersfoort and Amsterdam. Wenceslaus Hollar illustrated Dugdale's publications, **131a^a**. Cf. Weijtens (1971:16, 42).

¹¹ For a more extensive account of the discussion between Isaac Vossius and William, viscount Stafford, cf. **191a**.

¹² Sir Edward Walker (1612–1677), private secretary of Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, from 1633, and in Countess Aletheia's service in Amersfoort, where his wife Agnes was Countess Aletheia's lady-companion. In June 1654, after Countess Aletheia's death, he had been sent to the Low Countries as proxy for Henry Howard in the settlement of Countess Aletheia's inheritance, **188a^a**. In November 1655, he had joined as secretary of the council the future Charles II (1630–1685) in Cologne. Later, he was created garter king-of-arms. In the unretrieved letter, Dugdale must have suggested to Junius to ask Walker about the Cotton Genesis. Joseph Jeane, from Cornwall, was presumably also in the service of the Arundel family, for he is mentioned as a witness for an agreement between viscount Stafford and Charles Howard concerning Countess Aletheia's inheritance in June 1654, **192c**. Cf. *DNB* 59.48–51, Weijtens (1971:19, 44–45).

b I am sorrie that your publike distractions prove so great a hinderance to the advancing of Antiquities:¹³ but your and Mr. Somner's praise will bee the greater, that nothing abateth your good intentions to serve the publike.¹⁴ The barbarous and most wretched unthankfulnes of the Visconte Stafford doth also hinder and retarde my endeavours very much;¹⁵ but expecting, by the help of Allmightie God, a good end, I keep my selfe in the meane while busie with referring the most antient Gothike dialect, occurring in the Codex Argenteus, to that collection of an Anglo-Saxonike Dictionarie I have bene long gathering for mine owne private use;¹⁶ and I doe assure my selfe that this labour will incredible conduce to the illustration of Cead|mon, and generally to the illustration of all Anglo-Saxonike, Cimbrike, and Francike, or Theotiske, antiquities.¹⁷ Thus wishing you prosperous health, and all manner of happinesse, I remaine, Your much obliged freind and servant, F. Junius
's Graven Haegh the 28eth of January 1656.¹⁸

c That other copie of the Latine Psalmes, with pictures in Romane habits, I doe not so well remember as to give anie accompt of it.¹⁹ Remember my service to Mr. Rushworth, Mr. Somner, and other lovers of Antiquities.

¹³ Dugdale was presumably putting the finishing touches to his *Warwickshire Antiquities* (1656), and examining the documents on St. Paul's Cathedral, **a**.

¹⁴ William Somner (1606–1669), Anglo-Saxonist and registrar of the ecclesiastical courts of the diocese of Canterbury. A protégé of Archbishop Laud, Somner had prepared several works on legal and local history in the 1640s, *The Antiquities of Canterbury* (1640), *Observations on the Laws of King Henry I* (1644), and *A Treatise of Gavelkind* (completed in 1647, published 1660). At Meric Casaubon's instigation, he

had familiarized himself with Old English, and assisted Sir Simonds D'Ewes with his Old English dictionary, together with Junius, **164d**. He annotated the so-called Lipsius glossary from the Old Dutch (Old Low Franconian) *Wachtendonk Psalter*, **204b**, as *Ad verba vetera Germanica* appended to Casaubon's treatise *De quatuor linguis commentationis* (London, 1650), of which Junius' annotated copy is now UBL, 766 F 8. He also prepared a glossary for Sir Roger Twysden, *Historiae anglicanae scriptores decem* (1652), **201e**. Meanwhile, supported by part of the stipend of the Cambridge lectureship of Anglo-Saxon from 1657, he worked on the first Old English dictionary to appear in print, *Dictionarium Saxonico* (1659), **191b**. Presumably partly inspired by Junius, Somner conceived his language studies in a comparative Germanic perspective, including references to Kiliaan, among other things. At the Restoration he became master of St. John's Hospital and auditor of Christ Church, Canterbury. Cf. *DNB* 53.260–61, Hetherington (1980:125–27), Parry (1995:181–89), Lutz (2000:40–48), Lowe (2000), Dekker (1996:520–22), Bremmer (1998b:233), van Romburgh (2001:25).

¹⁵ Junius was claiming outstanding stipend from William, viscount Stafford, **188a**. At the time, Stafford was imprisoned for debt by his creditors, Junius among them, in Utrecht. At his release several weeks after the present letter, Stafford sued Henry Crow, one of Junius' fellow-creditors, for £10,000 compensation, and requested Henry Howard to pay the suit. Cf. *ARA*, pp. 10–11, Weijtens (1971:23, 46).

¹⁶ Junius used the term “dialect(us)” to refer to languages derived from the same ancestor, cf. **204d**, **211d**, personal communication Kees Dekker. Junius had gained access to the Gothic in the *Codex argenteus*, and begun to study it, in 1654, **188a**, **d**. His Old English–Latin dictionary, now *Mss Jun. 2* and *3*, originally consisted of loose files, to which he added over time. The Anglo-Saxonist Edward Lye (1694–1767) used it as the basis for his *Dictionarium Saxonico et Gothico–Latinum. Accedunt fragmenta versionis Ulphilanae, nec non opuscula quaedam Anglo-Saxonica* (1772), which was finished by the historian Owen Manning (1721–1801), without acknowledgment to Junius. Cf. *SCW* nos. 5114–15, Dekker (2000:41–43), Bennett (1938:30), Bremmer (1998b:210); for a detailed appreciation of Junius' dictionary, cf. Dekker (2000).

¹⁷ Junius made an unfinished commentary on the Old English poems of *Mss Jun. 11*, which he called *Cædmon's*, in the manuscripts now *Mss Jun. 73** and *113*, **183a**. He made extensive use of Old English material in his studies, for incomprehensive appreciations of which, cf. **187a**. For Junius' use of Cimbric, or Old Norse, in his studies, cf. **164c**; for his use of Frankish, or Old High German, cf. **169d**. The term “Theotisca” was likewise used to refer to what is considered Old High German nowadays. Cf. Stanley (1998), Dekker (1999:246–47, 2000), van Romburgh (2001:23–25).

¹⁸ In the first week of May 1655, Junius, Elizabeth and Isaac Vossius had moved to a house at the *Korte Houtstraat* in The Hague, **199A**, **200A**, **201A**. The address at the *Voorhout*, which is near but not the same as the *Korte Houtstraat*, may have been a mistake of Doeke van Hemmema, **196A**. Cf. Blok (1999:490–91).

¹⁹ The so-called Utrecht Psalter, an early ninth-century highlight of the Carolingian Renaissance in Rheims, noted for its cycles of 166 pen drawings in a new, dynamic style. Sir Robert Cotton had lent it to Arundel together with the Cotton Genesis. Possibly, it had been transferred to the Low Countries by the Arundel family just like the Genesis, and was to be sold in Utrecht, where it certainly was by the end of the century. Cf. van der Horst, Noel and Wuestefeld (1996:23, 35–36).

^o 191_o 56 02 25 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [LONDON]¹

a Worthie Sir,

Hoping that Mr. Hollar either hath allreadie received or will shortly receive a good answer from *Monsieur* Henry van der Borch, these are to assure you that I shall ever endeavour to serve Sir Thomas Cotton to my power:² but as for the laying anie handsome trayne³ to gette the sight of the Genesis, I see not how it cann bee brought to passe. And to give unto you a full view of the reason why I doe thus despaire, I must needes repeate one particular passage in the discours my kinsman had with the Visconte; which discours I mentioned not in my former, as avoyding to bee over long tedious, and no occasion being given then to bring it in.⁴ My kinsman Vossius being come to see the Visconte, whilest his *Lordship* was here in hold upon occasion of an arrest I had layd upon him, it chaunced that the other companies discours fell upon a great number of notable rarities in my Kinsman's library;⁵ whereupon his *Lordship* in|ferred that hee had also an old Genesis not inferior to anie of his most ancient bookes; and when my Kinsman spoke of the Codex Argenteus, and offered to compare some of his choicest Manuscripts with the Genesis, his Lordship, intending to shew himself pleasant, answered, I knowe you doe not expecte I should produce the booke, seeing I can sufficiently apprehende by my arrest that the booke should in like manner be arrested, if you could but see it or lay your hand upon it.⁶ Which having sayd as in merriment, his *Lordship* avoyded to speake further of the booke, when my Kinsman meant to have learned something more of it. Though therefore the hope of effecting anie thing that way bee but small in regard of the jealousie hee hath of us, yet shall I watche and trie what can bee done anie other way.

b Sir, you made mee overjoyed with the hope of some Saxon Annalls or Chronicles Dr. Langbaine is about.⁷ I shall most impatiently desire to see them, and hope at the same time to see your Warwickshire Antiquities also, whilest Mr. Somner's Dictionarie is under the presse.⁸ I am now some what hindered to prosecute my former intent of publishing what I have readie; hoping to resume all (God giving me life and health) as soone as I shall have overcome the unhandsome dealinges of the late juggling Countesse and her wretchedly unthankfull Sonne.⁹ Here is one Mr. Joseph Jeane with us, whom you knowe

¹ *p*: Hamper (1827, no. 101). Reply to an unretrieved letter, **b**; and replied by an unretrieved letter to which letter **192** is a reply.

191 56 02 25 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [LONDON]

[See the original letter.]

² Junius had suggested that Wenceslaus Hollar contact Henry van der Borcht the Younger to acquire information on the Cotton Genesis, which Thomas Cotton's father Robert had lent to the Arundel family, **190a**.

³ To lay a train: "set a trap;" handsome: "clever, suitable," cf. *OED*.

⁴ Isaac Vossius and William, viscount Stafford, had discussed the Cotton Genesis late in January, **190a**.

⁵ At the time, Stafford had been imprisoned for debt by his creditors, Junius obviously among them, in Utrecht, **190b**. For Junius' appraisal of Isaac's costly library, **193b**.

⁶ Isaac had brought the *Codex argenteus* from Sweden, **188a**. The viscount envisaged the confiscation of the Cotton Genesis not because it was Cotton's, but because the Arundel movables in the Low Countries had been sequestered by the viscount's creditors, Junius among them, **188a**.

⁷ Gerard Langbaine (1609–1658), provost of Queen's College, Oxford, keeper of the university archives, and humanist scholar. A royalist, he worked together with John Selden to save the holdings of the university during the Civil War and parliamentary visitations. He had published Longinus' Greek treatise on the Sublime with translation and commentary (1633), and books on the foundation of Oxford University and of Cambridge University (1651), annotated a copy of Vossius' *De historicis Graecis* (1623), **47e**, and was in close scholarly contact with John Selden and James Ussher. At his death on 31 March, one month after this letter, the latter was to bequeath to Langbaine the material he had collected for his "Chronologia sacra" to prepare them for publication. This may be the reason why Langbaine never published the Anglo-Saxon chronicle. He left twenty-one volumes with collections of notes to the Bodleian Library. Dugdale must have written so in an unretrieved letter which was a reply to letter **190**, and to which this letter is a reply. Cf. *DNB* 32.91–93, personal communication Gerald Toomer.

⁸ William Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire. Illustrated from Records, Leiger-Books, Manuscripts, Charters, Evidences, Tombs, and Armes* . . . (London, 1656), a notable archaeological and topographical work with accurate pedigrees and histories of county families, and descriptions of places and religious and charitable foundations. Dedicated to Christopher, Lord Hatton, **205a**, it was very successful and served as a model for many county histories. William Somner, *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* (Oxford, 1659), the first published dictionary of Old English, including the first publication of Ælfric's *Grammar* and "Archbishop Ælfric's Vocabulary," **203e**. Supported by Junius and such scholars as Dugdale and Meric Casaubon, Somner compiled his dictionary from a variety of sources—Old English printed and manuscript texts, the manuscript glossaries of preceding Anglo-Saxonists, and material from other Germanic languages. In the etymologies, the Germanic language referred to most often is Dutch, from Kiliaan's *Etymologicum*, **189e**, which Junius had probably suggested to him. The dictionary appeared in 1659, financed partly by subscription, partly by the stipend for the Spelman lectureship in Old English at Cambridge. Junius' copy is now Ms Jun. 7. Cf. *DNB* 16.138, Parry (1995:241–43), Dekker (1996), van Romburgh (2001:25), Hetherington (1980:215–82, 189–221), Lutz (1988; 2000:40–48).

⁹ Junius had probably wished to publish his commentary on Tatian, **195a**, and the second edition of *De pictura* (1637), **175c**.

to bee a man of worth: this man desired mee but the other day to remember him in my next to you, and desireth to know whether you have layd by all thoughtes of what you intended when you conferred with him about Cornubian and other businesses.¹⁰ Thus desiring you to present my humble service to Sir Thomas Cotton, Mr. Marsham, Mr. Rushworth, Mr. Somner, and other good freindes, I remain [. . .]¹¹

's Graven-haegh 1656 the 25 of February *stilo novo*.

⁰ 192 0 56 04 21 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [LONDON]¹

A For his worthie freind Mr William Dugdale.

a Worthie Sir,

I must needs thanke you for the given notice; for although by it wee did learne the desperate losse of such inestimable marble antiquities, and that wee are not in haste to looke for the desired Annals and Lexicon, yet doe wee count it a benefitt that by | your kind and seasonable letter wee doe not lie still under the torment of tediously differred hopes.² Howsoever wee doe thinke our selves much bound as to you, so likewise to Mr. Marsham, and Mr. Thorndyke, desiring you to thanke them both from us, and to assure them that both I and my kinsman will ever bee readie to do them here anie service they shall require and lieth in us to effect.³

b Wee doe heare that the mouveables against all right taken in possession by that ignoble Visconte, are sure enough by an arrest laid upon them; so that it °is not likelie that they or anie part of them shall bee conuaigned away, and if the booke bee there still, it must at length appeare.⁴ In the meane time shall not I cease to informe my selfe what I can.

c Our Cornish freind thanketh you for the few lines in your letter concerning the memorie you have of him, and the conference had with him.⁵ The same worthie gentleman hath even now brought mee the inclosed note of his owne handwriting, saying hee needed not to adde one word more to it, if I would but desire you from him at your best leasure to answeere to it what you shall thinke necessarie.⁶ Thus wishing you all health and happinesse, I remaine Your most obliged freind and servant, F. Junius.

's Graven Haegh, 1656, the 21th of Aprill, *sálo novo*.

192 56 04 21 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [LONDON]

[See the original letter.]

b is: *p* [is]

¹⁰ Cornubian: "Cornish," cf. *Orbis Latinus* (1972, s.v.). No details found on the Cornish matters, possibly antiquities, which Joseph Jeane and Dugdale had discussed.

¹¹ The end of the letter is wanting, cf. Hamper (1827:303).

¹ *p*: Hamper (1827, no. 104). Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**, and replied by an unretrieved letter to which letter **193** is a reply.

² Dugdale's letter to Junius is unretrieved. Probably, as Hamper (1827:307n) suggests, the lost marbles were the Arundel marbles, many of which were stolen or destroyed after the death of Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, **165a**. In a previous unretrieved letter, Dugdale had mentioned the prospective publication of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle by Gerard Langbaine and William Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico* (1659), the former of which, however, never appeared, and the latter only in 1659, **191b**.

³ Sir John Marsham's and Herbert Thorndike's favours to Junius and Isaac Vossius are unidentified; they may have sent only their regards, but cf. **181b**, **199b**. Herbert Thorndike (1598–1672), theologian, Orientalist and a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge—except during the Commonwealth, was working on the Syrian part of the English *Polyglot Bible* (1657), edited by Bishop Brian Walton (1600?–1661), at the time of the present letter. As a theologian, he advocated a return to the early Catholic Church for the Church of England. Cf. *DNB* 56.290–92; 59.268–71.

⁴ The Arundel possessions which William, viscount Stafford, had appropriated on his mother's death had been sequestered by his creditors, Junius among them. On behalf of Thomas Cotton, Dugdale tried to get back the Cotton Genesis lent to the Arundel family long before, and which the viscount boasted of having. Cf. **188a**, **191a**.

⁵ Joseph Jeane, who had discussed Cornish matters with Dugdale, **191b**.

⁶ Jeane's letter unretrieved.

° 193 56 05 12 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [LONDON]¹

A For my worthie freind Mr. *William Dugdale*.

a Worthie Freind,

Beeing bound to thanke you for your's of the 25th of Aprill, and for your willingnes to doe me anie good office, I am likewise obliged (upon that motion) to give you some accompt of my present occasions.² And as I have heretofore by my long staye in England sufficiently shewed in what esteeme I held England with the good freinds and studies I enjoyed there, so am I still the same; but having here in this countrie two sisters, both widowes and above the age of three score and ten, who should thinke it very much that now in our declyning dayes I should denie them the happie comfort they professe them selves to receive in the company of their onely brother, I may not (though there wanted other reasons) dispose of my selfe so freely as I might do if such a neer necessitie of blood did not keepe mee tied.³ It is true that I wrote some thing about a year since to my most deare and intimate frend Mr. Phillips, as if I could almost resolve to leave this countrie | upon a then yet fresh apprehension of disrespect shewed my sister at Amsterdam, and some disgust given mee in the province of Utrecht about the same time:⁴ but after our leaving the bogges and stink of Amsterdam, and living here now in a more healthie and sweet place, where wee do not want love and respect, I see no reason why I should entertaine a quarrell against the whole countrie for the undeserved abuses and incivilities of one marchand towne.⁵

b And as here at the Haegh I hope ere long to gett the Visconte Stafford brought to some order, which in the province of Utrecht was not effected;⁶ so must I likewise tell you that here in this our hous wee have a most compleat librarie of all manner of printed bookes and *manuscripts*, both in Greeke and Latin; so that, in the opinion of all judicious learned men, my kinsman Vossius is held to have a more exquisite librarie of rare bookes, and especially of Manuscripts, then anie other private man in all High and Low Germanie.⁷ Neither doe

¹ *p*: Hamper (1827, no. 106). Reply to an unretrieved letter dated 56 04 25/ 05 05, which must have been a reply to letter 192, cf. **a**.

² Dugdale's letter to Junius, dated 56 04 25/ 05 05, is unretrieved.

³ Junius had stayed in England from 1621 until 1642, and from 1647/8 until 1651, first involved in his studies on the visual arts of the classics, then in Germanic

193 56 05 12 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [LONDON]¹

[See the original letter.]

philology. Elizabeth and Johanna Junius—the latter was not yet over seventy years old, though—had also pleaded for his return from England in 1650, **169d**. Dugdale must have urged Junius to come to England.

⁴ Junius' letter to Fabian Philipps, written in 1655, is unretrieved. Elizabeth Junius' reason for displeasure with the town of Amsterdam is unidentified. It may have been due to Amsterdam's refusal to pay her a 400 rix-dollars pension yearly because Isaac had declined to succeed his father at the Athenaeum. Junius, and his fellow-creditors, did not succeed in having William, viscount Stafford, convicted to pay his debts in Utrecht, notwithstanding the sequestration of the Arundel movables and Stafford's arrest in January 1656. The case was to drag on for several years, and Junius' disappointment when writing to Philipps in 1655 must have been caused by an unsatisfactory result from one of their proceedings, for instance that the actual moving of the sequestered paintings to the house of the Procurator-General of the Court of Utrecht in February 1655 had not advanced the case. Cf. **188a**, Blok (1999:406), Weijtens (1971:20–22, 45–46).

⁵ They had moved to The Hague in May 1655, **190b**.

⁶ When he noticed that Stafford had moved to the province of Holland, and had been arrested by some creditors on the basis of a warrant from the Court of Holland, Junius transferred his case from Amersfoort to The Hague. Only on 7 June 1658, the Court of Holland verdicted that Stafford must remunerate Junius £1,370. Stafford submitted a warrant for the nullification of the verdict to the Supreme Court in The Hague on 4 September 1658. Then, he seems to have brought his case before the court in London, where Junius was arrested, but dropped it again, so that Junius was released presumably in June 1659, **199a**, **200c**. The Supreme Court in The Hague finally gave its verdict on 12 December 1660 that Stafford must pay, also because Junius' assertions were supported by oaths. Cf. **188a**, **195a**, ARA.

⁷ Isaac's library was exquisite indeed, consisting of the books and manuscripts from his own collection combined with those he had selected from Christina of Sweden's library, with which part of his own and Vossius' collection had fused. The contents of the chests Isaac had sent back from Stockholm in 1654, **187c**, had elicited praise from Joannes Georgius Graevius, **224a**, comparable to Junius' in this section, "Iupiter! Quam ampla, quam numerosa, quantis divitiis luxurians. Auctores Latini optimae notae fere omnes aliquoties in membranis exarati, praeter Graecos, Gallicos et Germanicos, et selectissimae rarissimaeque omnis generis editiones ibi visuntur. Nullam publicam bibliothecam in Batavia illi esse comparandam ii testantur, quibus ista compta sunt" [By Jove! How splendid, how varied, and abounding with such great treasures. Almost all Latin authors of better quality ever written in manuscript, besides Greek, French and German ones, and the choicest and rarest of all kinds of editions are to be seen there. Those who are experts on this testify that no public library in Holland can be compared to it], quoted after Blok (1999:463). In 1655, Isaac had been in Paris to make yet another selection from Christina's library. Thus, his collection became so extensive that he even auctioned a considerable and for his own interests less attractive part in October, although under the pretext of it being his father's library. After his death, his collection was acquired by Leiden University, where "it was the formation of the collection," Hulshoff Pol (1975:444). By then, it also included books Junius had left to Isaac, cf. below, **195b**, **224a**. Cf. Balsem (1994:viii–xii), Blok (1974:16–33, 1999:463, 475, 492), Hulshoff Pol (1975:442–44), Boeren (1975), de Meyier (1955, 1973), Bremmer (1998b:213–14), Tydeman (1825).

wee alltogether want such thinges as may serve to satisfie my private curiositie; for I have mett among that store my kinsman hath with diverse Francike, Anglo-Saxonike, and Gothic Antiquities, no where else to be found;⁸ hoping that I shall at length (God giving me health and some meanes to prosecute my designe)⁹ bee able to shewe what unusuall subsidies I have got in this contrie, besides the brave¹⁰ monuments I have formerly by Mr. Selden his favour had and transcribed out of that noble librarie of the Cottonian familie, to which familie you will bee pleased to remember my most humble respects.¹¹

- c Mr. Jeane thanketh you for the care you take to resolve him. If there bee anie thing wherein I can serve you here, doe but acquainte mee with your desire, and I shall most readilie shewe my selfe to be Your most obliged freind and servant, F. Junius.
's Graven Haegh 1656. the 12th of May, *stilo novo*.

194 56 00 00 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO FABIAN PHILIPPS [-]¹

- a Praestantissimo consultissimoque viro Domino Fabiano Phillips, Armigero, amico suo singulari, Franciscus Iunius F.F.
Quotiescunque cum animo recolo illam communium curarum societatem quae nos multis abhinc annis arctissima familiaritate in Britannia vestra coniunxit, memoriam quoque meam statim sentio excitari ad recordationem eorum quae mihi benigne semper fecisti.² Immensa tua beneficia suavissime diligentissimeque in hominem peregrinum congesta pluribus hic verbis exaggerarem, si minus occurreret quid aures tuae pati possint quam quid fidei virtutibusque tuis debeatur.³ Licet vero usque adeo rarum modestiae tuae indixeris

⁸ Isaac's manuscript collection included the *Codex argenteus* of the Gothic Gospels, **188a**, and the so-called "Leiden Lydgate" with Middle English poems by John Lydgate and Geoffrey Chaucer; Odo Magdunensis, *De viribus herbarum*, an Old High German glossary formerly belonging to Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn, and which Junius transcribed as "Glossarium M" in Ms Jun. 116f, ff. 118–21; Pseudo-Antonius Musa, *De herba vettonica*, which had belonged to Melchior Goldast; the so-called "Leiden Glossary," an Old English glossary which Junius transcribed as "Glossarium E" in Ms Jun. 116d; an Old High German glossary in UBL, Ms Voss.Lat. O.15, formerly in the Petavium collection, which he transcribed as "Glossarium F" in Ms Jun. 116d; the *Codex Vossianus* of the Old English Psalter, Ms Jun. 27; Old English homilies in Mss Jun. 85, 86; and "Capitularia varia," formerly in the Petavium collection, which he collated in Jean du Tillet's edition of Frankish laws (1573?), Ms Jun. 93. Cf. **208g**, **213a**, Bremmer (1998b:234), de Meyier, s.vv., *SCW* nos. 5139, 5196–97, 5204, 5227*, 5228***.

194 56 00 00 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO FABIAN PHILIPPS [-]

- a To the most excellent and well-informed gentleman, Mr. Fabian Philipps, filazer, his special friend, Francis Junius F.F. [sends regards]. As often as I call to mind that union of joint concerns which bound us with the closest friendship in your England many years ago, I also feel immediately that my memory is roused at the recollection of what you have always kindly done for me. I would exalt your immeasurable favours, which you most sweetly and diligently showered upon a foreigner, in many words here, if I thought less of what your ears can bear than of what is due to your faithfulness and virtuousness. Yet, although you have imposed upon yourself such a rare control of your modesty that they seem to hold neither too little nor

⁹ Junius needed his outstanding stipend from the Arundel family in order to pay for the publication of his studies, **195a**.

¹⁰ Brave: "splendid," cf. *OED*.

¹¹ Junius had copied numerous Old English manuscripts from the Cottonian library through John Selden, **187a**. On behalf of Thomas Cotton, Dugdale had inquired with Junius after the Cotton Genesis lent to the Arundel family long before, **190a**.

¹ *p*: Vossius, *Harmoniae evangelicae* (1656:*2-*2v). I used the copy now UBL, 534 D 40. Dedicatory letter in Junius' edition of Vossius' *Harmoniae evangelicae* (1656).

² Both in the service of Thomas Howard, Fabian Philipps and Junius had attended to Aubrey de Vere, **164e**.

³ For this sentence, cf. **38a**.

temperamentum, ut in consiliis factisque tuis nec nimium nec parum videantur locum | habere, serioque omnem collatorum in amicos beneficiorum memoriam mentionemque averseris; vincam tamen pernecessario mihi cultu cogitationes tuas, quandoquidem non tuo me arbitrato, sed meo, gratum esse oportet.

b Mitto itaque munusculum nunquam hactenus tibi expectatum, minus expetitur; neque depromptum ex nostris nugis, quas tu tamen aliquo in loco habere solebas, sed ex postumis scriptis G.I. Vossii, affinis quondam mihi coniunctissimi, et tibi totique adeo Britanniae vestrae in magna semper aestimatione habiti.⁴ Argumentum libri minime tibi displiciturum confido, cum eruditio tua et peculiaris quidam amor veritatis ex aequo se ad omnia doctrinae (praesertim tamen piae) genera extendat. Ingenue quidem confiteor, uberiorem tuis in me immerentem beneficiis gratiam deberi; ac maius aliquod amicitiae nostrae pignus in grati animi testimonium lubens obtulissem, nisi a verecundia tua sola mediocritate munusculi impetrari posse iudicarem, ne hanc qualemcunque testificationem tuorum in me meritorum invitus admittas.

Hagae Comitum, MDCLVI.

^o 195 57 03 02 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [LONDON]¹

A For his much honored freind Mr. Wiliam Dugdale.

a Worthie Sir,

The heartie thanks I owe you for your Warwickshire antiquities I should ere now have testified with a returne of my illustrated Tatianus, if the shamefully unthankfull Visconte, you know, had not hindered my intentions by detaining my riht from mee, but beeing in hope very shortly to recover something, I shall make haste to answer the publike expectation and the particular respects whereby you and other worthie freinds long since have engaged and still doe engage mee.²

⁴ Cf. Catullus 1.3–4, “namque tu solebas/meas esse aliquid putare nugas.” Vossius, *Harmoniae evangelicae de passione, morte, resurrectione, ac adscensione Iesu Christi, Salvatoris nostri, libri tres*, ed. Junius (Amsterdam: Lodewijk and Daniel Elzevier, 1656), a practical historical commentary to Christ’s passion, the events leading to it, and the resurrection, cf. Rademaker (1981:313–14, 373). Vossius had always been held in particular esteem in England. He had been invited to a post in Cambridge by Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, in 1624; then, King Charles I had granted his eldest son

too much place in your words and deeds, and although you have seriously turned down any recollection or mention of the favours showered upon friends, I will still overcome your opinions with a reverence which is most necessary to me, because I should be grateful in accordance not with your judgement, but with mine.

b So, I send you a small present, which you have never yet expected and even less requested, and it was not taken from our trifles, which you nevertheless used to hold in some regard, but from the posthumous writings of G.J. Vossius, my late dearest brother-in-law, whom you and even all your England have always held in high esteem. I trust the subject of the book will rather please you, because your learning and a singular love of the truth are equally extending to all kinds of scholarship (yet especially to pious scholarship). I actually frankly acknowledge to owe further gratitude for your undeserved favours towards me, and would gladly have presented a larger pledge of our friendship as testimonial of a grateful heart, if I did not believe to be able to make your modesty willingly accept this humble witness of your favours towards me only by the insignificance of a small present. The Hague, 1656.

195 57 03 02 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [LONDON]

[*See the original letter.*]

Joannes a fellowship at Cambridge, and he had been made a canon of Canterbury in 1629, at the instigation of William Laud, then bishop of London, **59a-d**, **66**. Junius' copy not found in UBL. Cf. Rademaker (1981:223–35).

¹ *p*: Hamper (1827, no. 114). Reply to an unretrieved letter, **b**, **c**.

² William Dugdale, *Antiquities of Warwickshire* (1656), **191b**. Junius' copy not found in UBL. Junius was preparing an edition and commentary, in the style of his *Observationes* (1655), **188c**, of the Latin–Old High German version of Tatianus Alexandrinus' *Diatessaron*, a harmony of the Gospels. In 1653 in Heidelberg, he had obtained the transcript of the text which Bonaventura Vulcanius had sent to Marquard Freher, and which is now Ms Jun. 13, **187a**, **203b**. The source, now lost, from which the transcript had been made, had a lacuna between chs. 76.1 and 153.1, **203b**. Junius had the transcript interleaved for annotations, which he began on his return home, **204f**, and when these outgrew the space available, he continued them in an "Auctarium" of another 300 pages, which particularly comprise longer etymological observations, Ms Jun. 42. He used the annotations for **203**, **204**, his glossaries, **206a**, and his *Gothicum glossarium* (1665), **209b**, though in the last in abbreviated form only. The prospective title was "Tatiani Alexandrini Harmonia Evangelica Francisco–Latina pluribus in locis diligenter collata cum antiquissima quatuor

- b** As for a *manuscript* Philostratus de vita Apollonii °Tyanei, I never sawe anie, but when I was writing de Pictura veterum (in which treatise the elder and younger Philostratus are everie where quoted) Mr. Patrike Young lent me a Greeke *manuscript* (which hee sayd to belong to the Cottonian librarie) in which *manuscript* were contained utriusque Philostrati imagines, as also his Heroica and Sophistarum vitae; and having all these carefully conferred with a Venetian edition of the year 1550 (which I have here still with mee) I restored the *manuscript* to Mr. Young.³
- c** As for the historie of our Fenns and grounds in this countrie gained from the sea, I am a great stranger in things of that nature, by reason of my long abode abroad.⁴ If my kinsman Matthaeus Vossius had still bene alife, who was *Historicus Ordinum Hollandiae* and *Zeelandiae*, and by the publishing of his *Annales* hath shewne him selfe to have bene most able that way, your desire should have been readilie supplied; but his widdow since his decease having sold and alienated the bookes and l monuments belonging to that studie hee professed, we are also to seeke.⁵ Yet shall I not cease, if I can liht on anie thing to serve you with, to remember your desire, and to doe what may bee justly expected of one who professeth himselfe to bee
Your reall freind and humble servant, F. Junius.
's Graven haeg, 1657, the 2 of March, *silo novo*.
- d** I should bee most glad to heare that Mr. Somner his Anglo-Saxonike Dictionarie is comming forth.⁶

b Tyanei: Tyranei (*This mistake is probably due to p, for Junius had used the text in De pictura (1637) and Catalogus artificum (1694), and was therefore familiar with it. Cf. Literature 2.532.*)

Evangeliorum translatione Anglo-Saxonica, et Ulphilae interpretatione Gothica ex Argenteo, ut vocant, codice deprompta" [Tatianus Alexandrinus' Harmony of the Gospels in Franconian-Latin, in many places diligently collated with the most ancient Anglo-Saxon translation of the four Gospels, and Wulfila's Gothic translation taken from the *Codex argenteus*, as it is called], Ms Jun. 13, f. 5. It never came to being published, however. In 1706, the German scholar Johann Philipp Palthen (1672-1710) published his edition and commentary of the text on the basis of Junius' material in Ms Jun. 13. Annotations in different brown inks, sometimes constituting the main body of the commentary, sometimes scribbled in between the lines or in the margin, sometimes slanted, sometimes deleted and replaced by a note referring to the

“Auctarium” not only indicate that Junius worked on the commentary over a longer period of time, but will also provide valuable insight into how his evidence and knowledge of the Germanic languages developed, and which books he used at which time—for instance, references to Danish seem to have been consistently added in the margin. The commentaries in Mss Jun. 13 and 42 consequently deserve to be the topic of a detailed study. Junius’ first coming publication was the *editio princeps* of the Gothic Gospels in 1665, **209b**. Junius had transferred his case against William, viscount Stafford, to The Hague, **193b**. Cf. *SCW* no. 5125, 5154, Ganz (1993:ix–xi); for a facsimile edition and introduction of Palthen, cf. Ganz (1993).

³ Dugdale must have inquired after the manuscript in an unretrieved letter, which had presumably accompanied Junius’ copy of *Warwickshire Antiquities*. Dugdale may have asked whether the Arundel library had included a manuscript of Flavius Philostratus (fl. 170–205), *De vita Apollonii*, the life of the Roman cult figure Apollonius Tyanensis (d. c.97), which belonged to the Cottonian library—just like the Cotton Genesis, **190a**. For an index to Junius’ quotations of the various works of the Philostrati, especially the *Imagines* of the elder and younger Philostratus, in *De pictura* (1637), cf. *Literature* 2.532–33. The Cottonian Philostratus manuscript is now BL, Royal 16.C.xxiii, for, as “Philistratus grece fair wrighten,” it was among some Cottonian manuscripts exchanged with some from the Royal library around 1616. The manuscript Junius used has been identified as Jacobaeus 845 (Cottonianus), dating from the fifteenth century. From it, he made collations in the copy of Philostratus, *Imagines, eiusdem Heroica, eiusdem Vitae sophistarum, Philostrati iunioris imagines, Callistrati Descriptiones, omnia emendata* (Venice: Pt. and Io. Mar. Nicolini, 1550), now UBL, 756 F 28 (from Isaac Vossius’ collection). This is an indication that some, or perhaps most books with Junius’ annotations now in UBL characterised as stemming from Isaac’s collection were originally part of Junius’ own collection and left to Isaac, **193b***, **224a**. Patrick Young had also mediated for Junius in connection with a Cottonian Vitruvius manuscript; this is another indication that Junius’ enjoyment of the Cottonian library had not been unrestricted, **164b**. Cf. *OCD* (1996:128), Bremmer (1998b:213), van Romburgh (1998), Tite (1997:266), Benndorf and Schenkl (1893:vii–viii2).

⁴ Dugdale must have inquired after this topic in the unretrieved letter. He was gathering information for his *History of Imbanking and Drayning of Divers Fens and Marshes, both in Foreign Parts and in this Kingdom . . .* (London, 1662), a learned exposition on the history of the reclamation of land in connection with the great Commonwealth project of the drainage of the Fens in East Anglia in the 1650s, in which he—and Sir John Marsham, among others—was involved. In it, Dugdale discussed the reclamation of land from Genesis onwards through the centuries, as well as the archaeological and other finds which had appeared during the reclamation of the Fens, such as Roman roads. Junius’ copy not found in UBL. In the Low Countries, especially in the province of Holland, numerous more and less extensive projects of land reclamation had been executed from the mid-1500s onwards. Using the newest technology and mills, often financed by statesmen and wealthy townspeople, the projects had yielded thousands of hectares of arable land. The Dutch engineers specialized in land reclamation also worked abroad; the Dutch engineer Cornelius Vermuyden (c.1595–c.1683) from Zeeland, for instance, was director of drainage works in the Fens reclamation project. Cf. Parry (1995:243–45), *DNB* 16.139, de Vries (1973:193–96), Israel (1996:272, 284, 334–35).

⁵ In his function of historiographer of Holland, Zeeland and West-Friesland, Matthaeus Vossius had published a series of histories of the provinces, **103c**. The person to whom Johanna de Veno had sold Matthaeus’ material for study after his death in 1646 is unidentified, **161a**.

⁶ William Somner, *Dictionarium Saxonico* (1659), was published only in 1659, **192b**.

196 57 05 04 DOEKE VAN HEMMEMA (LEEWARDEN) TO JUNIUS
(THE HAGUE)¹

A Aen mijn heere. Mijn heer franciscus Junius, wonende aen het Voerhowt in s'Grauenhage²

a Mijn heere,

Dat ick volgens belofte UEdele dit boek niet eerder heb toegesonden, is veroorsaekt, dat ick heb gewacht na seker persoon die van huijs geweest is door wiens directie ick hoepte te bekomen den tijtel van het seluen.³ het is °nu so dat ick dit mijn hierneffens bij gaende boek heb laten doerbladen tegens een ander het welke gans compleet waer ende het selue bevonden met het ander te accorderen, behaluen dat in het mijne veel geschreuen is doer mijn ouergrootvader de welke hier te lande is Griet man geweest, sijnde het gene geschreuen effen de substantie van het gene gedruckt is geweest, en verloren, het sij doer slofficheit oft olderdom des boeks,⁴ sulx dat ick bij verscheiden lief hebbers van antiquiteiten en olde boeken, seker | genoeg vernomen, dat dit boek geen ander tijtul heeft als t'gene in den aenvanck staet, achter het kruissien.⁵ De selue verklaerden mij mede dat Ubbo Emmius in sijn historien vermeldt van dit olt fries landriochts boek tot Ceulen gedruckt is⁶

b UE sal hierneffens vinden een olde brief waer af ick gerne een Nederlandse copie sow hebben van UE in dien de tijt sulx kan toe

a nu: e mi

¹ o: Lambeth Palace, Ms 783, ff. 281–282. e: Campbell (1938:31–33).

² Junius had stayed with his sister Johanna at the *Voorhout* in 1645–46, when attending to Aubrey de Vere, **157a**, **160c**, **161A**. Van Hemmema may have used the address as he had received it in that period from either Aubrey or Junius himself, possibly when the latter was in Friesland, c, since he evidently did not know that Junius lived at the *Korte Houtstraat* in The Hague at the time of the present letter, **190b**.

³ Doeke, or Duco, van Hemmema (1603–1698), colonel-captain of the guard and friend of the Stadtholder of Friesland, Groningen and Drenthe, Willem Frederik (1613–1664), in Leeuwarden, and future member of the Provincial Council of Friesland. He was a maternal uncle of Aubrey de Vere, **152e^a**. At the death of his brother Sicke, who had been married with Wompke van Unia, in 1664, he was to become the sixth fief-owner of Nijefenne. The book was a copy of the incunable *Druk*, or *Freeska Landriucht* (c.1485), a collection of Old Frisian laws, now Ms Jun. 109. It formed Junius' first source of Old Frisian material for his Germanic studies. In the following years, he added to this more versions of Old Frisian law texts,

196 57 05 04 DOEKE VAN HEMMEMA (LEEWARDEN) TO JUNIUS
(THE HAGUE)

A To Mr. Francis Junius, residing at the Voorhout in The Hague.

a Sir,

The reason that I have not sent you this book any earlier, as promised, is because I waited for someone who was away from home, by whose direction I hoped to get its titlepage. It is now such, that I have had my enclosed book here collated against another one which was wholly complete, and found it to accord with the other one, except that mine has been much annotated by my great-grandfather, who was *grietman* here in this country, that is, what is written is just the information on what was printed, but lost either by carelessness or by the age of the book, so that I have understood certainly enough from various lovers of antiquities and ancient books that this book has no different titlepage than what it says in the beginning behind the little cross. They told me also that Ubbo Emmius explains in his *Histories* that this ancient Frisian book of land laws was published in Cologne.

b Here you will find an ancient letter of which I would like to have

by his transcriptions of Ms Unia—virtually only known from Junius' transcript, since, though it seems to have belonged to Simon Abbes Gabbema at the time, **206b**, it is now lost—Ms Roorda, and Ms Fivelgo in the manuscript now Ms Jun. 49, and by the *Codex Aysma*, now Ms Jun. 78. Junius hoped the Old Frisian laws would be edited by Jan van Vliet or by Gabbema, **206b**. No details were found on when and how Junius had asked for the book and van Hemmema had promised to send it. Nevertheless, the promise indicates that Junius stayed in contact, albeit perhaps indirectly, with Aubrey's relatives. The person whom van Hemmema consulted is unidentified. Cf. *BWN* 8.529, Campbell (1938:33), Breuker (1989, 2.1:241, 1990:45–46, 59–64, 1998:134, 150–55), Campbell (1938:32, 34), Sjölin (1969:9–12).

⁴ Either Hette van Hemmema (d. 1572), *olderman* or *grietman* of Menaldumadeel from 1531, or Johan Saeckma, *grietman* of Dantumadeel from 1536. Johan Saeckma was also a great-grandfather of Theodoor Saeckma, c. Cf. Campbell (1938:32n), de Haan Hetteema and van Halmael 2.48.

⁵ *Druk* lacks a title. Junius presumably replaced the *grietman*'s handwritten title and table of contents with his own table of contents. Cf. Campbell (1938:32n), Breuker (1990:60n, 1998:151n).

⁶ Ubbo Emmius, *Rerum Frisicarum historia* (Leiden, 1616:175), “capita decem iuri antiquo Frisico, quae cum reliquis in codice legum nostratium ante annos 130 Coloniae typis excuso, patrio sermone edita in manibus omnium habentur” [ten chapters of law in ancient Frisian, which were published in our mother tongue, among other things, in a codex of laws of our people executed in print in Cologne 130 years ago, and are held in everybody's hands].

laten.⁷ UE dan dit meergemelt boeck doergesien hebbende gelieue mij t'selue wederom te behandigen⁸ onderentusschen sal sijn en altijt °verblean

Mijn heer UEdele seer willigen dienaer D Hemmema
Leuwarden den 24en April 1657.

- c Den Raetsheer Theodorus Sakema heb ick aengaende UE studie gesproken⁹ indien UE hem self eens schriefft om noch andere olde boeken daer toe dienstich sal na ick kan mercken UE geerne van alles leenen, also sijn Edele segt UE gekent te hebben als de selue hier in Frieslandt waer¹⁰

197 57 08 27 JOHANNES F. GRONOVIVS (DEVENTER) TO JUNIVS [THE HAGUE]¹

- a Nobilissimo et summo viro Francisco Iunio Iohannes Fredericus Gronovius *salutem plurimam dicit.*

b verblean: e verbliven

⁷ The Old Frisian “baer,” or settlement of a dispute between the Siuwerdsma and van Hemmema families dated 19 July 1452, a copy of which is in Junius’ hand in the same Lambeth manuscript as this letter, f. 274. Junius’ Dutch translation of the Old Frisian text is unidentified. Cf. Campbell (1937:33); “baer” edited in Sipma (1941:3–4).

⁸ Junius seems never to have returned the book, unless Ms Jun. 109 is a copy he soon acquired himself, cf. Campbell (1938:34), but Breuker (1990:60n, 1998:151n).

⁹ Theodoor Saekma (1610–1666), Leeuwarden lawyer, town secretary and, from 1638, councillor of the Court of Friesland, a patron of the arts who owned a large and valuable library. A son of Johannes Saekma (1572–1636), trustee of Franeker University, he had studied at Franeker and received his doctorate in Groningen between 1625 and 1630, after which he made a tour of France. He wrote a commentary on the “Landsordonnantie,” the Frisian statutes, which has remained in manuscript. He was a friend of Gabbema, and related to Aubrey de Vere and van Hemmema not only by virtue of his great-grandfather Johan Saekma being van Hemmema’s great-grandfather as well, but also by virtue of his paternal great-aunt being van Hemmema’s grandmother and Aubrey’s maternal great-grandmother. A letter dated 57 08 05/15, in which Franciscus Junius F.N. thanked Saekma for a copy of Tertullian with manuscript annotations by Junius the Elder, which he had received from him via Joachim Borgesius, may indicate that Junius and Saekma did get in touch after the present letter. Cf. *NBW* 10.865, Engels (1995, 1.393–94, and s.v., esp. 2.10n, 70n), Vries *et al.* (1999, no. 147), de Haan Hetteema and van Halmael 1.192–93, 2.48.

¹⁰ Between June 1646 and some moment in 1648 at the latest, **163**, **164d**, Junius

a Dutch translation from you, if time allows so. Having examined this aforementioned book, please return it to me again then.

Meanwhile, I will be and always stay,

Sir, your most willing servant D. Hemmema.

Leeuwarden, 24 April 1657 [5 May].

- c I talked to Councillor Theodoor Saeckma about your studies. If you write to him yourself for other books useful for them, he will, as I can see, willingly lend you all kind of material, since his lordship says to have known you when you were here in Friesland.

197 57 08 27 JOHANNES F. GRONOVIVS (DEVENTER) TO JUNIVS [THE HAGUE]

- a Johannes Fredericus Gronovius sends warmest regards to the most noble and excellent gentleman Francis Junius. I thought I had to search less for what I had promised to you, most noble sir, than I noticed on my return home. Yet I finally dug them

stayed one or more periods in Friesland, where he familiarised himself with the Frisian language. He received instruction in Frisian from the poet Gysbert Japix (1603–1666) in Bolsward, of which lessons Junius' important notes and copies of poems are preserved in Mss Jun. 115a and 122, and London, Lambeth Palace Ms 783. Junius also collected material from the dialects of Hindelopen and Molkwerum, because, according to Joannes Georgius Graevius (1694:†4v), he had heard that “in occidentali Frisia pagos et oppidula esse, Worcomum Staveram, Molqueram, qui vetere Frisica lingua intaminata uterentur, cuius magna esset affinitas cum Anglo-saxonica” [in western Friesland were the regions and small towns Workum, Stavoren and Molkwerum, which used the undefiled ancient Frisian language, which had great affinity with the Old English]. Several proposals have been made on the exact period and details of Junius' stay(s) in Friesland, especially since Graevius stated that Junius had been there “duos vertentes annos” [in the course of two years], and Gabbema (1681:274) added that, as he had heard from Junius himself, Junius had been with Japix “onder de naam van Nadabus Agrmonius” [under the name of N.A.], the Junius pseudonym, **30h**, **48c^a**. This pseudonym, however, had evidently not prevented Saeckma and others from recognising him. Junius' entrance to the Frisian elite was no doubt facilitated by his acquaintance with the de Venno and van Hemmema families. Possibly, a visit which James Ussher, Primate of Ireland, paid to Stadholder Willem Frederik in Leeuwarden on 12/22 December 1646 is connected to Junius' stay in Friesland. Cf. Breuker (1989:166–81, 244–47, 562–64 1990:45, 50–51, 1998:133–34, 140–42), also for details on A. Feitsma's editions of Junius' notes; Haantjes (1929:242–58), Timmer (1957), personal communication Philippus Breuker. For Japix, whose posthumous *Friesche rymleye* (1668) was republished in an enlarged edition by Gabbema, cf. Breuker (1989), Haantjes (1929).

¹ *o*: UBA, M 89d.

Putabam minus in quaestione mihi futura quae promiseram tibi, vir nobilissime, quam, postquam domum redii, expertus sum. Tandem tamen erui, et nunc mitto, ut quid de illis in posterum sentiam, per te edoear.² Venerabilem sororem tuam plurima salute impertio, nec non et amplissimum filium eius; etsi sit cur ei irascar, qui me in *manuscripto* Tulliano totum prope mensem littus arare³ compulerit.⁴ Post tot vana gaudia intellexi tandem omnia esse occupata, ipsa illa (quibus monstratis milvinam mihi suggerebat)⁵ *temperaret tollere et Dinonis in Persicis*, non modo a Grutero, sed prope ante seculum a Victorio.⁶ Sed hanc °temporis iacturam facile ille alias compensabit; immo iam compensavit. Vale.

Daventriae, XVI kalendas Septembris MDCLVII.

198 [ANTE 58 02 20] GERARD LANGBAINE [-] TO JUNIUS [-]¹

- a *Kene* primaria notione sua Anglis, ut ferri, sic oculorum quoque aciem designat; atque ab ea quoque movendi celeritate, quam in suo

197a temporis: \temporis/

² What Gronovius sent with this letter is unidentified.

³ Ovid, *Tristia* 5.4.48, "littus arare."

⁴ Isaac Vossius must have urged Gronovius to try and solve two conjectural readings in Cicero, *De divinatione*, quoted in this section. They appeared to have already been solved, cf. below.

⁵ Plautus, *Menaechmi* 1.3.29, "milvinam sugger[. . .];" dubious reading, also given as "bulimam sugge[. . .];" cf. Ritschl (1889).

⁶ Cicero, *De divinatione* 1.42.14, "Post illa natus, temperaret tollere;" 1.46.10, "principi interpretati sint, ex Dinonis Persicis proferam." D(e)inon (4th c. B.C.), Greek historian, wrote a romantic account of the history of Persia. Janus Gruterus, *Cicero opera omnia* . . . (Hamburg, 1618–19, 4.183) has "Post illa natus tempora, hunc si tolleret" and "ex Dinonis Persicis libris." In his comments to the various readings of these lines in different manuscripts (4.412–13), Gruterus referred to Petrus Victorius' edition. Gronovius' reference to Victorius probably came from Gruterus. Neither line seems to be discussed in Victorius, *Explicationes suarum in Ciceronem castigatium* (Basle, 1540). Cf. *OCD* (1996:470).

¹ c: d, in Junius' hand, Ms Jun. 116c, f. 112, s.v. CIBORIUM. p: Junius, *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743), s.vv CEEN, CHILD, CHIRRE, CNIGHT, JOLE, LOPSTER, QUEAN, QUICK; I used f. Excerpts of Langbaine's letter, or letters, were included by Junius in entries of his *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743) and glossary 'D,' 187a. Although the excerpts possibly stem from more than one letter of Langbaine, I present them under a single heading for convenience, since the excerpts all concern commentaries to Junius' etymologies, are undated, and are said to have formed part of a longer text, a. It is not unlikely that further excerpts of Langbaine's letter are still hidden in Junius'

up and send them now in order to hear from you what to think about them in the future. I impart warmest regards to your honourable sister and also to her most magnificent son, although I have reason to be angry with him, because he urged me to plough the sea-shore on a Cicero manuscript for almost a whole month. After so much idle happiness, I finally understood that everything, those very phrases “*temperaret tollere*” and “*Dionis in Persicis*” (by showing me these he had whetted my appetite) had been done before not only by Gruterus, but also by Victorius almost a century ago. But he will easily recompense that loss of time on another moment; well, he has already recompensed it. Farewell.

Deventer, on the 16th before the Kalends of September, 1657 [27 Aug.].

198 [ANTE 58 02 20] GERARD LANGBAINE [-] TO JUNIUS [-]

- a Thus, in its principal meaning, *kene* indicates both iron and sharpness of sight for the English; and because of this speed of moving, which we also perceive to be contained in both of its natures, we

legacy in Mss Jun. Presumably a reaction to Langbaine having examined part of the *Etymologicum* when Junius was in England, just as Christopher Hatton, first baron Hatton, had done, **205b**. Otherwise, a reply to an unretrieved letter from Junius comparable to letters **203** and **204**. The excerpts are undated, but Langbaine's death on 58 02 10/20 serves as date *ante quem*. Kees Dekker has brought **c** to my attention, and thus triggered my search for other excerpts. The inclusion of Langbaine's letter at the entry LOPSTER is noted in [Bernard Edward], *Catalogi librorum manusccriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti, cum indice alphabetico* (Oxford, 1697:249, no. 5117.5); I owe this reference to Rolf Bremmer. Few details can be found on Junius' stay, or stays, in England at the end of the 1650s. He may have gone there in the autumn of 1657, soon after letter **197**, or possibly after his sister Maria Junius had died in November. If Langbaine did examine the manuscript of the *Etymologicum anglicanum* and replied to it in the present letter, Junius must have been in England well before Langbaine's death on 20 February 1658. But Junius' case against William Howard, viscount Stafford, may also have required his presence in Holland in the meantime, **193b**. Junius was certainly in England in July 1658, for he signed Thomas Cotton's lending-book for the borrowing of the Old English Orosius, now BL, Ms Cott. Tib. B.i, “[in William Dugdale's hand:] 5o Iulii 1658. Borrowed of Sir Thomas Cotton Baronet Orosius in Saxon marked Tiberius B.1 [in Junius' hand:] F.F.F. Iunius,” BL, Cott. Ms App. XLV, art. 13, *Notes of Mss lent by Sir Thomas Cotton from 1637 to 1661*, f. 13. The whole entry has been crossed out, no doubt when the manuscript was returned. Junius made a transcript of the text in Ms Jun. 15, **187a**. In this period, Junius also stayed with Christopher Hatton, first Baron Hatton, whom he showed entries of the *Etymologicum*, **205b**. Junius may have stayed in England all the time until his return at the end of August 1659, **201a**. Cf. Rademaker (1981:347).

quoque genere utriusque inesse deprehendimus, non incommode ἀπὸ τοῦ κινεῖν derivari posse putamus. Hinc deinde secundario sensu ad homines agiles atque ad quidvis audendum promptos (quos etiam *kene* vocamus) accomodari solet. Neque enim ex nihilo crediderim, quod nobile illud heroum par Achilles atque Ulysses, viri utique Homero bellicosissimi, toties uterque πωδᾶς ὠκῆς audit, tanquam velox ad praelia; quomodo et ignavi timidique ἄργοι, “pigri” merito nuncupantur. [*Junius*: Hanc suam de vocis huius origine sententiam mihi per epistolam inter alia communicavit vir longe doctissimus Gerardus Langbainius.]²

b [*Junius*: Langbainius hoc in loco (*child*) annotaverat.] Quid ni ab Hebr. חיל, “*chul*,” “parturiit?” Sic Wiclifus passim in sua Bibliorum translatione anglicana, and *Eve childed* etc.³

c [*Junius*: Ad hanc verbi *chirre* acceptionem addebat eximius ac nostri quondam amantissimus Langbaine,]⁴

Quin et “chrysomitres” dicimus *to chirre*, et coetum chrysomitrium *a chirring of goldfinches* vocant aucupes, ut me docuit vetus codex *manuscriptus*.⁵ Affinia his videntur γῆρυς, “vox,” et γηρύω, “loquor, vocem edo.”

[*Junius*: Hanc suam de verbo *chirre* coniecturam amice mihi communicavit doctissimus Gerardus Langbainius per epistolam, in qua porro exhibuit integrum locum codicis memorati, dicens,]

Locum integrum tibi forte non molestum fuerit perlegere, apponam itaque. Is ita se habet, *A heerd of herts. A heerd of cranes. A heerd of bucks. A heerd of curlews. A heerd of wranns. A bevey of quayls. A bevey of roes. A bevey of Ladies. A je of fesants. A covey of partriches. A route of wolves. A rout of Knights. A sounder of wild swine. A syngler of boores. A chirring of goldfinches. A chatering of stares. A hoste of sparous. A hoste of men. A gagling of geese. A gagling of women. A flock of sheep. A tryp of goete. A husk of raies. A don of hares. A harrusse of horses. A teeme of oxen. A drove of beests. A teeme of swans. A teeme of wild doks. A flight of larks. A flight of swallows. A flight of doves. A skulk of foxes. A skulk of theeves. A skulk of freers. An abhominable sight of monks. A superfluity of nonnes. A state of priests. A dignity of chanons. A sege of herons. A sege of bytours. A springe of teals. A sourde of malards. A deceyt of lapewynks. An unkyndnes of ravens. A trew love of turtles. A cluster of grapes. A cluster of nots. A clowder of carles. A clowder of cats.*⁶

² Junius, *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. CEEN).

³ Junius, *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. CHILD). John Wycliffe (c.1320–1384), religious reformer and instigator of the first English translation of the Bible, which

believe it can conveniently be derived *from the word* κινεῖν [to move]. Then, from this, in a secondary meaning, it is usually applied to agile people ready to attempt anything whatever (whom we also call *kene*). For I would suppose it to be with good reason that this noble pair of heroes, Achilles and Ulysses, both most warlike men in Homer, are both very often called πωδῶς ὠκὺς [fast of foot], as if fast to fights, just as lazy and cowardly men are deservedly called ἄργοι, “sluggards.” [*Junius*: This opinion on the origin of this word, among other things, the most learned gentleman Gerard Langbaine communicated to me in a letter.]

b [*Junius*: Langbaine annotated on this passage (*child*).] Why not from Hebrew חול, “*chul*,” “she brought forth?” Thus, Wycliffe has “*and Eve childed*,” etc., everywhere in his English translation of the Bible.

c [*Junius*: The excellent and our late dearly beloved friend Langbaine added to this meaning of the word *chirre*.] But we also say of goldfinches *to chirre*, and fowlers call a crowd of goldfinches a *chirring of goldfinches*, as an ancient manuscript book taught me. γῆρυς, “voice,” and γηρώω, “I speak, utter a word,” seem related with these.

[*Junius*: The most learned Gerard Langbaine amicably communicated this conjecture about the word *chirre* to me in a letter, in which he further revealed the whole passage of the book mentioned, saying:] It will perhaps be quite welcome to you to read through the whole passage, so I add it. It is as follows, [*See the original*].

was partly executed by himself and partly by his followers the Lollards. The translation is extant in numerous manuscripts, several of which must have been available to Langbaine, such as those in the Bodleian and Cottonian libraries. To *child*: “to bring forth,” cf. *OED*, which quotes the Wycliffe Bible. The manuscript now Ms Jun. 29 comprises a fifteenth-century copy of the New Testament in the later Wycliffe version, completed in a sixteenth-century fake medieval hand. Jan van Vliet used its Lord’s Prayer for *’t Vader Ons* (1664), 210b. Cf. Deanesley (1920/1960:225ff.), Fristedt (1953:14–18), Butterworth (1941:322–34), Norton (1993:147), *SCW* no. 5141, Dekker (1999:156).

⁴ The reference to Langbaine as “*nostri quondam amantissimus*” indicates that this part of the entry was written after Langbaine’s death, g.

⁵ For the manuscript, cf. below.

⁶ The list is adapted from the list of “*Compaynys of Beestys and Fowlys*” in the popular *The Boke of St Albans* (St. Albans, 1486). Several manuscript adaptations of the list are known, none of which, however, exactly matches this version—but either Langbaine or Junius may have changed it. Humour seems to have been the guiding principle to at least some extent, hence the associations of monks and nuns. je: ME “*cie*,” a variation of “*nye*,” a brood (of pheasants); syngler: “*sangler*,” a full-grown wild boar; stare: “*starling*,” tryp: “*trip*,” a small flock (of goats, sheep, hares,

[*Junius*: Cum hasce ad me literas deferri curasset eximius in omni studiorum genere vir, iam in Belgicum etymologicum retuleram de tota re coniecturam . . .]⁷

d [*Junius*: Doctissimus etiam Gerardus Langbainius in quadam epistola haec olim ad me de *ciborii* voce perscripsit,]

Occurrit apud Meursium in glossario vox Graeco-barbara κιβούριον vel κιβώριον, quam ille “templum” vel “basilicam” interpretatur; paullo a vero remotius.⁸ Neque testimonia ab eo adducta id evincunt. Fuit enim, uti colligo ex actis Demetrii martyris a Niceta scriptis (quae sunt penes nos *manuscripta*) non ipsum templum, sed °in templo nomen sacelli peculiaris, in quo martyrum ipsorum copora °deponebantur.⁹ Ille certe post templi Demetrio dicati descriptionem, etiam τὸ κιβουρίου nobis ἔκφρασιν reliquit. Memini quoque me in dictionariolo quodam Malayensium, gentis Indiae orientalis, legisse *kibor*, cum hoc interpretamento, “sepulcrum.”¹⁰

e [*Junius*: Addebat doctissimus Langbainius vocem hanc (*knight*), sive aetatem sive ordinem denotet, habere aliquam affinitatem cum καινοῦν, “initiare.”]

Nempe ut ab ipsis nascendi primordiis puer vitae initiatur, ita et qui primum militiae nomen dederit, ubi primum cingulo militari accinctus fuerit, utroque merito κνιητ vocitetur. Adde quod hic apud feciales nostrates, quoties discriminis gratia ab aliis superiorum ordinum equitibus distinguendus sit, vocetur *Knight-bachelor*, eodem plane modo in academiis nostratibus primum eumque infimum in qualibet facultate gradum “baccalaureatus” vocitamus, et comitia solemnia, quibus graduati initiantur, “inceptiones,” *commencement*.¹¹

f [*Junius*: Vir longe doctissimus Gerardus Langbainius in quadam epistola olim ad me data retulit (*jole*) ad A.S. ciol, ceole, “guttur.”]¹²

g [*Junius*: Nunc addam quid Gerardus Langbainius, vir egregie doc-

d in: [- *nomen sa*] in | deponebantur: deponenebantur

etc.); goete: “goats;” husk: ME a group, company (of hares); don: a ME variant of “den;” harrusse: “haras,” a stud, breed, race of horses; drove: ME a herd; skulk: ME a group; chanons: “canons;” sege: “siege,” a collective of which the earliest record in the *OED* dates from 1801, “a siege of herons;” bytour: ME “bitour,” the European bittern; spring: ME a flock (of teals); sourde: ME a flock, flight (of mallards); turtle: “turtle-dove.” Cf. Corner (1962), Allen (1936), Hodgkin (1909), *MED*, *OED*, Corner (1962).

⁷ Junius, *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. CHIRRE). Junius, “Etymologicum teutonicum,” **169d**.

[*Junius*: When the gentleman excellent in all fields of studies had conveyed this to me in a letter, I had already discussed my conjecture about the whole matter in my Dutch etymological dictionary . . .].

d [*Junius*: The most learned Gerard Langbaine formerly also wrote the following to me about the word *ciborii*:]

With Meursius in a glossary occurs the Greek barbarism κιβούριον or κιβώριον, which he has interpreted as “temple” or “basilica,” somewhat beside the truth. And the evidence adduced by him does not prove it. For, as I gather from the acts of Demetrius the Martyr written by Nicetas (which are with us in manuscript), it was not the church itself, but the name of a special little shrine inside the church, in which the bodies of the martyrs themselves were placed. After the description of the temple dedicated to Demetrius, he surely also left to us the *explanation of the word* κιβουρίον. I also remember to have once read *kibor*, with the translation “grave,” in a small dictionary of the Malay, an East Indian people.

e [*Junius*: The most learned Langbaine added that this word (*knight*), whether indicating age or order, has some affinity with καινοῦν, “to initiate.”]

Certainly, just as a boy is initiated from the very beginning of his nascent life, so also he who has enlisted in military service for the first time, when he has first been girded with a military belt, is justly called *cnicht* in both senses. Add that he is called *knight-bachelor* with our heralds as often as he must be distinguished from the other knights of higher orders owing to the difference; in quite the same way we call the first and lowest degree in any faculty in our universities *baccalaureates* and the solemn festivities which initiate the graduates *commencement*, “beginnings.”

f [*Junius*: the most learned gentleman Gerard Langbaine related (*jole*) to Anglo-Saxon *ciol*, *ceole*, “throat” in a letter formerly sent to me.]

g [*Junius*: Now I will add what Gerard Langbaine, an exceedingly

⁸ Joannes Meursius, *Glossarium Graecobarbarum* . . . 2nd edn. (Leiden, 1614:244), “κιβούριον, sive κιβούριον, aut κιβούριον, ‘templum, monumentum.’”

⁹ Nicetas’ text on the martyr Demetrius is unidentified.

¹⁰ Ms Jun. 116c, f. 112, s.v. *Ciborium*, *p’ altare*. Malay dictionary or glossary unidentified. It is not among the Malay manuscripts in BLO. Malay *kubur*, “tomb, grave.” Cf. Greentree and Nicholson (1910).

¹¹ Junius, *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. CNIGHT).

¹² Junius, *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. JOLE).

tus ac nostri amantissimus, visa hac mea coniectura, per epistolam monendum vel annotandum putaverit.]¹³

Devenimus iam ad vocem *lobster*, ubi quae a te annotata sunt, ut propensiore cura excutiam, postulas; et sane, vel te tacente, res ipsa, ut facerem, postulabat. Nunc certe, quod Plinii lib. 2, c.108 de Eratosthene, modum ambitus terrestris indagandi definiente, idem mihi de te, vocem *Saxonicam* ad canculos fluviatiles, quos Iordanis fluenta Baptistae in escam suppeditabant, referendam coniectante, usurpare iure merito videor; “improbum ausum, verum ita subtili computatione comprehensum, ut pudeat non credere.”¹⁴ Adiciere liceat, virum adprime eruditum, Ioh. Gregorium, cum ad varia Sacrae scripturae loca annotationes quasdam lingua vernacula concinnasset, inter alia et vexatissimum illum textum *Matthaei* 3.4 de victu et vestitu Baptistae fusius exponendum suscepisse.¹⁵ Has ille lucubrationes suas, pro ea, quae nos intercesserat ex communibus studiis, necessitudine, mecum communicare dignatus. Ut in publicum prodire pateretur, coepi ei author esse, et cum typographo de pretio conveni. Nonnulla vero, quae minus probabam, ut vel omitteret vel mutaret, amice suasi et aliquando persuasi. Scilicet in capite operis sui *XXVIII*, ubi de vestitu Baptistae egerat, interpretationem *Saxonicam* vitii taxabat, quod cingulum eius ex elephanti villis (ita enim vocem *olþrænb* ipse interpretandam censuit) confectum diceret. Ego contra non “elephantum,” sed “camelum” ea voce a Saxonibus intellectum

¹³ The reference to Langbaine as “nostri amantissimus” may indicate that Junius wrote this part of the entry while Langbaine was still alive, that is, before or early in 1658, c. The lengthy entry *LOPSTER* in the *Etymologicum anglicanum* has the following structure. After indicating that OE *lopperste* translated L *locusta* in Mark 1.6, (“... and he [John the Baptist] did eat locusts and wild honey”), in the Lindisfarne (“lopestro”) and Rushworth Gospels (“loppestra”), **169e**—although it translated L *polypus* in some other Anglo-Saxon documents (e.g. in Ælfric’s *Glossary*, **187a**) due to the translator’s unfamiliarity with octopus, Junius observed that ἀκρίδας and *locustae*, the words for “lobster” in Greek and Latin versions of this verse, must either mean crickets or a species of fish with tender shell. With reference to Deuteronomy, Moses, Syrians, Parthians (the inhabitants of Parthia, a town in Illyria), Arabs and Nicolaus Clenardus, Junius showed that locusts were edible, yet concluded that John the Baptist most likely found the *locustae* in the Jordan—for which Pliny is quoted—and may therefore have eaten tender shelled fish, not locusts. According to the physician François de Foucherolles (c.1560–1626), a large portion of such lobsters or river crabs was edible without cooking, just like oysters, and ἀκρίς really meant lobster, a kind of crab, and had been derived from κρις, “crab,” through metathesis, so that both lobster and locusts were called *locusta* because of their similitude. River *locustae* were exceptionally tender and wholesome and therefore most commendable as food. In order to demonstrate that the Anglo-Saxons had entertained similar ideas about *locustae*, Junius quoted the Old English Hymn

learned gentleman and our very great friend, thought had to be advised or commented in a letter after seeing my above conjecture.] We have now come to the word *lobster*, where you ask of me to examine with quite ready concern what you have commented; and really, even if you had not said so, the matter itself required me to do so. Now surely, what Pliny, bk 2, ch. 108, [said] about Eratosthenes defining the method of investigating the circumference of the earth, this I seem to use with deserved justice about you discussing that the Anglo-Saxon word must be related to river crabs which the Jordan river supplied in abundance to the Baptist for food, "A bold endeavour, but expressed by such accurate reckoning that it causes shame not to believe it." Let me add that when preparing some comments in the vernacular language on several passages of the Holy Scripture, the exceedingly learned gentleman John Gregory also took it upon himself, among other things, to explain this very problematic text of Matthew 3.4 about the Baptist's food and clothes at some length. He deemed it worthwhile to communicate his nocturnal studies to me in accordance with the bond which had grown between us on the basis of our joint studies. I began to encourage him to permit it to be published and agreed with a printer about a price. But I urged him amicably and sometimes persuaded him either to leave out or change several points of which I approved less. That is, in ch. 28 of his work, where he discussed the Baptist's clothes, he judged the Anglo-Saxon translation a mistake, because it said that his [John the Baptist's] girdle was made of elephant hair (for he thought that the word *olfend* must be translated thus). I, on the

on St. John the Baptist, which he copied from either BL, Ms Cott. Jul. A.vi or Vesp. D.xii in now Ms Jun. 107 and 108, **208d**, as well as the early Middle English *Ormulum*, now Ms Jun. 1. The quotation from the *Ormulum* cannot yet have formed part of the entry as Langbaine read it, since the text became known to Junius only after February 1659, when it was bought from its previous owners by Jan van Vliet, at whose death Junius presumably bought it in 1666. Cf. Gneuss (1968:97, 101), Dekker (1999:112-13).

¹⁴ Pliny, *Naturalis historia* 2.108.248, "inprobum ausum, verum ita subtili argumentatione comprehensum ut pudeat non credere." Eratosthenes of Cyrene (c.285-194 B.C.), royal tutor and head of the Alexandrian library, wrote a treatise "On the Measurement of the Earth," in which "he calculated with a higher degree of accuracy than his predecessors the circumference of the earth," *OCD* (1996:553).

¹⁵ John Gregory, *Notes and Observations upon some Passages of Scripture* (Oxford, 1646; 2nd edn. 1650). Gregory (1607-1646) was Orientalist and chaplain to Brian Duppa, bishop of Salisbury, to whom he dedicated the *Notes*. Matthew 3.4, "And the same John had his raiment of camel's hair, and a leathern girdle about his loins; and his meat was locusts and wild honey." Cf. *DNB* 23.101.

strenue contendebam; et adductis e veteri foedere locis quibusdam, in quibus "camelus" continuo redditur olfænb probatum ibam.¹⁶ Quibus ille statim respondit, eundem ubique errorem errare interpretes, ex ignorato scilicet animalium exterorum discrimine. Reposui, non illud eos latuisse. Nam et ylþ servatis literis radicalibus, Saxonibus denotare "elephantem," et olfænb "camelum." Et ne causa caderem ex Saxonibus homiliis *manuscriptis* loca aliquot producebam, in quorum uno ea extabat immensi elephantis (orþmeten ylþ) descriptio, quae alii cuivis animali accomodari minime possit, in altero alia toð olfænb, quae necessario "camelum" repraesentaret.¹⁷ Haec descriptio ita se habebat, Sum cpen pæf on ðam ðagum (de regina Sabae verba facit) on fuð ðæle fnoter 7 pif. þa gehýrþe heo ðalomonef pifþom 7 com fram ðam fubernum gemæpan to ðalomone binnan Dierufalem mið mýcelne fare. 7 hýre olfenþar bæron fuberne pýrta 7 ðeoppurþe gymfcanaf 7 ungerim golber.¹⁸—oluendaf bæron ða ðeoppurþan lac mið þære cpene into Dierufalem. forðamþe ða ðæðenan. þe ær pæron hoþærebe. ðurh girtunge 7 atelice ðurh leahtraf. bæron ðurh heora gecýrþeðnyffe 7 zeleafan þa garflican lac to Lriftef handum.¹⁹ Ubi ex epithetis illis hoþærebe et atalice (quae ego "gibbosum" et "tumidum" interpretabar, quomodo et nostrates "fermentatum panem" vocant *hoven bread*) "camelum" propriissime describi asserebam.²⁰ Addidi et ex Alexandri pontificis Romani legenda Saxonica verba Quirini de filia sua vultum formosa satis, sed gibbosa, Ic hæbbe ane ðohtor plitige on anfyne. ac heo if forðeaple aplæte. fonðonþe heo if hoþærebe.²¹ Quibus ille tandem cessit, et, si quidem ita vis, inquit, in spongiam incumbat pars maior eorum, quae in eum locum annotaveram, ut

¹⁶ "Olfend" occurs several times in Genesis and Exodus in the Old English Hexateuch, now BL, Cott. Ms Claud. B.iv, yet always spelled "olfend," cf. COE.

¹⁷ Ælfric, *Lives of Saints* (The Maccabees, 566), "Ylp is ormæte nyten mare þonne sum hus" [ylþ is an enormous beast larger than a house]; this part of *The Maccabees* is extant in three Cambridge manuscripts, CCC 198, CCC 303 and Cam. Univ. Lib. li.1.33, but none have Langbaine's reading exactly. Ælfric, *Hexameron* 276-77, "þa ormætan ylþas, þa ðe on Engla ðeode acennede ne beoð" [the enormous ylþas, which are not born in England]; this version of the text is extant in the manuscripts now BLO, Mss Hatton 115 and 116, CCCC 188 and 302, and, presumably, BL, Ms Cott. Otho B.x, which is extremely charred. Since Langbaine quotes more from Ms Hatton 115 in this section, he may have seen this text in that manuscript as well. Junius made a transcription of the versions of this text in Mss Hatton 115 and 116 in now Ms Jun. 47. Cf. Skeat 2.66-124, Crawford (1921:5-8, 33-74); for the attestations of "olfænd," cf. below.

¹⁸ Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies* 2.45 (Dedicatio ecclesiae, 147-51), "sum cwen . . . ungerim

contrary, strenuously argued that the Anglo-Saxons meant not “elephant” but “camel” by this word, and by adducing passages from the Old Testament in which *olfend* had invariably been translated “camel,” I came to prove it. To this he immediately answered that the translators made the same mistake everywhere due, to be sure, to not knowing the difference between the foreign animals. I retorted that this had not been concealed from them, for that both *ylp*, with preservation of the root letters, meant “elephant” to the Anglo-Saxons, and *olfend* “camel,” and in order not to lose my cause I adduced several passages from Anglo-Saxon homily manuscripts, in one of which was this description of an enormous elephant (*ormeten ylp*) which could not at all be applied to any other animal, [and] in another [place] another [description] of the word *olfend* which necessarily represented “camel.” This latter description was as follows (he writes the words on the queen of Sheba), [*See the original*], where I asserted on the basis of those epithets *hoferede* and *atelite* (which I interpreted as “hunched” and “swollen,” just as our countrymen also call leavened bread *hoven bread*) that a camel was described quite precisely. I also added Quirin’s words on his daughter, who was quite pretty in the face, but hunchbacked, from the Anglo-Saxon saint’s life of Alexander the Roman pope, [*See the original*]. He finally yielded to this and said, “If indeed you wish so, let the greater part of what I had annotated on that passage quite neatly, as it appeared to me, be wiped out.” But I hear you, Junius, exclaiming already for a short while, “Ponticus, tell now about the three goats. What does this have to do with *lopsteras*, with locusts, with tree-crickets?” Absolutely nothing,

goldes.” Langbaine consulted the manuscript now BLO, Ms Hatton 115, the only source which both lacks “SABA gehaten” following “dæle,” and has “wisdom” instead of “hlisan,” yet which, like the other sources, has “(ge)hoforode” instead of Langbaine’s “hoferede.” Cf. Godden (1979:340).

¹⁹ Ælfric, *Catholic Homilies* 2.45 (Dedicatio ecclesiae, 195–99), “olfendas bæron . . . cristes handum,” cf. Godden (1979:341).

²⁰ hoven: swollen, puffed out, cf. *OED*, which records John Ray, *A Collection of English Words not Generally Used* . . . (1674–91:143), “Hovenbread, *zymites* [ζυμίτης, leavened bread].”

²¹ Ælfric, *Addition to Catholic Homily* 2.20 (v. Non. Maii Sanctorum Alexandri, Eventii, et Theodoli, 102–04), “ic habbe . . . is hoferode,” Pope 2.741. The Latin version has “sed collum eius struma circumdat.” Langbaine must have consulted BLO, Ms Hatton 114, the only extant source of this text, which has “for” instead of Langbaine’s “fon.” Cf. Pope (note to l.102).

mihi videbatur, satis belle.²² Sed audio te, Iuni, dudum inclamantem, “Iam dic, Pontice, de tribus capellis.²³ Quid haec ad *λοῦσταιρα*, ad locustas, ad cicadas?” Nihil prorsus; nec quicquam mihi succurrit, quod tuis addi dignum sit. Hoc tamen addo. In eodem, quod iam dixi, capite a Gregorio adductum eundem ex Clenardi ad Latomum epistola de locustis in Africa locum, in quem ipse quoque incidisti.²⁴ Pene pudet scribere, scribam tamen quae post lecta illa tua de voce *λοπεῖτρα* nescio unde mihi in mentem venerunt. Nempe, verbalia pleraque omnia, quae Latinis in “tor” et “trix” terminantur, Anglis autem nunc dierum in *er*, ea maioribus nostris Saxonibus in *τρε* vel *τρα* desiisse; cuiusmodi inter alia occurrebant *ῥανγῖτρε*, “cantator, a singer;” *ρεβεῖτρε*, “lector, a reader;” *ῥεαμῖτρε*, “sutrix, a sower vel *seamster*,” *πεῖτρε*, “textor, a weaver;” item *βακστερ*, “pistor;” *βρακιатор*;” *σπινστερ* (qua voce in formulis iudicialibus iurisconsulti nostri etiamnum utuntur), “netrix;” atque alia id genus infinita.²⁵ Observabam secundo, in vocabulis aliquammultis, in quibus Saxones literam O usurpabant, Anglos nunc dierum ea per *E*, vel *EA*, vel *IA* scribere et efferre, ut pro bom vel beom, “beam;” a pop, “weap;” a pop, “peep;” et cum a verbo suo *to sow* formarunt a *seam*, “sutura,” etc.²⁶ Eadem proinde analogia servata, videbam fieri posse, ut ex veteri *lop*, “saltare, *to leap*,” deduceretur *λοπεῖτρε* vel *λοπεῖτρα*, “saltator vel saltatrix, a leaper;” quomodo locusta Gallis appellatur *sautereau* vel *sauterelle*. Id solum desideratur, ut constet verbum *λοπιαν* (aut simile quid) Saxonibus eo significato in usu fuisse; neque enim ullibi me legisse fateor.²⁷ Succurrit hic dialectus patria, in qua deprehendo vulgus Anglorum borealium passim pro australium *leap*, “saltare,” in

²² In Gregory’s *Notes* (1646), ch. 28 indeed only discusses the locusts in Matthew 3.4, adding the observation that “[t]he rest is plaine enough.” (1646:131).

²³ Erasmus, *Adage* 2015, includes “iam dic, Posthume, de tribus capellis,” said of someone who is beside the point, from Martial, *Epigrammata* 6.19.9, in which someone acting as witness in a case about the theft of three goats speaks of everything—violence, homicide and poisoning—before the judge, except of the goats.

²⁴ Earlier in the entry, Junius wrote, “Huc denique facit quod Nic. Clenardus testatur, literis anno 1541 Fesa datis ad praeceptorem suum Iac. Latomum; ‘Paucis ante diebus,’ inquit Clenardus, ‘Fesae vidisses coelum obductum Locustarum agminibus; quae hic non solum saltant, sed avium ritu volitant. Iam coram video minas priorum prophetarum. Multis in locis nocte una sata perdunt universa. Bellum strenue cum iis gerunt rustici et plaustra plena locustis advehunt Fesam, nam hos hostes vulgo hic comedunt’” [Finally, here applies what is testified by Nicolaus Clenardus, in a letter written to his teacher Jacobus Latomus in the year 1541 in Fez; “A few days ago,” Clenardus said, “you could have seen the sky in Fez covered by swarms of locusts, which not only jump here, but also fly in the manner of birds. I openly

and there has not occurred anything to me which is worthy of being added to your [words]. Still, I add this, that in the same chapter which I have already mentioned, Gregory adduced the same passage on locusts in Africa from Clenard's letter to Latomus which you yourself had also come across. It almost causes shame to write, yet I will write what entered my mind from somewhere after reading your points about the word *loppestra*. That is, that easily all verbals which end in *-tor* and *-trix* to the Romans, but nowadays in *"-er"* to the English, ended in *-stre* or *-stra* to our ancestors the Anglo-Saxons, of which kind there were, among others, *sangstre*, "singer, a singer;" *redestre*, "reader, a reader;" *seamstre*, "seamster, a sower or seamster;" *wepstre*, "weaver, a weaver;" likewise *bakster*, "baker;" *brewster*, "brewer;" *spinster* (which word our lawyers still use in judicial formulas), "spinster," and infinite other words of this kind. I secondly observed that in considerably many words in which the Anglo-Saxons used the letter *O*, the English nowadays write and pronounce them with *E*, or *EA*, or *IA*, like for *bom* or *beom*, "beam;" from *wop*, "weap;" from *pop*, "peep," just as they made *a seam*, "a seam," from their word *to sow* etc. Just so, preserving the same analogy, I saw it were possible to derive *lopestre* or *loppestra*, "a dancer or female dancer, a leaper," from the ancient word *lop*, "to leap, to leap;" just as a locust is called *sautereau* or *sauterelle* by the French. It is only required that it becomes certain that the word *lopian* (or something similar) was used by the Anglo-Saxons with this meaning, for I acknowledge not to have read it anywhere. Here my native dialect comes to my aid, in which I discovered that the northern English people have *lowp*

see the threats of the ancient prophets now. In many places all crops are destroyed during a single night. Farmers are energetically waging war against them, and come to Fez with a cart full of locusts, for they commonly eat those adversaries here"], Nicolaus Clenardus, *Epistolarum libri duo* . . . (Antwerp, 1566), letter dated 9 April 1541, book 1.42-54, at 54.

²⁵ "Sangstre," "seamstre," and "wepstre" (or "webstre") do not occur in *COE*; the form "redestre" only occurs in the Wintenev version of the *Benedictine Rule*, BL, Cott. Ms Claud. D.iii.; spinster: appended to names of women, originally in order to denote their occupation, but from the seventeenth century as the proper legal designation of one still unmarried, cf. *OED*, which records John Minsheu, *Ductor in linguas* . . . (1617), "*Ductor*, a *Spinster*, a terme, or an addition in our Common Law, onely added in Obligations, Euidences, and Writings, vnto maids vnmarried." Cf. *COE*, s.v., Schröer (1888:xxvi-xxviii).

²⁶ "pop" does not occur in *COE*.

²⁷ No form of an Old English verb "lopian" is to be found in *COE*.

usus habere *lowp*, ut ex ceapian Saxonico, *to cowp*.²⁸ Sed haec tuis opponere non ausim, nam et aliunde ex onomastico quodam breuiusculo Iohannis Lelandi Saxonico-Latino iam olim didici, *loppetpe* “polypum piscem” significare.²⁹ Atque adeo manum de tabula.³⁰ Tu Phyllida solus habebis.³¹

h [*Junius*: Doctissimus Langbainius monuit me ad κοιτειν istud referri posse Angl. *quean*, “prostibulum.”]³²

i [*Junius*: Doctissimus G. Langbainius putabat etiam referri posse (*quick*) ad ὠκὺς, “celer, citus.”]³³

⁰ 199 59 07 04 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (THE HAGUE)¹

A Mijn Heer Mijn Heer Isaacus Vossius, historie-schrijver van de hoogh-moghende Heeren Staten van Holland ende West-Friesland, woonende in de korte houtstraet, tot 's Graven Hage

a *Dilectissime Domine cognate,*

met het wteynde van den voorleden term was mijn arrest ook wt, en mijne borgen vrij van hun verbindtenis, want den Visconte Stafford geen veerder declaratie makende en betoonende °mids dien dat °hij die saeke, bij hem so hoogh opgenomen, t' eenemael liet glippen, so wierd hij in de kosten gecondemneert, doch maer alleen de kosten die in 't bepleyten °en 't ophouden ofte bevoorderen van de saek souden moghen sijn gemaakt;² en noch slaen de Richters hier, in die condemnatie der kosten, eenen lossen slag, den geabsolveerden menigmael niet so vele als de helft van de gedaene kosten toelleggende; so dat, die sijn verlet, schade, schandelicke mishandeling,

a mids: [- *dat hij*] mids | hij: \hij/ | en: [- *van de be*] en

²⁸ “Lowp” or “loup” is Scottish (from ON “hlaupa”) for “leap;” “cowp” or “coup,” a northern word (cf. OE “ceapian”): “to buy,” cf. *OED*.

²⁹ The antiquary John Leland (c.1506–1552) had made a transcription of 181 entries of an otherwise unknown copy of Ælfric’s glossary, which he headed “Ex antiquissimo dictionario Latinosaxonico,” not recognising it was Ælfric’s. The entries were included in volume 3 of Leland’s *Collectanea*, published by Thomas Hearne, *Ioannis Lelandi . . . Collectanea* (2nd edn. London, 1744), vol. 4, pp. 134–36. The entry reads “Polypus, *loppetstre*.” Cf. Buckalew (1978; 1982:20–22), Dekker (1999:19), personal communication Gerald Toomer.

invariably in use instead of southern *leap*, “to leap,” just as *to covep* from Anglo-Saxon *ceapian*. But I dare not oppose this to your comments, for already formerly I also learnt elsewhere from John Leland’s shortish Anglo-Saxon–Latin onomasticon that *loppetstre* means “poly-pus fish.” And so far, to work. You alone will have Phyllis.

h [Junius: The most learned Langbaine warned me that English *quean*, “prostitute” can be related to this κοιβεῖν (to communicate, share).]

i [Junius: The most learned G. Langbaine thought that (*quick*) can be related to ὠκύς, “fast, quick.”]

199 59 07 04 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (THE HAGUE)

A Mr. Isaac Vossius, historian to the lofty lords States of Holland and West-Friesland, residing at the Korte Houtstraat in The Hague.

a *Sweetest Nephew,*

At the end of last term, my arrest had ended as well, and my bails were exempted from their obligation, for, as the viscount Stafford has made no further declaration and has therefore shown to permit the case he had taken so badly to slip completely, he is charged for the expenses, but only the expenses which could have been made in pleading, detaining and promoting the case. Moreover, the judges have a random shot at it here concerning the charge of expenses, because they assign less than half the expenses made to the absolved,

³⁰ Erasmus, *Adage* 219, “manum de tabula.”

³¹ Junius, *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. LOPSTER). Vergil, *Eclogae* 3.107, “Phyllida solus habeto.” In the Eclogue, the shepherds Damoetas and Menalcas both want to have Phyllis’ company, and they are doing a singing and riddling contest. At the final riddle, Menalcas says that Damoetas can have Phyllis if he knows the answer.

³² Junius, *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. QUEAN).

³³ Junius, *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. QUICK).

¹ *o*: UBA, I 89d. Reply to an unretrieved letter, **b**.

² William, viscount Stafford, had brought a case against Junius to the Court in London, and had him arrested, out of discontent with the verdict of the Court of Holland in Junius’ case against him. Evidently, he had dropped the appeal again. Probably Fabian Philipps had been one of Junius’ sureties, **200c**. Six months after this letter, the Supreme Court in The Hague passed verdict again in favour of Junius. Junius may have been in England all the time from the autumn of 1657 until August 1659, **198**, **201a**. Cf. **193b**, **200c**, **206a**, ARA, p. 14.

en diergelijke ongelegenheden wil vergoedt hebben deselvige moet sijnen mishandelaer met een nieuwe actie van false imprisonment aen spreken, daer toe ik wel gesint ben voor mijn °vertreck ordre te laeten, indien ik slechts versekert konde wesen, dat Stafford, ten aensien van de verachting des hoogen hofs, in 't vaderland niet en waere °geconfuteert, en in eenige dieper boete geslagen met opsicht van t'ongelijk mij en 't hooge hof aengedaen.³ Indien 't daer toe komt °ik ben versekert dat Mr. Philips dese mijne saek in mijn afwesen naer sijn beste vermogen sal zoeken wt te voeren.

b mr Thorndyk is dapper verwondert over 't gunt VE van Marsham is schrijvende; want mr Marsham noyt eenigen schijn van dissenteren bij ons maekte; alleenlik docht ons dat wij bemerckten dat het hem niet aen en stond dat VE hem de hope scheen afgesneden te hebben van d'AEgyptisch Nomarchas te kunnen geven; dies mr Thorndyk genegen is om te vermoeden dat dien student die wt Engeland aen D. Gronhovius schreef niets te wel bericht was.⁴

c Dien rechtsgeleerden (een *of the common lawiers* hier te lande) die Patricii Junii dochter °getrowt, en so de gantsche bibliotheke van Patrick Young bekomen heeft, aengesproken sijnde °om de *schedas Strabonianas* te leenen, ofte om een redelijke prijs deselvige af te staen, wil nergens van hooren, maar singht altijd sijnen ouden sang, dat nieman 't minste papierken wt sijne Band krijgen sal, ten sij dat ieman de heele bibliotheke koopt, die hij niet eenen eenighen penning onder de vijf duysend gulden geven wil.⁵ den codex Ro-

a vertreck: \vertreck/ | geconfuteert: geconfureert | ik: [+ ik] | c getrowt: getrowt [- heeft] | om: [.. > om]

³ Junius seems to have asked Philipps and his lawyer to draw up a notarial act in support of his request for compensation for his damage, **200c**.

⁴ Isaac's letter to Junius is unretrieved. It was presumably written one week before the present letter, **200a**. Sir John Marsham must have hoped to be able to borrow from Isaac a text on the Egyptian Nomarchs, the highest officials of the Nome, an administrative unit in ancient Egypt. No such text identified. Goswijn Hogers had written to Johannes Fredericus Gronovius from London on 59 05 22/06 01, "Cum autem forte fortuna sermo incidisset de clari Vossii libro De Aetate Mundi, retulit [Pearsonius] nobis amicum sibi esse, in chronologicis apprime versatum, cum quo ante paucos dies de hoc scripto contulisset, illum vero, quamvis caetera eius opera, imprimis Observationes in Melam valde admiraret, hanc eius sententiam minime [..]vasse, utpote qui diversam ante paucos annos ipse asseruisset, et[. .] librum eius, cum solummodo pauca exemplaria amicis distribuend[. .]di curaverit, in paucorum manibus esse . . . Liber est Diatriba chronologia Iohannis Marshami" [But when, by chance, our discussion came upon the renowned (Isaac) Vossius'

so that someone who wants his loss of time, damage, disgraceful maltreatment and such incommodities recompensed must accost his maltreater with a new charge of unjust imprisonment, to which I am rather inclined to give an order before my departure, if only I could be certain that, with regard to the contempt of the Supreme Court, Stafford was not confuted in our fatherland and get imposed any higher fine with respect to the wrong done to me and the Supreme Court. If it comes to that, I am certain that Mr. Philipps will try to settle my case in my absence to the best of his abilities.

b Mr. Thorndike is greatly surprised at what you wrote about Marsham, for Mr. Marsham has never given to us any impression of disagreeing; we only thought to notice that he did not like your appearing to frustrate his hope of being able to give him the Egyptian Nomarchs. Mr. Thorndike is therefore inclined to suspect that that student who wrote to Mr. Gronovius from England was quite badly informed.

c That lawyer (one of the common lawyers here in the country) who married Patrick Young's daughter and thus acquired Patrick Young's entire library, being asked to lend *Strabo's papers* or to part with them at a decent price, will have none of it, but keeps singing the same old song, that no one will get the smallest scrap of paper from its binding, unless someone will buy the entire library, which he does not want to sell for a single penny under five thousand guilders. The

book *On the Age of the World*, (John Pearson, **218b**) told us that he had a friend, well versed in Chronology, with whom he had talked about that treatise a few days before, but who could by no means (support) his (Isaac's) opinion—although he deeply admired his other works, especially the *Observations on Mela* ([1658])—in that he himself had claimed a different opinion a few years ago, and (. . .) that his book was in the hands of only a few people, because he had let only a few copies be distributed among friends . . . The book is *Diatrise on Chronology* ([1649] by John Marsham], UBM, M616, f. 129. Goswijn, or Theophilus, Rogers (1636–1676), a former student of Gronovius and Joannes Georgius Graevius, **224a**, was to succeed the latter as professor of Latin literature at Deventer in 1661, and later became a member of the magistracy there. For Isaac Vossius' controversial *Dissertatio de vera aetate mundi* (1659), cf. **201e**. Cf. **201c**, *EncBrit*, s.v. NOMARCH, Dibon, Bots and Bots-Estourgie (1974:307), *BWN* 9.964–65.

⁵ John Attwood, counsellor at law in Gray's Inn from 1624, was married to Elisabeth, a daughter of Patrick Young. On Young's death in 1652, Attwood kept his father-in-law's considerable collection locked away, because many books were claimed to belong to the royal library. Among Young's books was a printed Geography of the Greek geographer and historian Strabo (64/3 B.C.–A.D. 23), with collations from six manuscripts by Young's relative Henry Scrimger (1506–1572), which Isaac had copied in part during his visit to London in 1641, cf. UBL, Cod. Voss.Gr. O.7, ff. 9–11, "Excerpta ex scholiaste Strabonis qui exstat apud Patricium Iunium." Isaac probably wished to use Strabo for his work on Ptolemy and for *De Nilo* (1666), **201e**, **213g**. Much later, when he lived in England, **223a**, Isaac managed to buy

manus is mede in sijne handen, so dat aen dien kant gantsch geen kans is.⁶

- d** Om 't rechte bescheyd van den codex Alexandrinus te krijgen, so ging ik bij Duraeus, °die mij seyde dat dien codex tot St James onder d'andere boeken was berustende die wel eer den Koning toebehoorden, hem seggende met wat op-sicht VE seer begerig was 't gebruyk van dien codex voor eenen kleynen tijd te mogen hebben.⁷ Ook, bericht sijnde dat my Lord Whitlock 't meeste seggen had over die bibliotheke (want Hugh Pieters heeft al over ettelicke jaren daer wt gesloten geweest, en is nu tegenwoordiglik in 't land versonden als wesende buyten westen en in sijne sinnen geslagen door een diepe melancholie) so vraeghde ik monsr Duraeus of my Lord Whitlock niet allermeest in dat stuck vermoght en of dat den selvighen niet en was die wel eer in Christina's tijden in Sweden was:⁸ en als hij 't beyde toestond, so seyde ik dat ik VE verscheyden reysen loffelick van dien heer had hooren spreken, als wesende een man van sondelinge etc. Duraeus nae dese en diergelijke discoursen beloofde dat hij den heer Whitlock dies aengaende wilde aenspreken, vragende wanneer ik meynde te vertrecken. Ik andwoorde dat mijn vertrek misschien sou verhaestight worden eer dien voorslag luckte, en dat ik beschroomt sou sijn sulck een *grande depositum* op mij te nemen in 't overbrengen en weder-zenden, maer dat my Lord Whitlock, indien hij 't publijk so vele wil te gevalle doen als dien *codicem* te communiceren, aller best den *codicem* soude laten overbrengen door Colonel

d die: [- *hem*] die

Young's collection of Greek manuscripts, which are accordingly now to be found in UBL. Cf. **200b**, Kemke (1898:vi, xxvi-vii), de Meyier (1955:xi), and s.v., Blok (1999:87n).

⁶ Codex unidentified. Notwithstanding Isaac's interest in the Septuagint, cf. below, it is unlikely to have been (a transcript of) the so-called *Codex Vaticanus*, Cod.Vat.Gr. 1209, the oldest extant copy of the Septuagint and a better version than the *Codex Alexandrinus*, **119c**, since it was normally kept away from scholars, and even Brian Walton's *Polyglot Bible* (1657), **192a***, was based on its *editio princeps*, the Sixtine edition (Rome, 1586/7). Cf. Roberts (1951:153-65, 162).

⁷ Isaac wished to borrow the *Codex Alexandrinus* for his study of the Septuagint, which was to culminate in *De septuaginta interpretibus eorumque tralatione et chronologia dissertationes* (The Hague: Adriaan Vlacq, 1661). In this collection of studies, which included *De vera aetate* (1659), **201e**, Isaac strove to demonstrate that the Jews had deliberately falsified the text of the Old Testament, so that the only reliable version of the Old Testament was the Greek Septuagint. In the collection, he also

Codex Romanus is also in his hands, so there is absolutely no chance from that side.

- d In order to get the true answer about the *Codex Alexandrinus*, I went to Durie, who told me that that codex was placed at St. James' among the other books which had formerly belonged to the king, and I told him for which reason you were so eager to be allowed the use of that manuscript for some time. Likewise, having heard that my lord Whitelocke has the final say about that library (for Hugh Peters has been debarred from it for several years now and has been sent into the country now at present, as he is thrown off his balance and out of his senses by a deep melancholy), I accordingly asked Mr. Durie whether my lord Whitelocke could not bring about most in that respect, and whether he was not the same as had formerly been in Sweden during Christina's times; when he confirmed both, I then said that I had heard you speak in praise of that gentleman several times, as a gentleman of remarkable, etc. After this and such discussions, Durie promised to address Mr. Whitelocke concerning this and asked when I would leave. I answered that my departure would perhaps be hastened before that proposal had succeeded and that I would hesitate to take it upon myself to

continued his chronology of the world as first set forth in *De vera aetate*. Isaac's work on the Septuagint caused Herbert Thorndike and Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford, to try get a canonry for Isaac in Cambridge, but the plan fell through. Isaac seems never to have had the codex in Holland, as no transcriptions of his are preserved in UBL, and a letter from Isaac's friend Thomas Browne (1605–1682) from London, dated 60 12 13, gives the impression that Isaac had never seen the codex. Isaac must therefore have contented himself with Patrick Young's annotations to the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which had been included in Walton's *Polyglot Bible*. Thorndike lent the relevant volumes of the polyglot to Isaac for the latter's preparations of *De septuaginta interpretibus*. John Durie had been deputy at the royal library at St. James' from November 1650, but seems to have been discharged during Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate, 1653–1658, **200a**. Cf. Lebram (1975:21–27, 34, 40–41), Kemke (1898:xxv), UBL, Bur F 11, 2.462, f. 4, 1.446, 2.787, 2.788.

⁸ Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605–1675), Keeper of the Great Seal and member of the Council of State of the Commonwealth. He had been envoy for the English Republic to Christina of Sweden during the former half of 1654, when presumably he had met Isaac at Christina's court, although neither his diary nor the journal of the embassy seem to mention Isaac. He was pardoned by Charles II. Hugh Peters (1598–1660), chaplain of the Council of State and spirited preacher for the parliamentary army. Especially in the final years of the Commonwealth, he suffered from melancholia, which often hindered his public duties. He was to be executed on account of his call for the trial of Charles I. Whitelocke and Peters had been put in charge of the royal library at St. James' by the Commons, **165a**^a. Cf. *DNB* 45.69–77, 61.110–16, Spalding (1990), Morton and Reeve (1855).

Rich, die men meynt dat in Holland sal komen in Downings plaets; so dat dien codex door een publijke hand aen VE soude mogen geleverd worden, en dat VE nae 't gebruyk weten soudt waer hem sekerlik wederom te behandigen.⁹ mr Thorndyk meynt ook dat dit waerschijnlijk is te sullen wel gelucken: 't quam mij ten minsten niet voor wat bequamer weg ik nemen kost om UE sijn begeerte wt te voeren. °Onderentusschen denken wij hier dat het vele sou doen om de saek te bevoorderen, indien VE een briefken aen mijn heer Whitlock selver schreeft °onder een couvert aen Duraeus, en dat Duraeus briefken sekerlik over wierd gesonden in 't packet van mijn heer Niewpoort, want Duraeus menighmael bij hem komt, of ten minsten sal mijn heer Niewpoort het briefken al strecks aen mijn heer Duraeus toesenden.¹⁰

e mr Henry Howard heeft een sonderlinge lust om een sprongreysken over zee te maken, en 't staet noch in twijfel wat hij doen sal.¹¹ Ik sou niet geerne mijn reyse verhaestigen eer ik, nae 't goedvinden van mr Philips, die honderd pond steerlings bekomen heb, daer ik VE laestmael van schreef.¹² dien heer met sijn gravinne is nu nae de Bathe om sijn gesondheyd vertroocken, onderentusschen is mij beloofd dat ik d'eerste betaling binnen dese drij weken soude ontfangen.¹³ Immers sal ik geen gelegenheyd versuymen om de troostelicke tegenwoordigheyd van suster en VE met den eersten te mogen genieten. Indien iet sekerder hebbe daer van ik VE met den naeste post sou konnen berichten, sal VE de wete doen; schrijft onder entusschen tot dat ik VE van eenen sekerlik bestemden tijd tot de reyse verwittige. London, 1659. den 24en *Iunii. sãlo Angliae*
Totus tuus

d Onderentusschen: [- *dies en kan*] Onderentusschen | onder: [- *in d*] onder

⁹ Sir Nathaniel Rich (d. 1701), Colonel of a regiment of horse in the "new model" parliamentary army, refused to become the English resident in The Hague, as the Rump Parliament proposed to him. Sir George Downing (1623?-1684), English resident in The Hague from December 1657, had held his last audience on 3 July, but on 15 July received an order to stay. He continued in this post even after the Restoration. It would be politically most neutral if the English resident, as a representative of the Commonwealth, handed the *Codex Alexandrinus* from the royal library to Isaac. Cf. *DNB* 15.399-401, 48.119-20, *CSPD* (1658/9:377, 387, 388), Schutte (1983:72-73, no. 83).

¹⁰ Isaac did not write to Whitelocke and Durie immediately, **200a**; his letters to either of them are unretrieved. Willem Nieupoort (1607-1678), Dutch *ordinaris* envoy in England from 1657, after he had been extraordinary envoy from 1654. Beforehand,

take across and send back such a *great deposit*, but that my lord Whitelocke, if he wants to please the common weal as much as by sharing that *manuscript*, he would best let the *manuscript* be taken across by Colonel Rich, who is believed to come to Holland in Downing's place, so that that codex could be handed to you by an official hand, and you would know where to deliver it safely after perusal. Mr. Thorndike also believes this is likely to succeed. I, at least, could not think of what better way I could take to fulfil your desire. Meanwhile, we here believe it would benefit the promotion of the affair, if you yourself wrote a short letter to Mr. Whitelocke in a cover to Durie, and that Durie's short letter would be sent safely in Mr. Nieupoort's parcel, for Durie is with him often, or Mr. Nieupoort will at least send the small letter to Mr. Durie immediately.

- e Mr. Henry Howard has a singular desire to make a hopping trip across the sea, yet it is still undetermined what he will do. I would not like to hasten my trip before having received those one hundred pounds sterling, of which I wrote to you on the previous occasion, at Mr. Philipps' discretion. The earl has left for Bath now for his health together with his countess; meanwhile, I have been promised to receive the first payment within these three weeks. Anyway, I shall not miss any opportunity to enjoy the comforting presence of Sister and you as soon as possible. If I know anything more certain of which I could inform you in the next post, I will let you know. Meanwhile, write to me until I inform you of a definite time determined for the trip.

London, 24 *June*, *English style*.

Yours Truly.

he had been in London on several commissions, among which his secretaryship to the Dutch envoy Albert Joachimi from 1630 to 1635. In Holland, he had been a member of various bodies of the magistracy, especially of Schiedam, for years. Cf. Schutte (1976:97–99, no. 60), *NBW* 7.127.

¹¹ Henry Howard, one of Junius' former pupils.

¹² Junius' previous letter to Isaac is unretrieved. The sum Fabian Philipps had promised was probably not a part of the £1,370 outstanding stipend from the Arundel family, which Junius was already claiming from Stafford, but rather a remuneration for subsequent services to Henry Howard, one of the legal inheritors of the Arundel properties, **a**, **188a**. Junius apparently wanted, or was supposed to accompany Henry Howard to Holland, **200c**, **201a**.

¹³ Lady Anne Somerset (d. 1662), second Marquess of Worcester, was married to Henry Howard. In Bath are the Roman baths, **138a**. Cf. *DNB* 28.32–33.

- f** Ik heb een koker met ses groengehechte messen gereed, isser iet meer 't welck VE begeert, laet het mij bij tijds weten.¹⁴

200 59 07 18 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (THE HAGUE)¹

A Aen mijn Heer mijn Heer Isaacus Vossius historieschrijver van de hooghmogende Heeren Staten van Holland & West-Friesland, woonende in de korte houtstraet tot 's Graven Haegh

a *Dilectissime Domine cognate*

Dit is nu de derde weke dat ik van VE geen schrijven heb ontfanghen, seder dat VE voorstelde of'er geen raed was om VE tot het gebruyk van den codex Alexandrinus te helpen. daer ik VE ten vollen op hebbe geandwoordt, en geraeden dies aengaende aen my Lord Whitlock te schrijven.² *Dominus* Duraeus quam °mij in mijn logiment binnen dese vier a vijf dagen besoecken, °wt wien ik verstond dat de sorge van de bibliotheke te St James hem op een nieu bij den Staet was vertrouwt, 't welk wel eer over tien of twaelf °jaren bij 't parliament gedaen sijnde, was verhindert door Hugh Pieters en andere geduyrende den tijd van Oliviers protectorschap.³ beloofde dat hij VE eenigen dienst sou doen nae sijn beste vermogen, en dat hij VE solliciteur wesen wilde bij my Lord Whitlock en andere daer 't van noode sou sijn, indien VE °aengaende de LXXts een woordeken schreeff aen Whitlock.

b ook seyde hij mij dat in de bibliotheke van St James wel eer waren verscheyden manuscripten die Is. Casaubonus °hadden toe gehoort, en onder die verscheyden Grieksche noyt gedrukt; maer dat die aen Patricius Junius waren vertrouwt om te sien welke van die men hier ter eere van dit land en dese natie sou wtgeven; ook is het seker dat Patr. Junius °veertien of vijftien honderd ponden sterling genoten heeft om een Pers op te stellen en gaende te houden, met belofte van verder onderstand als 't werk sou voordgaen, maer dat hij gestorven sijnde sonder iet sonderlinghs te doen, so ist dat eenen sekeren mr Attwood, wesende een van de common lawiers en °hebbende

a mij: [- *bij mij*] mij | wt: [- *dat*] wt | jaren: \jaren/ | aengaende: [- *dies*] aengaende | **b** hadden: [- *wel eer*] hadden | veertien: [- *wel over de*] veertien | hebbende: \hebbende/

f I have ready a case with six knives set in green. Let me know in time if there is anything else you would like.

200 59 07 18 JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (THE HAGUE)

A To Mr. Isaac Vossius, historian to the lofty lords States of Holland and West-Friesland, residing at the Korte Houtstraat in The Hague.

a *Sweetest Nephew,*

It is the third week now that I have not received a letter from you since you proposed whether there was any way to help you to the use of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, to which I answered fully and suggested to write to my lord Whitelock concerning it. Mr. Durie came to see me in my lodgings four or five days ago; I understood from him that the care for the library at St. James' was again entrusted to him by the State, which had been done so ten or twelve years ago by Parliament, but had been prevented by Hugh Peters and others during the period of Oliver's Protectorate. He promised to do you a favour to the best of his abilities, and to be willing to be your promotor with my lord Whitelocke and others where need be, if you wrote a word to Whitelocke concerning the Septuagint.

b Likewise, he told to me that in the library of St. James' used to be several manuscripts which had belonged to Isaac Casaubon, among which several Greek ones which have never yet been published, but that they had been entrusted to Patrick Young to see which of them might be published here to the honour of this country and this nation; it is also certain that Patrick Young enjoyed fourteen or fifteen hundred pounds sterling to set up a press and keep it going, at the promise of further support when the work was in progress, but that he died without having accomplished anything particular, so that one Mr. Attwood, one of the common lawyers, who is

¹⁴ The knives probably had a haft of costly green leather, as were fashionable at the time; personal communication Zoran Kwak.

¹ *o*: UBA, I 89e.

² Isaac wished to borrow the *Codex Alexandrinus*, kept in the royal library, of which Bulstrode Whitelock was in charge, **199d**. He must have written the unretrieved letter in which he had asked so one week before letter **199**.

³ No further details found on John Durie's discharge as librarian of the royal library at St. James' by Hugh Peters during the Protectorate of the lord Protector Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) from 1653 until 1658, but cf. **199d**.

een van Patricks dochters getrowt al 85 Casauboniaensche boeken t' saementlik met sijn schoonvaders boeken tot sik getrocken heeft, die nu van den Staet °wederom geeytscht worden, so dat dien gril-ligen Attwood waerschijnlijk is wat te sullen worden getemt.⁴ *Dominus* Duraeus vertrouwt dat alles wel lucken sal, en wil °VE vaerdighlik dienen in alles daer hij kan.

- c Mijn Heer Niewpoort liet mij gister weten datter een convoyer van daeg of mergen van Gravesend sou t' seyl gaen nae 't Texel, doch niet konnende so schielik gereed vallen, so hebbe ik mijn reyse moeten wt stellen tot het naeste convoy op de Maes, 't welk mij gereeder is dan so verde om te loopen.⁵ ook so is de naeste weke daer toe bescheyden, dat mr Phillips met den attorney die mij in mijn saeke tegen Stafford gedient heeft, een act notariael onder hun getuygenis souden doen beleggen, tot bewijs hoe Stafford sijn onwet-telik arrest heeft laeten vallen &c.⁶ 't welk hier hooghnoedigh wordt geoordeelt, dat het hooge Hoff blijk gesien hebbende van 't arrest, met eenen ook sien moght hoe 't afgeloopen is; en vermids ik bericht word dat °de luyden hier in Engeland d'een d'ander, door d'arresten gedaen wt kracht van een afschrift van den Sherriff van Middlessex, ses of acht maenden mogen quellen, sonder eenigen of seer kleyne kosten aen den verongelijkten ofte geinteresseerden man te betalen; so staet het te bedenken of het niet beter waere voor °mij dat de schandelicke mishandeling en schaede mij door dit arrest aengedaen bij de hoogen raed in bedenkinge wierd genomen, om hier niet een niew proces te behoeven aen te vangen,⁷ Doctor Johnson seyde mij

b wederom: [- *worden*] wederom | VE: \VE/ | c de: [- ..] de | mij: [- *dust*] mij

⁴ Isaac Casaubonus (1559–1614), eminent classical scholar, and former professor of Greek in Geneva and Paris, had moved to England to become King James' pensionary in 1610. A friend of Joseph Scaliger and Bishop Andrewes, he was praised for his many editions and commentaries of classical authors. His second wife, Florence, was the daughter of the famous printer Henri Estienne (Stephanus) (1528–1598), and Meric Casaubon was one of their sons. Joannes Fredericus Gronovius had published his correspondence, **126c**. On Casaubon's death, Patrick Young had urged for King James to buy Casaubon's books and several manuscripts. If Kemke (1898:ix), who has suggested that the king bought virtually all of Casaubon's printed books, and Junius in this section are correct, Casaubon's library of printed books in England had consisted of some 85 copies. The press, in The King's Printing House, Blackfriars, had been set up in the mid-1630s by Young and Archbishop Laud, among others, to print Greek texts from the royal, university or other collections—not specifically for Casaubon's legacy, so it seems. The few editions which

married to one of Patrick's daughters, has drawn all of Casaubon's eighty-five books together with his father-in-law's books to himself; they are ordered back again by the State now, so that that quirky Attwood will presumably be subdued somewhat. Mr. Durie trusts that everything will succeed and wants to serve you readily in everything he can.

- c Mr. Nieupoort informed me yesterday that a convoy will set sail from Gravesend to Texel today or tomorrow, but since I could not get myself ready so suddenly, I had to postpone my trip to the next convoy to the Maas, which is more useful to me than making such a long detour. Also, next week has been determined for Mr. Philipps, together with the attorney who served me in my case against Stafford, to have a notarial act on their testimony laid down as a proof of how Stafford dropped his illegitimate arrest, etc., which is considered urgently needed here, so that having seen evidence of the arrest, the Supreme Court can see how it has come to an end at the same time. Since I am informed that people here in England can harass one another for six or eight months by arrests made by virtue of a transcript from the sheriff of Middlesex, without paying any or only very small expenses to the injured or interested, it seems it would be better for me if the disgraceful maltreatment and damage done to me by this arrest is considered by the Supreme Court, in order not to need taking proceedings again here. Dr. Johnson told to me

appeared in the series do not include any of Casaubon's work. The printing of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which task Young had undertaken, was interrupted by the troubles in England, and later precluded by Young's death in 1652. John Attwood, Elisabeth Young's husband, managed to keep Young's library, including any potential loans from the royal library, while the state and, after the Restoration, those in charge of ordering the royal library kept requesting him to return documents to no avail, **199c**. Cf. *DNB* 9.257–61, Kemke (1898:ix, xix–xxv, xxvii).

⁵ Willem Nieupoort, Dutch envoy in England. Gravesend is on the Thames estuary, **182b**, Texel an island to the North of Holland, **96b**, and the Maas estuary is fairly close to The Hague in South Holland.

⁶ William, viscount Stafford, had had Junius arrested in London, but dropped the appeal again. Fabian Philipps and Junius' lawyer (unidentified) assisted Junius. Notarial act unretrieved. Cf. **199a**.

⁷ This was a fictitious process in order to give the King's Bench jurisdiction and "get the defendant either actively or constructively into the custody of the Marshal . . . [W]hat was called a bill of Middlesex was filed by the plaintiff against the defendant . . . The sheriff of Middlesex was then directed to produce the defendant before the court to answer the plaintiff concerning this plea of trespass . . . [T]he trespass and proceedings thereon were fictions invented to give the court jurisdiction . . . [T]he process by way of bill of Middlesex . . . did not set forth the true cause of action," Holdsworth (1922:219–22); I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer.

gisteren dat onder de gravamina die bij verscheyden ingesetenen °aen 't Parliament sijn voorgedragen, 't vernietigen en wechnemen van die onwettelike autoriteyt van den Sherif van Middelsex een van de voornaemste is. doch daer is mij nu ter tijt weynig aen gelegen.⁸ Wensch maer alleen dat het Hoff mag wel bericht sijn van Staffords quaed voornemen en slimme grepen tegens mij gebruykt.

- d** Indien 'er voor 't wt-eynde van de naeste weke noch geen convoy op de Maes gereed is, sal de voorgemelde attestatie van d'wtkomst des arrests de naeste weke, om meerder spoed, door de post oversenden.⁹ Dus hopende Suster en VE eer lange bij te komen, sal ik ook trachten mede te brengen een Wissel van 100 l. die mij belooft wordt tegen dien tijt te sullen gereed sijn.¹⁰ Wensche dat het mag vast gaen. London. Anno 1659. den 8en *Iulii. stilo vetere.*

201 [59 07–08 00] JUNIUS (LONDON) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (THE HAGUE)¹

- A** Mijn Heer Mijn Heer Isaacus Vossius, historie schrijver van de hooghmoghende Heeren Staten van Holland ende West-Friesland, woonende in de korte houtstraet tot 's-Graven Haeg

- a** *Plurimum dilecte,*
mr Henry Howard heeft nu eyndelik °voorgenomen in sprongreysken in Holland te maken, en versoekt (schielik te London wt het Land gekomen sijnde) dat ik sonder wtstell mergen wt mijn Heer Niewpoort soude soecken te vernemen wat de naeste en beste gelegenheyd wesen sal om met een goed convoy sekerlik over te komen.² mr Philips is nu teghenwordighlik bij den Grave van Oxford, die hem versocht hadde in Essex bij hem te willen komen, om hem in de saken sijner landerijen wat te gebruyken.³ Merghen wordt hij wederom t' huys

c aen: [- *die*] aen

201a voorgenomen: [- *voor sik*] voorgenomen

⁸ Samson Johnson, D.D. of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1636, former chaplain of Elizabeth, queen of Bohemia, and English minister in Breda from 1646 to 1655. Grotius, who had met him in Germany, **101j**, had recommended him to Archbishop Laud, who had promoted him to the chaplaincy. No doubt because of that, an Essex rectorship which he enjoyed was later sequestered. He was a friend of Jan van Vliet, **205e**, and obviously well known to Isaac and Junius. Evidently, he was in London at the time. Cf. *BWGrotius* 9.3787, 15.7006, *Alumni Oxonienses*

yesterday that among the grievances which have been presented to Parliament by several residents, the annulment and termination of the sheriff of Middlesex's illegitimate authority is one of the most important, but that is of little value to me now at present. I just hope that the Court will be well informed of Stafford's malevolent intention and cunning moves used against me.

d If there is no convoy to the Maas yet by the end of next week, I will send the aforesaid attestation of the result of the arrest next week by post for greater speed. Thus, hoping to be with you and Sister before long, I will also try to bring a bill of exchange of £100, which is promised to me to be ready by then. I hope it will happen.

London, in the year 1659, 8 *July old style*.

201 [59 07–08 00] JUNIUS [LONDON] TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (THE HAGUE)

A Mr. Isaac Vossius, historian to the lofty lords States of Holland and West-Friesland, residing at the Korte Houtstraat in The Hague.

a *Sweetest one,*

Mr. Henry Howard has finally now resolved to make a hopping trip to Holland and (just arrived in London from the country) requests me to try to learn from Mr. Nieupoort tomorrow without delay which will be the next and best occasion to cross safely with a good convoy. Now at present, Mr. Philipps is with the earl of Oxford, who had requested him to be willing to come to him in Essex in order to employ him somewhat in the business of his lands. He is

1500–1714 1.816, Bachrach and Collmer (1982:157n15), who call him “Samuel,” just as Worp 4.9.

⁹ Attestation of the result of the arrest is unidentified. Junius returned to Holland at the end of August, **201a**.

¹⁰ Junius had been promised £100 by Fabian Philipps at Henry Howard's instigation, **199e**.

¹ *o*: UBA, I 89g. Presumably written soon after letter **200**, in July or August, **a**, **200c**.

² Henry Howard, who had been in Bath, went to Holland fairly soon, for Parliament ordered on 59 09 28/10 07 to secure his estates until his return to England, cf. *CSPD* (1659–1660:228).

³ Aubrey de Vere's property in Essex is unidentified, but he was to be made lord-lieutenant of Essex by Charles II in 1660. Shortly after this letter, on 23 August, the earl was arrested on suspicion of involvement with a royalist rising, though he

verwacht, en dan hope ik dat hij mij sal kunnen berichten wanneer d' eerste betaling vallen sal.⁴ Wenschte wel die te bekomen voor mijn vertrek, doch vreesde dat de haest die mr Henrie Howard maect, mij daer in sal hinderlik wesen.⁵ Kan die betalingh so haest niet vallen, sal met mr Philips denken hoe mij de selvighe op 't spoedigste moght worden ter hand gestelt en overgemaect door wissel.⁶ Bij so verde VE dese weke aen mij geschreven heeft, so sal ik den uwen misschien de naeste weke noch kunnen verwachten ende ontfanghen. Later schrijven soude waerschijnlijk komen nae mijn vertreck.

b mr Thorndijk soude geerne desen aen doctor Crichton behandicht hebben sonder VE moeyelik te vallen, maer vermoedende dat den Doctor ergens in den Haegh is ^oen voor gewis houdende dat hij menighmael bij VE komt, so versocht hij dat desen ingeslotenen aen hem wierde geleverd.⁷

c mr Marsham wt mr Thorndyke iet verstaen hebbende van 't gunt VE laetstmael aen mij schreeft, quam eergister bij mij, vragende of ik niet en wist vat student het waet die sulk een onwaerheyd aen *Dominus Gronovius* had overgeschreven, rondelik verklarende dat hij noyt bij ieman ter vereld een woord geript had waer wt ieman sou moghen afnemen dat sijn oordeel VE schrift tegen liep, maer had in 't tegendeel bij verscheyden staende gehouden dat het een loffelik voornemen was onbeschroomelik voor te stellen 't gunt ieman oordeelt te sullen dienen tot bericht van dese en volgende eewen.⁸ Hij versocht dat ik sijnen dienst in mijn naeste schrijven aen VE sou aenbieden, en VE versekeren dat dien quidam die sulks geschreven had hem ongelijk dede.

d Ik sal voor mijn verteck Duraeus noch eens soeken te spreken,

b en: [- *erso*] en

was released again in November. Just like Junius, Fabian Philipps had attended to Aubrey, **164e**. Cf. *DNB* 58.223.

⁴ Junius had been promised £100 by Fabian Philipps at Henry Howard's instigation, **199e**.

⁵ Junius apparently wanted, or was supposed to accompany Henry Howard to Holland, **199c**. He had returned to Holland by the end of August, for on 26 August Andreas Colvius entrusted a letter for Isaac to Junius in Dordrecht, writing that "redit ex Anglia incolumis nobilissimus avunculus tuus et amicus meus D. Franciscus Iunius, quem hic in nostra urbe obiter salutavi. Diutius optaveram eius praesentiam,

expected home again tomorrow, and I hope he can then inform me when the first payment is due. I would rather want to receive it before my departure, but fear that the haste Mr. Henry Howard is making will hamper me in this respect. If it is impossible for the payment to be made so soon, I will consider with Mr. Philipps how it may be delivered and transferred to me by bill of exchange as soon as possible. In so far as you wrote to me this week, I may perhaps still be able to expect and receive your letter next week. To write later would probably arrive after my departure.

- b Mr. Thorndike would like to have this letter delivered to Dr. Creighton without your inconvenience, but supposing that the doctor is in The Hague somewhere and taking it for granted that he is frequently with you, he requested the enclosed one to be delivered to him.
- c Having heard something from Mr. Thorndike of what you wrote to me last time, Mr. Marsham came to me the day before yesterday, and asked if I did not know which student it had been who had written such an untruth to Mr. Gronovius, declaring plainly that he had never with anyone in the world breathed a word from which anyone could deduce that his judgement opposed your writing, but that, on the contrary, he had asserted with several people that it was a praiseworthy intention to propose candidly what one believes to serve as instruction for this and coming centuries. He requested me to offer you his service in my next letter and assure you that that *quidam* who had written such matters had done him wrong.
- d Before my departure, I will try to speak to Mr. Durie once more

sed quia ad vos festinat summo desiderio vos visendi, amplius hic detineri non potuit" [your uncle and my friend, the most noble Mr. Francis Junius, whom I happened to meet here in our town, has returned safely from England. I would have desired for his presence longer, but since he is hurrying to you with the deepest desire to see you, he could not be detained here any further], Bur F 11, 1.443, f. 378v.

⁶ No details were found on how and when Junius received the money.

⁷ Herbert Thorndike's letter to Robert Creighton unretrieved. Creighton (1592–1672), chaplain to Charles I in Oxford at the outbreak of the Civil War, had fled to the Continent to become a member of the court of Charles II. In 1653 he was in Utrecht. He was appointed dean of Wells during his exile, and became bishop of Bath and Wells in 1670. Creighton was a friend of Isaac Vossius. Cf. *DNB* 13.69–70, UBL, Bur F 11, references and letters in vols 1 and 2.

⁸ Goswijn Hogers had written to Johannes Fredericus Gronovius that Sir John Marsham had criticised Isaac's *De vera aetate mundi* (1659), e, 199b.

om te weten of hij iet heeft gedaen in de saek van de LXX, en met mijn Heer Whitlock gesproken.⁹

met grooten haest

Tuus quem nosti

- e Ik heb *Arundellianam bibliothecam* wat doorgesnuffelt,¹⁰ en gevonden een oude *metamorphosin Ovidianam*, alsook *libros Fastorum* heel oud, met noch een nieuwer afschrift van de boeken *de Arte*, *amorum libros*, *Heroidum epistolas*, die een Middelburger sik verklaert afgeschreven te hebben tot Padua Anno 1418 of 19, of daer ontrent; sal desen met mij brengen voor *Domino* Heinsio, ofte vroeger overseynden, so hijse vroeger begeert.¹¹ Indien ik maer een woordeken *Domino* Heinsio kan krijgen daer in hij aen Sir Roger Twysden 't wetersenden van sijn *Metamorphosis* belooft. sal desen dan met eenen ook oversenden of brengen.¹² Tot noch toe hebbe ik geen van de twee Ptolemaeusen konnen sien, voornaemelik soekende nae 't roode exemplar geschreven in *charta bombycina*.¹³ hope het noch te vinden. alhoewel eenige meynen dat die bibliotheke nae 't vertreck van den ouden Grave door quade handen mishandelt is; andere seggen dat mr Selden verscheyden van de beste boeken daer wt gehadt heeft, die noch niet en sijn te recht gekomen.¹⁴ Ik sal mijn beste doen om te weten wat-

⁹ John Durie was willing to ask of Bulstrode Whitlocke to have Isaac borrow the *Codex Alexandrinus* of the Septuagint from the royal library, 199d.

¹⁰ e is written in the left-hand margin of Junius' copy of letter 199 or 200, which starts "Di[. . .]" and ends "Londo[. . .]."

¹¹ The Arundel collection of manuscripts now in BL do not include any texts of Ovid. Manuscripts unidentified; the newer copies may have been made by Paulus van Middelburg (1446–1533), who taught astrology at Padua from 1479 and became bishop of Fossombrone in 1494. This, however, means that the years 1418/19 were actually rather 1480/90. Nicolaas Heinsius did use the manuscripts, for he quoted from "Arondelianus" in his *Operum tomus I, notae in metamorphoses P. Ovidii Nasonis* (Amsterdam, 1659:67, 144, e.g.), as also in *Notae in libros tres amorum* (1659:267, e.g.), likewise in *Operum tomus III, notae in sex libros fastorum P. Ovidii Nasonis* (Amsterdam, 1661:11, e.g.). Cf. *IMBL*, s.v. Ovid, *NMBW* 3.860–61.

¹² Sir Roger Twysden (1597–1672), second baronet, from Kent, an antiquary who spent much time studying the history of his country. He had contributed with the *editio princeps* of the Latin laws of Henry I to Abraham Wheelock's enlarged re-edition of the *Archaionomia* (1644). In 1652, he published *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores decem* (London, 1652), a voluminous collection of Anglo-Latin medieval chronicles, for which William Somner produced a glossary and John Selden wrote a preface. No copy of Junius found in UBL. On 26 Apr 1649, Twysden had informed Heinsius that he had received the latter's letter via Junius, and that he had three parchment manuscripts of Ovid, two *Metamorphoses* and one *De Ponto*. Evidently, Heinsius wished

again in order to find out whether he has done anything concerning the Septuagint and has talked to Mr. Whitelocke.

In great haste.

Yours, whom you know.

- e I have somewhat rummaged through the *Arundel library* and found an old *Ovid Metamorphoses*, as well as his very old *Books of Festivals*, with a newer copy of his books *On Art*, *Books of Love*, and *Heroine Letters*, which someone from Middelburg declares to have copied in Padua in the year 1418 or 19, or thereabouts. I will take these with me for Mr. Heinsius, or send them earlier, if he wants them earlier. If only I can have a small word from Mr. Heinsius in which he promises to Sir Roger Twysden to send his *Metamorphoses* back again, I will then send or bring over this one at the same time as well. As yet, I have not been able to see either of the two copies of Ptolemy, looking especially for the red copy written on bombycina paper. I still hope to find it—although some people believe that after the old earl's departure the library has been maltreated by malicious hands; others say that from it, Mr. Selden has had several of the best books, which have not yet been found. I will do my best to

to borrow the *Metamorphoses*, which Junius may indeed have brought to Holland. In his *Notae in metamorphoses* (1659:7, e.g.), Heinsius quoted from Twysden's manuscripts. Heinsius later presented Twysden with a copy of the fruits of his studies via Junius, for on 8 Jan 1662 he wrote to Isaac from Stockholm that "Nasonis mei exemplar cura avunculi tui, viri optimi et eruditissimi, ad Equitem Twisdenium in Brittannis pervenisse spero" [I hope that a copy of my *Naso* (Ovid) has reached Sir Twysden in Britain through the attention of your uncle, a most excellent and learned gentleman], Burman 3.105. Cf. *DNB* 57.404–09, Hetherington (1980:128), Parry (1995:227–28), UBL, BUR F6 a.

¹³ Isaac must have intended to resume his study of Ptolemy again, for which he had borrowed two Ptolemy manuscripts from the Arundel library via Junius in 1639, **126a**, **129g**. "Charta bombycina" was paper from Bombyx (now Mombyce), Syria, but because of the word's resemblance to *L. bombyx*, "silk, cotton," it was often translated as "cotton paper." Consequently, it is not clear what kind of paper Junius meant. The red codex was probably the one from Greece, since the Pirkheimer manuscript was bound in green, **129g**. Possibly, Junius' inability to find the two Arundel Ptolemies caused Isaac to drop his Ptolemy studies once and for all. It may also explain why the two manuscripts do not occur in the relevant catalogues, **129g^a**. Cf. Loeber (1967:16).

¹⁴ No further details were found as to what happened to the Arundel Library after Thomas Howard had left England in 1642, nor whether John Selden had taken books from it.

ter van geworden is. Ik bedanke VE hertelik voor het Tractaetjen *de vera Mundi aetate*.¹⁵ doch hier van de naeste weke breeder.

202₂₀₃ [60 00 00] JOHANN CLAUBERG [DUISBURG] TO JUNIUS [THE HAGUE]¹

[*Junius*: . . . Cum olim in meas ad Willeramum *observationes* incidisset Ioh. Claubergius, Theologiae ac Philosophiae in academia Teutoburgensi Professor, datis ad me literis etiam haec inter alia ad vocabuli huius [*toes*] etymologiam annotavit,]²

- a Originem vocis manifeste Graecam esse ais. Ego contra existimavi hactenus digitos pedum dici Germ. *die zehen*, a numero denario, *zehen* enim Germanis significat “decem.” Rustica nimirum simplicitas dicere consuevit, *ich hebe die zehen gehn himmel auf*, cum ambas manus ad sidera tollit ac Deum invocat veluti testem eorum, quae affirmantur. Similiter vulgus ait, cum alicui porrigit manum, *einen die funf geben*, quasi dicas, “alicui dare quinque.” Quare autem elegantioris sermonis studiosi digitos quidem pedum a numero denario, non autem digitos manuum ab eodem numero similiter denominent, hanc esse causam arbitror, quod in digitis pedum vix aliud quam numerum consideramus, at in digitis manuum consideramus singulorum officium atque usum; quatenus pollice premimus, indice monstramus.

¹⁵ Isaac Vossius, *Dissertatio de vera aetate mundi* . . . (The Hague: Adriaan Vlacq, 1659), a controversial treatise, in which Isaac postulated that the chronology of the world should start 1440 years earlier than generally assumed, on the basis of the Septuagint, which Isaac considered better than the accepted Hebrew text. The treatise was reprinted in his *De septuaginta interpretibus* (1661), **199d**. Junius’ copy not found in UBL. Cf. Lebram (1975:21–23), Blok (1999:498).

¹ *p*: Junius, *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. *TOES*); I used *f*. Excerpt of an otherwise unretrieved letter from Clauberg included by Junius in the entry *TOES*. Undated, but the letter seems to have been replied by letter **203**, so possibly written in 1660.

² Junius’ *Observationes* (1655:255), **188c**, s.v. *Iâ*, “digitus pedis.” Johann Clauberg (1622–1665), professor of philosophy and theology at Duisburg University from 1651, and a champion of Cartesian philosophy in Germany. Having begun his studies of oriental philosophy and theology in Bremen, he had continued them in Groningen from 1644 to 1646, subsequently made a tour of France and England, and was in Leiden in 1648. During these years he became acquainted with Cartesian philosophy. He was professor at Herborn from 1649 until moving to Duisburg, where he became one of the most distinguished professors of the university and its rector for several years. He had probably written to Junius through the mediation

learn what has happened to them. I heartily thank you for the little treatise *On the True Age of the World*. But more about this next week.

202 [60 00 00] JOHANN CLAUBERG [DUISBURG] TO JUNIUS [THE HAGUE]

[*Junius*: When Johann Clauberg, professor of theology and philosophy at Duisburg University, had come upon my *Observations on Williram* a long time ago, he commented the following, among other things, on the etymology of this word (*toes*) in a letter to me.]

- a You say that the origin of the word is evidently Greek. I, on the contrary, have assumed up to now that the toes of the feet are called *die zehen* by the Germans after the number ten, for *zehen* means “ten” to the Germans. Simple peasants, surely, are used to say, “*ich hebe die zehen gehn himmel auf*,” when raising both hands to the stars and invoking God as a witness to what is being attested. Likewise, when offering the hand to someone, a lower class man says, “*einen die funf geben*,” as if you say, “to give someone the five.” Yet the reason why students of more refined speech do indeed name the toes of the feet after the number ten, but do not likewise name the fingers of the hands after the same number, is the following, I believe, that we consider hardly anything but number in the toes of the feet, whereas in the fingers of the hands we consider the function and use of each separately, since we press with the thumb and point with the index finger.

[*Junius*: etc. With surely good intention the excellent gentleman

of Joannes Georgius Graevius, who had been professor of Eloquence at Duisburg from 1656 to 1658, **224a**. The letter concerns a work Clauberg was preparing that is now lost, “De causis Germanicae linguae, de origine et significatione omnium et singularium vocum, de dialectis eius” [On the causes of the German language; on the origin and meaning of all and particular words; on its dialects], and possibly his *Ars etymologica Teutonum* (Duisburg, 1663). Junius gave a glimpse from this lost work in *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. THUMB), “Ioh. Claubergius Germ. *daum*, ‘pollex,’ derivabat a *duen*, ‘premere,’ quomodo et *bluem*, ‘flos,’ idem contendeat esse a *bluen*, ‘florere;’ *saam*, ‘semen,’ a *saen*, ‘serere;’ *raum*, ‘locus, spatium,’ a *ruhen*, ‘quiescere,’ quod res omnes in suo loco quiescant” [Johann Clauberg has derived German *daum*, ‘thumb,’ from *duen*, ‘to press,’ in the same manner as he also postulated that *bluem*, ‘flower,’ is from *bluen*, ‘to bloom;’ *saam*, ‘seed,’ from *saen*, ‘to sow;’ *raum*, ‘place, space,’ from *ruhen*, ‘to rest,’ because everything rests in its own place]. Cf. **204x**, *NDB* 3.265–66, *DBE* 2.332, *ASL* (1875:391), *ASG* (1915:49), Verbeek (1999:181–87), Weber (1999:96–97).

[*Junius*: etc. Haec vir optimus bono quidem animo submonenda putavit, nec tamen effecit, ut a sententia recederem, siquidem hoc veluti peculiare habuit vir in perscrutandis patriae linguae elegantissimus, quod originationes plerumque peteret ex hodierno linguae Germanicae usu.³ Mihi contra fixum semper immotumque remansit ne latum quidem unguem a vetere antiquiorum monumentorum orthographia recedere.]⁴

202/0 **203** 60 08 13 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO JOHANN CLAUBERG [DUISBURG]¹

- a** °| Vir clarissime,
Octennium est et quod excurrit, cum inciderem in quatuor exemplaria antiqui huius °rhythmi mendose prorsus excusi.² Consultum itaque duxi ea omnia mihi atque amicis emere. Ex quatuor hisce exemplaribus, quorum unum usui meo inservit, duo amicis postulantibus impensa, quartum lubens meritoque tibi una cum schedis transmitto, gavisurus quotiescunque in maioribus desiderium tuum explere et gratiam tuam promereri potero.
Hagae Comitum, 1660, 13 Augusti *stilo novo*.
Tuus omni officio, F.F.F. Iunius.
- b** °| Incidi³ °Heidelbergae (ubi primas huius lucis auras ipse hausit) anno Domini MDCLIII in Tatiani Alexandrini harmoniam evan-

a °|: [f.158] (*Owing to the special arrangement of folio numbers for 203 and 204, page breaks appear as °| in the commentary with corresponding folio number*) | rhythmi: \rhythmi/
| **b** °|: [f.142r] | Heidelbergae: Heidebergae

³ In *Etymologicum anglicanum*, s.v. TOES, Junius also derives “toes” and its equivalents in other Germanic languages from Greek, “[d]erivata videntur ab illo τείνω, ‘extendo,’ quod pleraque tempora mutuatur ab inusitato τᾶω. Ratio derivationis fuerit forte, quod digiti pedis ipsum pedem quasi producant, vel potius, quod brevior atque humili corpore praediti in extremos pedum digitos assurgere soleant, ut speciem aliquam addant corpusculo ac staturam qualicunque ratione extendant” [they seem to have been derived from that τείνω, ‘I stretch out,’ which most times is borrowed from the unusual τᾶω. Perhaps the reasoning of the derivation was that the toes of the foot extend the foot itself, as it were, or rather, that those who have a rather short and modest body use to rise to the tips of their toes in order to add an appearance to their small bodies and extend their stature in some way]. In his *Ars etymologica*, Clauberg formulated the rule that German words should preferably be derived from other (contemporary) German words. Cf. **204x**, Waterman (1973:391).

⁴ For Junius’ emphasis, in similar words, that ancient manuscripts of the northern

felt he had to advise this, but he did not bring me to giving up my opinion, since the gentleman most diligent in examining the refinement of his mother tongue has had this peculiarity, as it were, that he generally has searched the origins in the current use of the German language. To me, on the contrary, it has always remained fixed and steadfast not to depart even a finger's breadth from the old orthography of quite ancient documents.]

203 60 08 13 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO JOHANN CLAUBERG [DUISBURG]

a Widely renowned sir,

It is somewhat more than eight years ago that I came upon four copies of this ancient verse executed utterly full of mistakes. I thought it therefore expedient to buy them all for myself and my friends. From these four copies, of which one serves my own uses and two were given to friends who asked for them, I willingly and deservedly send the fourth one to you together with the notes, taking pleasure as often as I will be able to fulfil your wishes in important matters and to merit your gratitude.

The Hague, 1660, 13 August new style.

Obligingly Yours, F.F.F. Junius.

b In the year 1653 in Heidelberg (where I took the first breaths of this life), I came upon Tatian of Alexandria's Latin-Franconian Evangelical Harmony, at one time sent by Bonaventura Vulcanius

languages displayed uncorrupted language forms and that he consequently concentrated only on such documents, cf. **177a**. For an exposition of his method, cf. **203d**, **204d**.

¹ *o*: UBL, BPL 293b, ff. 142–45, 158. Reply to an unretrieved letter, of which letter **202** may be an excerpt, **204a**. The letter is continued in letter **204**, cf. **204a**. Presumably sent to Duisburg, **204A–a**. Enclosed in the file in UBL, BPL 293b, ff. 159–60, is a transcript in an unidentified hand, entitled, “Busbequii epistolae IV, p. 321,” that is, an excerpt from the fourth letter by Ogier Gisleen van Boesbeeck, *Legationis Turcicae epistolae quatuor*, probably from the edition *Omnia quae extant* (Leiden, 1633:321), “non possum hoc loco praeterire . . . ex his Praecopensis didici,” **42h**. The passage describes van Boesbeeck's meeting with a Crimean Goth and gives lists of Crimean Gothic words, which are the only extant materials in Eastern Gothic. There is no indication that the transcript was enclosed in this letter by Junius. Junius' copy not found in UBL. Cf. van de Velde (1966:57–65), von Martels and Goldstein (1994:330–6).

² Ancient verses, which need not have been in a Germanic language, are unidentified.

³ Junius quoted **b** from his preface to Tatian, Ms Jun. 13, f. 5v, **195a**.

gelicam Latino–Francicam a Bonaventura Vulcanio quondam ad Marquardum Freherum transmissam atque in capita 244 distinctam, sed in medio sui 76 circiter capitum lacuna foedam.⁴ Ac licet iactura tam atrox non levi pectus moerore pulsaret, nequaquam tamen deposui animum altius aliquanto °percensendi quae supererant, sed universum opus perpetuo veluti commentario illustrare institui.

- c** Ex hisce igitur nostris in Tatianum notis, quoniam quid de origine vocis *leichnam* sentiam requiris, adscribam quid olim de huius vocabuli origine venerit in mentem, parum sollicitus cur hodie *leichnam* dicant Germani, cum tam Franci quam Anglo-Saxones olim *lichama* vel *lihhamo* nuncupaverint “corpus.”⁵ Verba Tatiani ad quae sequentem vocis *lichama* etymologiam annotavi occurrunt capite 28, tmemate 2, *bitherberi ist thaz furuuerde ein thinero lido, halt thanne al thin lihhamo si gesentit in hella fiur*, “expedit ut pereat unum membrorum tuorum, potius quam totum corpus tuum mittatur in gehennam.” Quae verba ex Matthaei 5.29 desumpta, sic redduntur in Anglo-Saxonica quatuor Evangeliorum versione edita Londinii °1571, *ðe yf betere þæt an ðinra lima forpurðe, þonne eall ðin lichama yf on helle areno*.⁶ In Gothica vero Wulphilae translatione, quam nobis exhibet Argenteus codex, sic leguntur, **ΒΑΤΙΖΕ ΙΣΤ ΨΝΣ ΕΙ ΗΚΑΙΣΤΗΝΑΙ ΡΙΝΣ ΛΙΨΙΥΕ ΦΕΙΝΑΙΖΕ. ΓΑ Η ΝΙ ΑΛΛΑΤΑ ΛΕΙΚ ΦΕΙΝ ΓΑΡΚΙΝΣΑΙ ΙΝ ΓΑΡΑΙΝ ΝΑΝ**.⁷ Ad hunc igitur Tatiani locum haec sunt ipsissima notarum nostrarum verba.

- d** °| “*lihhamo*, ‘corpus.’⁸ Occurrit °et *lihhamo* apud hunc nostrum 36.3, at *lichamo* legitur 160.1; *lichamlichero gisuuni*, ‘corporali specie,’ 14.4. Sed quoniam ad investigandam originem vocabuli apprime necessarium est varias vocis *lih* et *lihhamo* significationes considerare, videor

b percensendi: *Ms Jun. 13* penitusque percensendi | **c** 1571: [– *ab*]1571 | **d** °|: [f.142v] | et . . . 160.1: *Ms Jun. 42* et 36.3, at *lichamo* legas apud hunc nostrum 160.1

⁴ Junius had been in Germany in 1653 to release viscount Stafford from prison, **184a**. Bonaventura Vulcanius had presented Marquard Freher with a transcript of a Latin–Old High German version of Tatianus Alexandrinus’ *Diatessaron*, a harmony of the Gospels, made from an exemplar with a lacuna between chs. 76.1 and 153.1, **195a**.

⁵ Clauberg had asked about the words discussed by Junius in an unretrieved letter, of which letter **202** may be an excerpt, **204a**. In what follows, the (in)correctness of Junius’ etymologies has not been discussed, since his emphasis on meaning

to Marquard Freher, and divided into 244 chapters, but marred by a hiatus of about seventy-six chapters in its middle. Although such a heavy damage struck my heart with deep sorrow, I did not at all suppress my desire to examine the remainder somewhat more deeply, and I began to annotate the entire text by a continuous commentary, as it were.

- c Thus, since you are asking what I think of the origin of the word *leichnam*, I will add from our annotations on Tatian what had earlier occurred to me about the origin of this word, although I was little bothered why the Germans say *leichnam* today, because both the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons used to call “a body” *lichama* or *lihhamo*. Tatian’s words at which I noted down the following etymology of the word *lichama* occur in chapter 28, section 2, *bitherbi ist thaz furuuerde ein thinero lido, halt thanne al thin lihhamo si gesentit in hella fur*, “it is profitable for thee that one of thy members should perish, and not that thy whole body should be cast into hell.” Which words, taken from Matthew 5.29, are rendered thus in the Old English translation of the four Gospels, printed in London, 1571, *ðe ys betere þæt an ðinra lima forwurðe, þonne eall ðin lichama sy on helle asend*. Yet in Wulfila’s Gothic translation, which the *Codex argenteus* presents us, they are read thus, *batizo ist auk þus ei fraqistnai ains lipiwe þeinaize, jah ni allata leik þein gadriusai in gaiainnan*. Thus, at this place in Tatian the following are the literal words of our annotations.

- d “*Lihhamo*, ‘body.’ *Lihhamo* also occurs in our 36.3, but *lichamo* is read in 160.1; *lichamlichero gisuuni*, ‘in bodily form,’ 14.4. However, since it is before all essential for an investigation into the origin of

in etymological studies necessarily yields different results than are acquired by the modern emphasis on phonology.

⁶ John Foxe, ed., *The Gospels of the Fower Evangelistes* . . . (London, 1571), the first printed Old English Gospels, from BLO, Ms Bodley 441. Kees Dekker has retrieved Junius’ annotated copy, which passed on to Thomas Marshall, 206a, as Oxford, Lincoln College Library, N.1.7. They used this edition for the Old English version of the Gospels included in their *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665), 209b. Cf. Dekker (1999:36, 2000:323), Hetherington (1980:26), personal communication Kees Dekker.

⁷ The *Codex argenteus* of the Gothic Gospels, 173b, 188a. Both the *Codex argenteus* and Junius’ *Evangeliorum versiones* read **IST ANK PHS**. For Junius’ transliterations of the Gothic characters, cf. 204dd. The present edition uses the digital font developed for *Project Wulfila* by Boudewijn Rempt, Deventer.

⁸ Junius quoted d up to and including i from his “Auctarium” of the annotations to Tatian, Ms Jun. 42, f. 167r–v, 195a.

quoque facturus pretium operae, si multiplicem earum acceptionem, tam in compositione quam extra eam, ex °Theotiscis, Anglo-Saxonicis, Cimbricis, ac Gothicis monumentis obiter praemisero.⁹ Francis sane *lichamo* est ‘corpus,’ Hymnis 2.8, 3.5, 4.6;¹⁰ *lichamilo*, ‘corpusculum,’ Hymno 21. 9; *lichanastemu kasiune kasehant Crist*, ‘corporeo visu cernunt Christum,’ Hymno 19.9; *lihcamo sin kaoffarot ist*, ‘caro eius oblata est,’ Hymno 21.4; *lih*, ‘cadaver,’ Otrfridi 4.35.62;¹¹ *lichi*, ‘cadavera,’ Otrfridi 4.34.8; *lihhamum*, ‘corpus,’ *lihhamin*, ‘corporis,’ °*lihchamon*, ‘corpora,’ *lihchamlihera*, ‘corporali,’ Kero;¹² *lihkar*, °*sahrscrine*, ‘loculum,’ glossario B, °2[8];¹³ *lih hemidi*, ‘subucula,’ *lihzeichan*, ‘stigmata,’ glossario B, 49; *leichmannes roc*, ‘frocus,’ glossario D, 17.”¹⁴

- e “Anglo-Saxonibus lichama vel lichoma est ‘corpus.’ °Ac lichama quidem occurrit Matthaei 6.22, Lucae 11.34, 22.19. At °lichoma occurrit apud Bedam *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* libro 2, capitibus 3 et 20;¹⁵ lichamlicpe anŕyne, ‘corporali specie,’ Lucae 3.22; lichamlear, ‘corporis

d Theotiscis . . . Gothicis: *Ms Jun. 42* Francis, Anglo-Saxonicis, [*Gothis* > Cimbricis], Gothicisque | *lihchamon*: [– *lih*] *lihchamon* | *sahrscrine*: *Ms Jun. 42 sahr scrine* | 2[8]: possibly 23 | e Ac . . . occurrit: *Ms Jun. 42* lichama occurrit | lichoma . . . 3: *Ms Jun. 42* lichoma habet Beda 2.3

⁹ Junius’ etymological method consisted in trying to establish the original meaning of a particular word by examining the earliest attestations of words that seemed to be its precursors. To this end, he searched his data in the oldest available documents in any of the ancient Germanic languages, in the belief that the older the witness, the less corrupt it was and the closer to the original stage of the language. This conviction must have been based on both the humanist principle of returning to the sources, “ite ad fontes,” 177a, and the theory, current at the time, that “words” (or “names”), and “things” have a one-to-one relationship in a perfect language, such as the original language used by Adam and shattered at the Fall and the Babylonian confusion of tongues. In time, the once perfect language had become corrupted not only by these profound upheavals but also by carelessness in speech and writing and the mutual influence of the different languages that had come into existence, for instance owing to invasions and conquests of peoples, 211b. It was the etymologist’s task, then, to smooth out such blemishes and retrieve the original signification of a word as much as humanly possible—for knowledge of the perfect language as God had created it was not granted to man. The search for original significations could accordingly be seen as an aspiration to Truth and the retrieval of the earliest known attestations the nearest one could get to it in terms of language. Less obvious than Junius’ devotion to the elevation of Dutch, 189d–e, the underlying aim of his studies seems indeed to have been the aspiration to Truth, as Dekker (1999:286) has pointed out with reference to Junius’ observation, “neque enim alia mente ad huius commentationis exercitium accessi, nisi ut magis magisque explicetur Veritas” [for I have undertaken the exercise of this commentary with no other intention than that Truth is more and more unfolded], “Letter to

the word to consider the various meanings of the word *lih* and *lih-hamo*, I also think it worth the trouble just to introduce their varied meaning, both in and out of context, from Theotiscan, Old English, Cimbric and Gothic documents. To the Franks indeed *lichamo* is 'body,' Hymns 2.8, 3.5, 4.6; *lichamilo*, 'little body,' Hymn 2.9; *lichanastemu kasiune kasehant Crist*, 'they perceive Christ with their bodily sight,' Hymn 19.9; *lihcamo sin kaoffarot ist*, 'his flesh was offered,' Hymn 21.4; *lih*, 'corpse,' Otfrid 4.35.62; *lichi*, 'corpses,' Otfrid 4.34.8; *lihhamum*, 'body,' *lihhamin*, 'of the body,' *lihchaman*, 'bodies,' *lihchamlihera*, 'bodily,' Kero; *lihkar*, *sarhscrine*, 'coffin,' glossary B, 2[8]; *lih hemidi*, 'shirt,' *lihze-ichan*, 'scar,' glossary B, 49; *leichmannes roc*, 'frock,' glossary D, 17."

e "To the Anglo-Saxons *lichama* or *lichoma* is 'body.' *Lichama* indeed occurs in Matthew 6.22, Luke 11.34, 22.19. Yet *lichoma* occurs in Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, book 2, ch. 3 and 20; *lichamlicre* ansyne, 'in bodily form,' Luke 3.22; *lichamleas*, 'without body,' Ælfric, *On the Old Testament*, page 3. It is also used for 'flesh;' *geseoð eghwelc lichoma*

the Reader," *Observationes* (1655:[xiv]). However, although the theory of the relationship between "word" and "thing" was also promoted by the empiricists in England, notably Frances Bacon (1561–1626), it is hard to find supportive evidence for Dekker's suggestion (1999:289, 293) that Junius consciously implemented empiricist ideas in his studies, **211h**. The list of languages is in what Junius believed was their reverse chronological order, **169d**. Cf. **204d**, Padley (1976:132–53), Dekker (1999:223, 270–75, 284–93).

¹⁰ The Old High German *Murbach Hymnal*, **187a**.

¹¹ The *Evangelienbuch*, the important Old High German verse paraphrase of the Gospels in five parts, finished c.868, by Otfrid of Weissenburg (c.800–c.870), as edited by Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Otfridi Evangeliorum liber* (Basle, 1571), of which Junius' copy is now Ms Jun. 80. In 1670 Junius was still concentrating on the text, which he intended to annotate, but he has not proceeded far, **222a**. He underlined words, made cross-references and a few references to his Old High German glossaries, wrote a transcript of Otfrid in Ms Jun. 17, without annotations, and compiled an index in Ms Jun. 115a, ff. 42–146. Junius must have considered the *Evangelienbuch* his primary or earliest source of "Theotiscan," for he seems to have believed Otfrid's claim that no other texts had yet been written in that vernacular, **211c**. Cf. **210d**, Erdmann and Wolff (1957), *SCW* nos. 5129, 5191, 5226, Dekker (1999:169–70; unpubl. ms.).

¹² Kero's glossary, **187a^a**.

¹³ Junius' glossary 'B,' **187a**.

¹⁴ Junius' glossary 'D,' **187a**.

¹⁵ The Old English version of Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, a history of the conversion and church of the Anglo-Saxons, published by Abraham Wheelock in 1643. Junius collated his own copy, Ms Jun. 10, with BL, Cott. Ms Dom.viii. Cf. **183b**, **187a^a**, Dekker (2000:323–24; unpubl. ms.).

expers,' Ælfricus De Vetere Testamento, pagina 3.¹⁶ Ponitur et pro 'carne;' ȝeƿeod eȝhƿelc lichoma halpenbe Ðodeȝ, 'videbit omnis caro salutare Dei,' C et R *Lucae* 3.6;¹⁷ °uopþ lichoma ȝeuopþen ȝ, 'verbum caro factum est,' C *Iohannis* °| 1.14. Vide quoque eundem codicem *Iohannis* 6.63 et 8.15, °ac passim alibi. lic usurpatur pro 'corpore;' ȝƿa hƿær ȝƿa bið lic. þiððer ȝomniȝað earneȝ, 'ubicunque fuerit corpus ibi congregabuntur aquilae,' R *Matthaei* 24.28; bæð ðer hælenbeȝ lic, 'petiit corpus Iesu,' R *Matthaei* 27.58. Significat et 'carnem,' ne ȝinbun tƿæȝen. ac an lic, 'non sunt duo, sed una caro,' R *Matthaei* 19.6; lic 7 bloð ne onpƿeod ðe, 'caro et sanguis non revelavit tibi,' R *Matthaei* 16.17; ȝe ȝart ȝeapn ȝ. þæt lic untrum, 'spiritus promptus est, caro infirma,' C et R *Matthaei* 26.41; he ƿær ȝƿomlice onlýȝeð 7 ȝopðȝepeð, 'solutus est a carne,' Beda 5.7. lichama, 'corpus,' glossario R, pagina 69 et 85;¹⁸ lic vel lichama, 'corpus,' Ælfrici *grammatica*; lic. æȝðer ȝe cuceȝ ȝe ðeabeȝ, 'corpus,' Ælfrici glossae;¹⁹ licþeotan vel ȝƿatðȝȝlu, 'pori, id est spiramenta unde sudor emanat,' glossario R, °73; lic oððe hpeap, 'funus,' Ælfrici glossae, et glossario R, 85; lic oððe holb, 'cadaver,' Ælfrici glossae; liccun, 'coemiterium,' Beda 3.17 et 4.7; lic ƿiȝlungȝ, 'necromantia,' *Canones sub Edgare Rege*, 16;²⁰ licðenunga, 'exequiae,' Ælfrici *grammatica*."

e uopþ: *Ms Jun.* 42 ƿopþ | °|: [f.143r] | ac . . . alibi: *Ms Jun.* 42 – | 73: *Ms Jun.* 42 73; licðropepe, 'leprosus,' Ælfrici glossae et Gloss. R, 78

¹⁶ Ælfric of Eynsham's Old English letter to Sigeward "De Veteri et Novo Testamento," BLO, Ms Laud Misc. 509, a treatise presenting a summary of Christian history interlaced with references to Ælfric's life. The text was published by the Anglo-Saxonist William L'Isle (1569?–1637) in *A Saxon Treatise Concerning the Old and New Testament* (London, 1623). Junius' copy is mentioned among the Marshall collection in [Bernard Edward], *Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae in unum collecti, cum indice alphabetico* (Oxford, 1697:373, no. 8658.72), "whose English version is corrected in very many places by Mr. Junius." Cf. Crawford (1922:15–75), Wilcox (1994:40–44), Dekker (2000:325), personal communication Rolf Bremmer.

¹⁷ 'R' refers to the Rushworth Gospels, **187e**, and 'C' to the splendid Cottonian or Lindisfarne Gospels, now BL, Cott. Ms Nero D.iv, written and lavishly illustrated at the monastery of Lindisfarne, off the coast of Northumbria, around the year 700, and provided with interlinear running glosses in Old English in the tenth century. They may have been the model for those in the Rushworth Gospels, **187e**. Junius made excerpts from the Lindisfarne Gospels in Mss Jun. 50 and 76, **187aⁿ**. In his projects, he referred to its Old English by means of "C. Matth./ Mar./ Luc./ Ioh." Cf. Ker (1957, no. 165), Millar (1923), Backhouse (1981), Dekker (2000:327).

¹⁸ The Old English "Archbishop Ælfric's Vocabulary," now partly Antwerp, Plantin–Moretus Ms 47, and partly BL, Add. 32246, transcribed by Junius in Ms

halwende Godes, 'all flesh shall see the salvation of God,' Cotton's and Rushworth's Luke 3.6; *word lichoma geuorden is*, 'the word became flesh,' Cotton's John 1.14. See also the same codex, John 6.63 and 8.15, and here and there elsewhere. *Lic* is also used for 'body,' *swa hwær swa bið lic. þidder somnigað earnes*, 'wherever the body is, there the vultures will be gathered together,' Rushworth's Matthew 24.28; *bæd ðes hælendes lic*, 'he asked for the body of Jesus,' Rushworth's Matthew 27.58. It also means 'flesh,' *ne sindun twægen. ac an lic*, 'they are not two but one flesh,' Rushworth's Matthew 19.6; *lic 7 blod ne onwreoð ðe*, 'flesh and blood has not revealed to you,' Rushworth's Matthew 16.17; *se gast gearo is. þæt lic untrum*, 'the spirit is willing, the flesh weak,' Cotton's and Rushworth's Matthew 26.41; *he wæs fromlice on-lysed 7 forðfered*, 'he was released from the flesh,' Bede 5.7. *lichama*, 'body,' glossary R, page 69 and 85; *lic* or *lichama*, 'body,' Ælfric's grammar; *lic. ægðer ge cuces ge deades*, 'body,' Ælfric's glosses; *licpeotan* or *swaþþyrhu*, 'pores, that is, breathing holes from which perspiration springs,' glossary R, 73; *lic oððe hreaw*, 'funeral,' Ælfric's glosses and glossary R, 85; *lic oððe hold*, 'corpse,' Ælfric's glosses; *licun*, 'burial ground,' Bede 3.17 and 4.7; *lic wiglun*, 'necromancy,' *Canons of King Edgar*, 16; *licdenunga*, 'funeral,' Ælfric's *Grammar*."

Jun. 71, and distinguished as "glossarium R" in memory of Peter Paul Rubens, from whose legacy it had been conveyed to him by, presumably, Rubens' eldest son Albert (1614–1657), a friend of Isaac Vossius. Rubens may have borrowed it from the Plantin collection but died in 1640 before returning it. Albert gave Junius access to it, possibly after the legacy had been settled in April 1646, or possibly when Junius was in Antwerp with Countess Aletheia, **156b**, and returned it to the Plantin collection by 1650. Junius' transcript has no annotations. Cf. **187a**, Ladd (1960, esp. 355–59), Dekker (2000:328; unpubl. ms).

¹⁹ Ælfric's Old English glossary, transcribed by Junius in Ms Jun. 72, **187a**. The rest of the Old English means "of both the quick and the dead." Cf. Dekker (2000:326).

²⁰ Archbishop Wulfstan, *Canons of Edgar* (11th c.), consisting of seventy guidelines in Old English for the secular clergy, instructing them to abstain from laziness and attend to their duties. The manuscript now Ms Jun. 121, comprising one of the two extant complete versions of the text (version 'X'), was added to the Junius collection only in 1678 by Bishop John Fell (1625–1686), after Sir William Dugdale and Christopher, baron Hatton (1605?–1670), **205a**, had had it. The other version ('D') is in Cambridge, CCC Ms 201, from which manuscript Junius had made excerpts and collations in Mss Jun. 38, 41, 45, 100 and 102. The text was included by Abraham Wheelock in his enlarged re-edition of William Lambarde's *Archaionomia* (1644:65–88), of which Junius' copy is now Ms Jun. 10, **183b**. In *Archaionomia* and the original versions *licwiglun* is one word. Cf. Ker (1957, nos. 338 and 49), Fowler (1972), Dekker (2000:325; unpubl. ms).

- f** “Cimbris 𐌲𐌺𐌱 est ‘funus, cadaver,’ sicuti discimus ex lexico Runico in 𐌲𐌺𐌺𐌹𐌺, ‘recens factum.’²¹ Quinetiam suspicor iisdem Cimbris 𐌲𐌺𐌹 denotasse ‘corpus’ vel ‘carnem,’ siquidem 𐌲𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 iis est ‘vulnus, livor, sugillatio,’ quod (ut ut Runicum lexicon aliam vocabulo tribuat originem)²² videtur prorsus congruere cum Francico *lihzeichan* et Belgico *°lickteycken*.”
- g** “Gothis 𐌱𐌺 est ‘corpus,’ ita enim vocem accipit Argenteus codex, *°𐌺𐌺 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌶𐌹 𐌲𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹*, ‘nonne anima plus est quam esca, et corpus quam vestimentum?’ *Matthaei* 6.25; *𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌶𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹*, ‘donavit corpus Iosepho,’ *Marci* 15.45; *𐌱𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹*, *°* | ‘corporali specie,’ *Lucae* 3.22.²³ Ponitur et pro ‘carne,’ *𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹𐌶𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹*, ‘et videbit omnis caro salutare Dei,’ *Lucae* 3.6. Significat denique ‘cadaver,’ *𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹*, ‘discipuli eius venerunt et abstulerunt corpus eius,’ *Marci* 6.29, ubi agit evangelista de cadavere Iohannis baptistae.”
- h** “His nunc praemissis, supersedebo repetere quae de vocabuli etymo annotavit Kilianus ex Lud. Vive et Hadr. Iunio, cum minime sit obscurum vocem *lichama* compositam ex *lic* et *hama*, ac *lic* quidem ex supradictis intelligimus non modo pro ‘carne,’ verum etiam pro ‘corpore vivo mortuove’ usurpari;²⁴ prorsus ut Graeci, Hesychio teste, κρέας καὶ τὸ σῶμα ἔλεγον.²⁵ Neque aliunde commodius videtur peti posse vox *lic*, quatenus ‘corpus,’ praecipue tamen ‘corpus humanum’ significat, quam a *lic*, ‘similis,’ quandoquidem paganis paullo cordatioribus non animus tantum visus est divinum aliquid in se continere,

f *lickteycken*: *Ms Jun. 42 likteyken* | **g** *𐌺𐌺* ... *Marc. 15.45*: *Ms Jun. 42 Matth. 6.25* et *Marc. 15.45* | *𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹*: [– *𐌲𐌺𐌹*] *𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹* | *°*: [f.143v] | carne ... *Luc. 3.6*: *Ms Jun. 42 carne*, *Luc. 3.6* | cadaver ... baptistae: *Ms Jun. 42 cadaver*, *Marc. 6.29*

²¹ Ole Worm, *Specimen lexici Runic* ... (Copenhagen, 1650), **164c**.

²² In Worm, *Specimen lexici Runic* (1650, s.v. 𐌲𐌺𐌺𐌹𐌺), 𐌲𐌺𐌺𐌹𐌺 was translated as “funus” [funeral], 𐌲𐌺𐌹 𐌶𐌹𐌺𐌹 as “signum, quod aliquis a ludo reportat, ut vulneratio et livor” [a mark which someone carries back from a game, such as an injury or a bruise], and an illustration was added, “Gretl: *Hafe þier langt til sökt og munu nokrer fa leiks mark adur ver skilium*, ‘Huc elonginquo venistis, et procul dubio signa ludi reportabitis, antequam hinc discesseritis’” [you have come here from far, and without doubt you will carry back marks of the game, before you leave from here].

²³ In *Gothicum glossarium* (1665, s.v. 𐌱𐌺), **209b**, Junius gave examples in various languages and referred to his annotations to Tatian 28.2, which he quoted here.

- f “To the Cimbrians *lykid* is ‘dead body, corpse,’ as we learn from the *Runic Lexicon* under *niuirke*, ‘recently made.’ I actually even suppose that to these Cimbrians *leik* meant ‘body’ or ‘flesh,’ since indeed to them *leiks mark* is ‘wound, bruise, livid spot,’ which seems to correspond exactly (whatever different origin is assigned to the word by the *Runic Lexicon*) with Franconian *lihzeichan* and Dutch *lickteycken*.”
- g “To the Goths *leik* is ‘body,’ for thus the *Codex argenteus* interprets the word, *niu saiwala mais ist fodeinai jah leik wastjom*, ‘is not life more than food, and the body more than clothing?’ Matthew 6.25; *fragaf þata leik Iosefa*, ‘he granted the body to Joseph,’ Mark 15.45; *leikis siunai*, ‘in bodily form,’ Luke 3.22. It is also put for ‘flesh,’ *jah gasa-ihwip all leike nasein gþs*, ‘and all flesh shall see the salvation of God,’ Luke 3.6. Finally, it means ‘corpse,’ *siponjos is qemun jah usnemun leik is*, ‘his disciples came and took his body,’ Mark 6.29, where the Evangelist speaks of John the Baptist’s body.”
- h “This being said first now, I will refrain from repeating what Kiliaan had annotated on the origin of the word from Lud. Vives and Hadr. Junius, since it is abundantly clear that the word *lichama* is formed of *lic* and *hama*, and from the above we understand that *lic*, indeed, is not only used for ‘flesh,’ but also for ‘a body, dead or alive,’ just as the Greeks, witness Hesychius, ‘spoke of “flesh” and “the body”.’ Then, it seems that the word *lic*, to the extent that it means ‘body,’ yet especially ‘human body,’ cannot be sought more properly from anything else than from *lic*, ‘similar,’ since indeed to the somewhat wiser pagans not only the soul seemed to contain something divine in itself—therefore it is called ‘the particles of divine

²⁴ Cornelis Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae* (1599), 189e. Kiliaan (1599, s.v.), “LICHAEEM ‘corpus.’ Germani quidam superiores perfectius *leychnam* dicunt, a *leych*, quod nos vocamus *lijck*, id est, ‘cadaver, funus;’ qua etiam ratione Graecis σῶμα, velut σήμα, quasi animae sepulchrum, dicitur. Adrian. Iunius, Lud. Vives, ex Platone” [LICHAEEM ‘body.’ Some high Germans say more fully *leychnam*, from *leych*, which we call *lijck*, that is, ‘corpse, dead body;’ and with the same reasoning it is called σῶμα (body) with the Greeks, as if σήμα (grave mark), as if the soul’s grave. Hadr. Junius, Lud. Vives, from Plato]. Hadrianus Junius, *Nomenclator, omnium rerum propria nomina septem diversis linguis explicata indicans; multo quam antea emendatior ac locupletior* . . . (Frankfurt, 1596 [first published 1567], s.v. CORPUS), “σῶμα, δέμας, quasi vinculum animae quo alligetur, ὡς δεσμὸς σῶματος velut σήμα, quasi animae sepulchrum” [*body, bodily frame*, as if the fetter of the soul by which it is bound, *like the bond of the body* just as *grave*, as if the grave of the soul]. Reference in the work of the Spanish scholar Ludovicus Vives (1492–1540) is unidentified.

²⁵ Hesychius, *Hesychii dictionarium* (1521), of which Junius’ annotated copy is UBL, 759 B 3, 94a. Junius made no annotations at κρέας or σῶμα in this copy.

eoque ‘divinae particula aurae’ dictus est Horatio libro 2, *satyra* 2,²⁶ sed in ipso quoque humano corpore, vel toto potius homine, agnoverunt °aliquam °similitudinem Dei, vel (quem Deum, et quidem animatum putabant) ipsius mundi, atque adeo, homo hac ipsa de causa dictus est iis ‘μικρόκοσμος,’ vide Galenum libro 3 De Usu partium corporis humani; Iul. Firmicum in Praefatione libri 3 *Matheseos*.²⁷ Manilius 4 *Astronomica*, ‘quid mirum, noscere mundum / si possunt homines, quibus est et mundus in ipsis, / exemplumque Dei quisque est in imagine parva?’²⁸

i “Ita *lic* proprie significabit °mirabilem illam divinae structurae similitudinem in toto homine elucentem; *hama* vero exprimet illud hominis velamentum, quod venerandam hanc divinae imaginis speciem obtegit atque includit, °| fortasse ab *ham*, ‘domus, mansio, °receptaculum,’ de quo egimus ad huius nostrae *Harmoniae caput* 12, *paragrapham* 2.²⁹ Occurrunt interim et alibi plura quae *hama* istud per compositiones habent annexum, eoque non parum hanc derivationem vocis *lichama* °illustrare nata sunt. Referuntur enim et alibi inter partes humani corporis plura quae *hama* istud per compositionem habent annexum, °videlicet *ƿeaph hama*, ‘cauliculus,’ glossario R, 76;³⁰ *ƿip-mannæƿ innod* vel *ciobhama*, ‘matrix, uterus,’ *ciobhama*, ‘folliculus,’ glossario R, 74; *ƿið* vel *ciobhama*, ‘matrix,’ glossario R, 76; *heoƿte*, ‘cor,’ *heoƿthama*, ‘bucleamen,’ glossario R, 75.³¹ ‘Si quis praecordia, id est *herthamon* gladio tetigerit, 18 solidis componat,’ *Lex Frisionum*, *titulo*

h aliquam similitudinem: *Ms Jun. 42* similitudinem aliquam | similitudinem: [- Dei] similitudinem | **i** mirabilem: *Ms Jun. 42* - | °|: [f.144r] | receptaculum. . . paragr. 2: *Ms Jun. 42* \receptaculum/ quod fuit 12.2 | illustrare nata sunt: *Ms Jun. 42* illustant | videlicet: [- *eoque non par*] videlicet | videlicet: *Ms Jun. 42* -

²⁶ Horace, *Satyrarum libri* 2.2.79.

²⁷ The topos that man was a microcosm formed the second sentence in Junius’ *De pictura* (1637), **93a**, translated as, “Man, whom many ancient Authors call the little world, is not made after the image of God to resemble the wild beasts in following of their lusts, but that the memory of his originall should lift up his noble soul to the love of a vertuous desire of glory,” *Painting* (1638, 1.1), **116b**. Claudius Galenus of Pergamum (129–?199/216), *De usu partium corporis humani* 3.10.241, which explains that living beings are οἷον μικρόν τινα κόσμον [like a small world]. Julius Firmicus Maternus of Syracuse (fl. 330), *Matheseos libri VII*, 3. pref. 2–4, which describes how man is a smaller image and likeness of the world, in that he likewise is made of the four elements. No copies of Junius found. Kiliaan (1599), “LIJCK scilicet *ghelijck* ‘similis, instar.’ Germanis *gleych*, Anglis *like*” [LIJCK, that is, *ghelijck* ‘similar, alike.’ With the Germans *gleych*, with the English *like*]. Cf. *Literature* 1.11, *OCD* (1996:62–22, 598).

air' in Horace book 2, satire 2—but they also recognized a likeness to God, or to the world itself (which they considered as God and indeed as animated), in the human body itself, or rather in the entire human being. For this very reason they even called man μικρόκοσμος, see Galen, *On the Use of the Parts of the Human Body*, book 3, and Julius Firmicus in the Preface to *Matheseis*, book 3. Manilius, *Astronomicon* 4, 'What surprise, if it is possible for the world to be known by humans, who also have a world in themselves, and each one is a copy of God in a small image?'"

- i "Thus, *lic* will properly mean that wonderful likeness to the divine structure which is apparent in the entire human being; yet *hama* will represent man's shroud, which covers and encloses that venerable form of the divine image, perhaps from *ham*, 'house, dwelling, retreat,' which we have discussed in our *Harmony*, chapter 12, section 2. However, also elsewhere many words occur which have this *hama* added by compounding, and which are consequently exceedingly designed to illustrate this derivation of the word *lichama*. Since also elsewhere among the parts of the human body, many words which have this *hama* as addition through compounding are mentioned, namely *fearh hama*, 'stalk,' glossary R, 76; *wipmannæs innoð* or *cildhama*, 'matrix, womb,' *cildhama*, 'bladder/ scrotum,' glossary R, 74; *cwið* or *cildhama*, 'matrix,' glossary R, 76; *heorta*, 'heart,' *heorthama*, 'midriff,' glossary R, 75. 'If anyone has hit the midriff, that is *herthamon*, with a sword, he must compensate it with eighteen *solidi*,' *Law of Frisians*, title 22, § 48, which place Fred. Lindenbrog considered suspect too rashly, whereas the most noble Spelman does not disagree, so it seems. Some words which gain light from this also occur diffusely in Cædmon's poetic paraphrase, *þæt he mid fæðerhoman. fleogan meachte* [so that he could fly with wings], Cædmon 11.1; *geseo ic him his*

²⁸ Marcus Manilius, *Astronomicon libri V*, 4.893–95, 59h. Neither Junius the Elder nor Joseph Justus Scaliger discussed these lines in their commentaries to Manilius. No copy of Junius found.

²⁹ Junius' annotations to Tatian at *heim*, 12.2, not seen; Palthen (1706:322–23), who based himself on Junius' annotations in Ms Jun. 13, 195a, referred to Junius' *Observationes* (1655:158, 124), to William Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico* (1659) and to Kiliaan's *Etymologicum Teutonicæ linguæ* (1599).

³⁰ *Cauliculus*, "stalk, shoot, leaflet," but perhaps rather a diminutive of *caulis*, "penis." Cf. Latham (1975, s.v. CAULICULUS).

³¹ *Bucleamen*, "midriff," cf. Latham (1975, s.v.), whose only attestation is from Ælfric's glosses.

22, § 48, quem locum temere nimis °Fred. Lindenbrogius habuit suspectum, non dissentiente, ut videtur, nobilissimo Spelmanno.³² Quaedam quoque quae lucem hinc trahant, sparsim °occurrunt in Cædmonis paraphrasi poetica,³³ þæt he mið fæðerhoman. fleogan meahte, Cædmon 11.1;³⁴ ȝeƿeo ic him hiȝ englaȝ °ymbhpeorƿan mið fæðerhaman, 17.2; pulbor cýningeȝ yða. ƿræcon apleaȝra feorh. oȝ flærchoman, 32.5; þa oȝ roberum ƿæȝ. engel ælbeorht. uȝan onȝendeo. ƿlite ȝcýne ƿeȝ. on hiȝ pulbor haman. ȝe him cƿom to ƿroȝƿe. 7 to feorh nepe. mið luȝan 7 mið liȝfe, 82.14.”

^{202/0} 204 [60 08 00] JUNIUS [THE HAGUE] TO JOHANN CLAUBERG (DUISBURG)¹

A Clarissimo atque admodum reverendo viro Iohanni Claubergio, *sanctissimae* Theologiae Doctori et Professori. *Duisborg an de Roer*. Port.

a °| Clarissime vir,
Simulac Professor Rahmakerus, traditis tuis ad me literis atque obiter tantum lustratis *veteribus* quibusdam monumentis, Duisburgum remigraverat, nolui committere ut ulla usquam esset in me mora quin statim desiderio tuo satisfacerem atque ad praecipua epistolae tuae quaesita pro viribus responderem.² Potissimum tamen animum

¹ Fred: *Ms Jun. 42* Frid | occurunt: [- in] occurunt | occurunt . . . poetica: *Ms Jun. 42* habet Cædmon | ymbhpeorƿan: *Ms Jun. 42* ymbepeorƿan; *likewise in* Cædmonis paraphrasis

204a °|: [f.146r] (*Owing to the special arrangement of folio numbers for 203 and 204, page breaks appear as °| in the commentary, with corresponding folio number*)

³² To Junius and fellow humanists, Frisian—and especially Old Frisian—was an almost uncorrupted language still showing its close affinity to Old English, the supposed ancestor of Dutch and Frisian, **189c^a**, **196c^a**. When he had received *Druk*, or *Freeska Landriucht* (c.1485), in 1657, Junius could form his own judgement on the quality of the texts, **196a**. Junius may have taken the reference to Friedrich Lindenbrog, *Codex legum antiquarum* (1613), from his copy of Henry Spelman, *Archaeologus* (1626), **189c**. Spelman (1626:350), “*Herthamon legibus Frisionum titulo 22.28*, ‘Si praecordia, id est, *herthamon* gladio tetigerit.’ Vera (inquit Lindenbrogius) videtur lectio, ‘Praecordia, id est, *hartawond* gladio tetigerit.’ Germanis *herte*, ‘cor,’ *wund*, ‘vulnus’” [*Herthamon in Lex Frisionum*, title 22.28, ‘If the midriff, that is *herthamon*, has (been) struck by a sword.’ The genuine reading (Lindenbrog says) seems to be, ‘Pae-

englas ymbhweorfan mid fēðerhaman [I see his angels surround him on wings], 17.2; *wuldor cyninges yða. wræcon arleasra feorh. of flæschoman* [the King of glory's waves expelled the life of the wicked from the carcasses], 32.5; *þa of roderum wæs. engel ælbeorht. ufan onsended. wlite scyne wer. on his wuldor haman. se him cwom to frofre. 7 to feorh nere. mid lufan 7 mid lisse* [then an all-bright angel was sent from above from heaven, a man of beautiful brightness in his garb of glory. He came to him as comfort and as a refuge for life with love and with joy], 82.14.”

204 [60 08 00] JUNIUS [THE HAGUE] TO JOHANN CLAUBERG (DUISBURG)

A To the widely renowned and most reverend Mr. Johann Clauberg, doctor and professor of holy theology. Duisburg on the Roer. Postage.

a Widely renowned sir,

As soon as professor Rhamacker had returned to Duisburg, after he had delivered your letter to me and had only barely examined some ancient documents, I did not want to give cause that there would ever be any delay on my part in fulfilling your wish immediately and responding to the principal questions of your letter to the best of my ability. Yet I paid special attention to the doubts raised in the final passage of your letter, and I had already conveniently replied

cordia . . . tetigerit. With the Germans *herte*, ‘heart,’ *wund*, ‘wound’]. Junius did not make notes in Spelman here. Cf. Bremmer (1989).

³³ The Old English biblical poetry in Ms Jun. 11, which Junius attributed to Cædmon and had published as *Cædmonis paraphrasis* (1655), 183a.

³⁴ Junius’ references for this line and the following lines are to page and line numbers in his *Cædmonis paraphrasis*. They are “Genesis,” l.417, ll. 669–70a, ll. 1384b–1386a—the division into half lines is nowadays believed to be different from Junius’—and “Daniel,” ll. 335b–39a, respectively. Cf. Krapp (1931).

¹ *o*: UBL, BPL 293b, ff. 146–57; address on separate unfoliated envelope. Reply to two unretrieved letters, of one of which letter 202 is probably an excerpt, a. Undated, but a continuation of letter 203, cf. a, so presumably dating from immediately after it.

² Clauberg’s letter to Junius is unretrieved, but it may be the one from which letter 202 is an excerpt. Junius’ initial reply is letter 203. He continued his answer in the present letter upon receipt of another letter from Clauberg, cf. this section. Hermann Rhamacker, professor of law at Duisburg from 1653, secretary of the Senate and in 1656 rector of the university. No details were found on what brought Rhamacker to Holland. Cf. Hesse (1879:19), Rotscheidt (1938:317).

intendi ad dubia ultimo scripti tui loco mota, et commodum iam responderam ad primum quod quaeris (unde nimirum Teutonicum *lichaem* derivatum putem), cum ecce triduo post discessum *Domini Rahmakeri* advolat mercator Duisburgensis cum tuis ad me secundis; sed is quoque responsum flagitans intra sesquihoram abitionem parabat.³ Huic igitur, ne vacuus ad te rediret, tradidi quae iam ex meis in Tatianum Annotatis descripseram.⁴

b °Proximum est ut ad quaesitum secundum nonnihil de vocibus *demoed* atque *oodmoed* respondeam.⁵ Atque hic denuo praemonendum, me quinque glossaria Theotisca hactenus inedita ex pervetustis membranis ad praelum descripsisse, distincta literis A, B, C, D, E, quo facilius aliquid ex iis citaturo inserviant.⁶ Addidi epistolam 7 Ruodeperti magistri *Sancti Galli*, nec non Hrabani Mauri glossas de partibus humani corporis, Keronis quoque monachi glossas in Regulam *Sancti Benedicti*, quae tria iam olim publici iuris fecit Goldastus tomo 2 rerum Alamannicarum.⁷ Adieci denique glossariolum quod ex antiquo psalterio Theotisco °olim excerpserat Lipsius.⁸ Notis etiam haec, quae recensui, glossaria illustravi; atque inde, quae sequuntur descripsi.

c °| Pagina 34 glossarii B *deolicho* exponitur “obnixae, humiliter, submisae,” ubi nos ad illustrationem loci addimus,⁹ “*piduungun, thiomot*, ‘obnixus,’ glossario C, 9; *diegender*, ‘supplex,’ glossario D, 32; *theomuati, deoheit*, ‘humilitas,’ *theomuatlho, deolihho*, ‘humiliter,’ *dionuate*, ‘humiles,’ *deomuatlhha pigiht*, ‘humilis confessio,’ *deolichas kipete*, ‘supplicatio,’ *kedeomuati pim*, ‘humiliatus sum,’ *kedeomoter*, ‘humiliatus,’ Kero; *taz in nioman ze rehte ne liez, taz uuart ze leibe umbe sina deumuoti*, ‘in humilitate iudi-

b Proximum: [- *Superest*] Proximum | olim: [- *quo*] olim | **c** °|: [f.146v]

³ This letter from Clauberg is unretrieved, but it may be the one from which letter **202** is an excerpt, cf. this section. Duisburg merchant unidentified.

⁴ Letter **203**. Junius’ annotations to the Old High German version of Tatian’s *Diatessaron*, **203b–c**, **195a**.

⁵ Clauberg must have wondered about the etymology of these words in his unretrieved letter. He did not treat any of the words discussed in his *Ars etymologica Teutonum* (1663), **x**. Dutch *demoed* and *ootmoed* both mean “humility.” In what follows, the (in)correctness of Junius’ etymologies has not been discussed, **203c**.

⁶ Junius’ glossaries ‘A’ to ‘D’ in Mss Jun. 116a–c, **187a**, and the Old High German glossary Junius copied and distinguished as ‘E’ in Ms Jun. 116d, ff. 5–36. Cf. *SCW* no. 5228***, Dekker (unpubl. ms).

⁷ The Old High German glossaries by Ruodpert, Hrabanus Maurus and Kero in Melchior Goldast, *Alamannicarum rerum* (1606), distinguished by Junius as ‘G,’ ‘M,’ and “Kero,” **187a**.

to the first one you expressed (that is, from where I think that Teutonic *lichaem* is derived), when look, three days after Mr. Rhacker's departure, a Duisburg merchant came rushing with your second letter to me, but he also requested an answer within an hour and a half, meanwhile making ready for departure. Consequently, so that he would not return to you empty-handed, I gave him what I had already transcribed from my notes on Tatian.

- b Follows that I reply something to the second question on the words *demoed* and *oodmoed*. Here I must advise you again that I have transcribed five as yet unpublished Theotiscan glossaries from very old parchments for the press, distinguished by the letters A, B, C, D, E, so that they are of better service to anyone quoting something from them. I have added Letter 7 of Master Ruodpert of St. Gall, and also Hrabanus Maurus' glosses on the parts of the human body, as well as the monk Kero's glosses on the *Benedictine Rule*, which three have already formerly been published by Goldast in volume 2 of *Alamannic Matters*. I finally added a small glossary which Lipsius had formerly selected from an ancient Theotiscan psalter. I have provided these glossaries I examined with annotations too, and from there I have transcribed the following.
- c On page 34 of glossary B, *deolicho* is explained as "resolutely, humbly, submissively," where we added in illustration of the place, "*piduungun*, *thiomot*, 'resolute,' glossary C, 9; *diegender*, 'humble,' glossary D, 32; *theomuati*, *deoheit*, 'humility,' *theomuatlího*, *deolihho*, 'humbly,' *diomuuate*, 'humble ones,' *deomuatlíhha pigíht*, 'humble confession,' *deolichas kipete*, 'supplication,' *kedeomuait pim*, 'I am humbled,' *kedeomoter*, 'humbled,' Kero; *taz in nioman ze rehte ne liez*, *taz uwart ze leibe umbe sina deumuoti*, 'his judgement was endured in humility,' Ruodpert, Letter

⁸ The Old Dutch (Old Low Franconian)-Latin glossary extracted by the classical philologist Justus Lipsius (1547-1606) from the *Wachtendonk Psalter*, now lost. It was annotated by William Somner and published in Meric Casaubon, *De quatuor linguis* (1650), 190b. Junius distinguished the glosses as 'L,' made numerous notes in his copy of Casaubon, and made a transcription with sumptuous annotations as "Glossae veteres alamannicae ex perantiqua psalmorum versione Theotisca collectae a Iusto Lipsio" in Ms Jun. 116f. As Dekker (1999:180) observed, Junius did not recognize the glosses as a form of Old Dutch. Cf. Dekker (1999:50-51, 180; unpubl. ms), *SCW* no. 5227*. On the important *Wachtendonk Psalter* glosses, cf. Quak (1973), de Grauwe (1979-82).

⁹ Junius presumably quoted "*piduungun* . . . Hymno 10.3" from "glossary B," which has not been compared with this passage, so that the extent of the quotation is an assumption.

cium eius sublatum est,' Ruodepertus *Epistola* 7; *dilicho*, 'humiliter,' *Otfridi* 1.16.19;¹⁰ *deodraste*, 'humiles,' *Hymno* 6.6;¹¹ *deodraste*, 'subditi,' *Hymno* 10.3." *Dispice* interim an non *deohheit*, *deomuat*, etc. traxerint aliquid ex δέομαι, "rogo, precor, supplico." Nisi putes rectius deduci a *deoh*, "femur," ut *deohheit* proprie sit "humilitas se ad eam femoris partem, quae prope genua, demittens."

d Pluribus quandoque, ut vides, exemplis insisto, non quod tantopere semper de adstruenda °vocalulorum significatione laborem, sed quoniam in exemplorum copia et orthographiae diversitate multiplicem affinium literarum inter se commutationem attento lectori °exhiberi, numerorum quoque et casuum rationem in nominibus, modorum ac temporum analogiam in verbis hac exemplorum coacervatione manifestissime demonstrari posse iudicem.¹² Nunquam etenim sensi veram patriae linguae analogiam ex uno aliquo saeculi nostri idiomate, quantumvis nobili, posse hauriri, sed multo labore extundendam arbitror ex consensu genuinae antiquitatis in Gothica, Cimbrica, Anglo-Saxonica, Francicaque dialecto elucentis.¹³ Fungor itaque indicis

d vocalulorum: [- sɪ] vocalulorum | exhiberi: exhiber[e > i]

¹⁰ Otfrid of Weissenburg's Old High German *Evangelienbuch*, 203d.

¹¹ The Old High German *Murbach Hymnal*, 187a.

¹² Junius was evidently well aware of sound changes and the nominal and verbal systems of the languages he examined, but an exhaustive description of either would have been beside the point for his etymologies. Instead, for the retrieval of the original meaning of a word by examining the earliest attestations of words that seemed to be its precursors, 203d, he compared the words in question in order to determine their *essentia* and *accidentia* in accordance with such grammatical theory as propagated by Vossius in *Aristarchus* (1635), 86f, although he did not make this explicit. As Padley (1976:123–25) has indicated, Vossius distinguished *essentia* and *accidentia* for the parts of speech, the former of which was associated with signification and the latter with *analogia*, the formal criteria governing the grammatical classes and paradigms. Thus, "since the definition is regarded as conveying the *essentia* of a given part of speech, it is plain that formal differences are not regarded as essential," Padley (1976:124). The principle of analogy was helpful in the search for original meanings to the extent that it allowed one to recognize cases and distinguish inflected endings from the stems which conveyed the *essentia*. For the etymologization of words in Germanic languages, it presumably sufficed for Junius to compare word forms and endings with his mental paradigms of Latin and Greek, of which he had a near-native command. Cf. Dekker (1999:219–21).

¹³ The concept of analogy Junius presumably derived from Vossius' *Aristarchus* (1635), in which it had been developed from the classical linguist Marcus Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.), *De lingua Latina*. According to Vossius, "analogia vocalulorum discrimina exponat" [analogy explains the distinctions between words], *Aristarchus* 3.1, quoted after Dekker (1999:220). Dekker has explained this as, "analogy for Vossius constituted the principles by which words, or any language phenomena,

7; *dilicho*, ‘humbly,’ Otfrid 1.16.19; *deodraste*, ‘humble ones,’ Hymn 6.6; *deodraste*, ‘subjects,’ Hymn 10.3.” Consider, however, whether *deohheit*, *deomuot*, etc. have not derived anything from δέομαι, “I ask, beg, beseech,” unless you think that they are derived more correctly from *deoh*, “thigh,” so that *deohheit* properly is “humility which bows down to that part of the thigh which is close to the knees.”

d As you see, I dwell on many examples whenever possible, not just because I always take pains to furnish the meaning of words, but because I believe that the manifold mutual interchange of position of adjacent letters can be presented to the attentive reader by an abundance of examples and diversity of orthography, and that the system of numbers and cases in nouns and the analogy of moods and tenses in verbs can also be demonstrated most clearly by this accumulation of examples. I have never noticed that a genuine analogy of the vernacular can be derived from any modern dialect, however lofty it may be, but I believe that with great effort it must be extorted from the concord of the genuine antiquity which is manifest in the Gothic, Cimbric, Anglo-Saxon and Franconian dialects. I accordingly perform the duties of index finger and point my finger, as it were, to firm and prominent examples of primeval antiquity. I track, lay open and bring out traces of a vanishing and still almost

could be formed into classes” and indicated that Vossius “reconstructed the true forms of words and relations between classes with analogy” (1999:221). Junius’ interest in analogy is also revealed by his underlining and cross-references in Casaubon, *De quatuor linguis* (1650:164), “analogiam voco quicquid in verborum formatione, vel literarum permutatione, ratione aliqua, in natura vel consuetudine fundata, nititur. Hoc omnibus linguis commune est, ut in verbis aliae sint literae radicales, aliae accidentales et ascititiae; ut terminationes, sive breviores, sive longiores, non sint de essentia verborum; ut literae eiusdem aut affinis potestatis facillime permutantur inter se, nullae autem tam dissimiles sint et alienae, quarum vel euphoniae causa, vel aliunde, permutarum exempla non reperiantur” [I call analogy whatever in the formation of words and the permutation of letters rests upon a relationship based in nature or usage. All languages have in common that some letters in words are root letters and others accidental and adopted ones; that endings, whether longer or shorter ones, are not about the *essentia* of words; that letters of the same or related quality very easily interchange with each other, but that none are so dissimilar and strange, either owing to their euphony or otherwise, that examples of their permutations are not found]; for the translation of terminology, cf. Taylor (1974:116–20). Notwithstanding his awareness of the uses of analogy and his remark in the present section, Junius did not focus on bringing out the analogy of Dutch or any of the Germanic languages in his studies, concentrating on searching for the “original,” or “true,” signification of words instead of their true forms, 203d. His reliance on the oldest documents in order to do so was founded on the conviction that early medieval manuscripts contained pristine language forms and were

partibus et digitum ad solida atque °expressa primaevae antiquitatis specimina veluti intendo. Vestigia quaedam °| fugientis ac tantum non prorsus adhuc oblitteratae confusaeque antiquitatis indago, patefacio, profero, ut pertenui quodam inquisitionis introitu patefacto, habeant aliquid istiusmodi subsidiis destituti, unde linguam omnium praeconiis maiorem ad commendatissimam simplicitatis pristinae gratiam reducant, abdicata penitusque explosa inani maculosaque isthac eloquentia quae linguae, naturali °quondam pulchritudine spectatissimae, maiestatis suae pondus quotidie detrahit, dum praepostere ambitiosi adolescentes, ab exteris oris in patriam reduces, facundiae minime vulgaris famam apud agrestes °hispidasque plebeiorum aures captant ex insolenti strepitu ac tumore vocabulorum e linguis notho- latinis conquisitorum, quibus ego inculcatum velim illud A. Gellii °7.14, “unum quodque genus, cum caste pudiceque ornatur, fit illustrius; cum fucatur atque praelinitur, fit praestigiosum.”¹⁴ Sed quin ego nunc redeo unde deflexi.

- e Mirabitur quidem Vir clarissimus unde illud *de* in *demoed*, sed compositionem idem significantis vocabuli *oodmoed* notissimam putabat. Ac licet huius assertionis tuae rationem optime tibi constare putem, duplicem tamen de hac voce coniecturam nostram ex annotatis in Tatianum et glossarium D libens exhibebo, quo magis deprehendat

d expressa: [- *pr*] expressa | °|: [f.147r] | quondam: [- *sua pulchritudine specta*] quondam | hispidasque: [- *plebeiasque*] hispidasque | 7.14: \7.14/

witnesses of the least corrupted stage of the language, e, x, 177a. Clauberg, on the contrary, sought etymologies of German on the basis of words in contemporary German, x, 202a. The list of languages is in what Junius believed was their chronological order, 169d. Cf. Dekker (1999:220–21), Taylor (1974:52–53, 100–01, 116), Rademaker (1981:294).

¹⁴ Junius shows himself to be driven by chauvinistic sentiments in regarding his mother tongue as a “language greater than anyone’s appraisals,” which derived from an original natural grace. He supported the claim to the supposed primacy of Dutch over other languages in 211a by asserting that foreign scholars had considered it thus, and in z by referring to Konrad Gesner’s observation that the oldest documents found even in Switzerland seemed to be in Dutch. For Junius’ exposition of the onetime splendour of Dutch, cf. 211a. The ideological aim of his studies thus appears to have been to assist in elevating his mother tongue both by recovering a distinguished ancestry for it and by finding ancient native vocabulary with which to replace recent loanwords, 189c, e, 211a. The “bastard Latin languages” from which such loanwords were taken were the Romance languages, especially French, since they had developed from medieval Latin, a corrupted form of Latin, as Junius explained in 205d. His denouncement of the trendy use of French

completely forgotten and disordered antiquity, so that after a very slight entrance for examination has been laid open, those who lack such assistance will have something with which to bring back a language greater than anyone's appraisals to the most distinguished grace of pristine simplicity, when they have renounced and thoroughly rejected this empty and defiled eloquence which is daily drawing down the weight of the majesty of a language once most splendid by natural beauty, because, returned to their fatherland from abroad, ambitious youths are preposterously striving for a reputation for exceptional fluency among the peasants and the rough ears of the common people by unashamed rattling and bombast of words adapted from bastard Latin languages. On them I would wish this saying by A. Gellius, 7.14, to be pressed, "Each genre becomes illustrious when it is adorned in virtuous and modest manner; it becomes delusive when it is embellished too much and plastered over." But let me return now to where I turned aside.

- e The widely renowned sir will indeed wonder from where comes this *de* in *demoed*, but he considered the formation of the meaning of the word *oodmoed* well known. Yet, although I suppose that the reasoning of your assertion is most established to you, I will nevertheless present our two conjectures from the annotations on Tatian and glossary D with pleasure, so that your serenity better understand that whenever possible I take the opportunity for many etymologies from the orthography supported by the authority of old codices. In glossary D, page 4, for sure, "stork" translates *odebore*, where I have

in Dutch speech by young Dutchmen was a call for language purification and followed the concern of contemporary writers—some of whom were in his circle—who not only wrote in their mother tongue and discussed its status, but also ridiculed such affected use of French in their literature, **189c**. Another instance of Junius' opinion of the prominence of French in Dutch is his disgust at the 1642 re-edition of Kiliaan's *Etymologicum* because of its inclusion of French in favour of dialectal and etymological information, **189e**. Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 7.14; Junius' annotated copy of *Noctes Atticae* (Rome, 1472), a miscellany in twenty books on grammatical, lexical, and etymological topics and philosophy, is now UBL, 1368 B 6 (from Isaac Vossius' collection). With the quotation Junius indicated that in order for a language to be distinguished and of high standard, it should properly moderate embellishment, just as an affected, overdone imitation of the *ornatus* style, called *κακόζηλον* [badly imitated], should be avoided by leaving out neologisms, far-fetched metaphors and hyperbola in classical rhetoric, **8b**, **33b**. One of the errors against pure Latin style, for instance, was the use of barbarisms, **189c^a**. Cf. **189c-d**, van der Wal (1994:230–31), van Romburgh (2001:13–15), van den Branden (1956), Dekker (1999:194–98), Bremmer (1998b:232), *OCD* (1996:627–28), Lausberg 1.1073, 476–95.

Vestra Claritas me plurimarum quandoque originationum occasionem desumere ex °orthographia veterum codicorum autoritate suffulta.¹⁵ Glossarium certe D pagina 4 “ciconia” exponitur *odebore*, ubi ego annoto,¹⁶ “ita patribus nostris nuncupata est ‘ciconia’ quasi *odefore vel odeuare*, quod a nobis hyeme discedens atque exulans petat loca inculta atque deserta; nam *ode* olim dicebantur ‘tesqua, loca inculta multumque impedita.’¹⁷ Vetustioribus quoque Cimbris ꝥꝥꝥ dicebatur ‘solitudo, eremus, locus inuius et per longos difficilesque calles adeundus.’¹⁸ Huc etiam refer illud °| *einoti vel einode*, ‘vastitas, solitudo,’ glossario C, 20.” Atque *einode* istud quidam putaverunt desumptum ex ἀνοδία, “locus avius atque inuius,” rectius tamen divisim legas *ein ode*, °petitumque dicas *ode* istud ex ὀωθεις, “desolatus.”¹⁹ Quod vero vox *ode* ad animum quoque transferri soleat, discimus ex *oodelik*, quod Belgis non modo “vacuum atque inanem,” verum etiam “malum pravumque” denotat;²⁰ unde et Hollandis receptissimo vocabulo °oolik (quod ex *oodelik* vel *oyelik* contractum est) dicitur “homo nihili atque apud omnes pro despectissimo habitus;” propterea quod nullam curam animi suae culturae impendat, sed patiat eum sordescere atque irae, odio, invidiae, aliisque pravis cupidinibus subiacere. Notum est illud Arbitri, “incultis asperisque regionibus diutius nives haerent; ast ubi ea aratro domefacta tellus nitet, dum loqueris, levis pruina dilabatur. Similiter in pectoribus ira considit; feras quidem mentes obsidet, eruditae praelabatur.”²¹ Huc etiam referri potest *oodmoed*, “animus humilis ac demissus,” item ipsa “demissi animi humilitas,” ut sit ab °ode, “inanis, vacuus,” denotetque “animum nihil sibimet ipsi tribuentem, sed permodeste de se suisque dotibus sentientem.”²² Originem itaque Teutonici

e orthographia: [- *extra*] orthographia | °|: [f.147v] | petitumque: [- *referesque*] petitumque | oolik: \oolik/ | ode: [- ood] ode

¹⁵ On Junius’ reliance on evidence from ancient manuscripts, cf. **d, x**.

¹⁶ Junius presumably quoted “ita patribus . . . glossario C, 20” from “glossary D,” which has not been compared with this passage, so that the extent of the quotation is an assumption. It probably ended before the proposition that *einode* should be read *ein ode*, cf. below.

¹⁷ Cf. Cornelis Kiliaan, *Etymologicum Teutonicae linguae* (1599, s.v.), **189e**, “OODE, Germanice Saxoniceque ‘tesqua, loca inculta’ et ‘eremus, desertum’” [OODE, German and Saxon, “wastes, uncultivated places” and “waste, desert”].

¹⁸ Ole Worm, *Specimen lexici Runici* (1650), “ꝥꝥꝥ, ‘isthmus, eremus’” [a strip of land between two seas, wilderness].

¹⁹ The proposition that *einode* should be read *ein ode* is presumably a suggestion

noted down, "thus a stork is called *odefore* or *odeuare*, as it were, by our ancestors, because it leaves us in winter as an exile and seeks uncultivated and solitary places, for *ode* was formerly used for 'wastes, uncultivated places which are very difficult of passage.' *eide* was also called 'wilderness, waste, an impassable place which must be reached by long and difficult tracks' by the earlier Cimbrians. Also refer this *einoti* or *einode*, 'waste, wilderness,' glossary C, 20, to this." Then, this *einode* some have believed to be adopted from ἄνοδία, "an untrodden and impassable place," but you read it more correctly separately as *ein ode*, and say that this *ode* is obtained from ὀιωθεῖς, "forsaken." That the word *ode*, however, also uses to be transferred to disposition we learn from *oodelik*, which means not only "void and empty" to the Dutch, but also "evil and depraved;" hence the people in Holland also refer to a good-for-nothing whom everybody holds for most contemptible by the very common word *oolik* (which is contracted from *oodelik* or *oyelik*), because he pays no attention to his cultivation of the heart, but allows it to become filthy and subject to anger, hatred, envy and other vicious desires. This passage by Arbiter is well-known, "snow sticks longer to uncultivated and rough areas; but where the earth thrives subdued by the plough, light frost will melt away while you are talking. Likewise, anger settles down in the heart; it will indeed abide in rude minds, glide past learned ones." *Oodmoed* as "a humble and dispirited heart," as well as "the humility of a dispirited heart" itself can also be referred to this, so that it is from *ode*, "void and empty," and denotes "a heart which bestows nothing upon itself, but which thinks very modestly about itself and its gifts." Thus, when investigating the origin of Teutonic

from Clauberg, who based himself on contemporary German for his explanations, **x, 202a.**

²⁰ Cf. Kiliaan (1599, s.v.), "OODELICK, OYELICK, OOLICK, vetus, Flandice, Hollandice, Zelandiceque, 'vacuus, vanus, inanis, vilis, malus, pravus' et 'vafer, astutus' et 'aeger, languidus, imbecillus, infirmus, debilis' et 'deformis' et 'vacue, inaniter' et 'male, prave; astute, vafre'" [OODELICK, OYELICK, OOLICK, archaic, Flemish, Hollandic and Zeelandic, 'vacant, empty, void, worthless, evil, bad' and 'sly, cunning' and 'sick, faint, weak, infirm, feeble' and 'deformed' and 'vacantly, emptily' and 'evilly, badly; cunningly, slyly'].

²¹ Petronius, *Satyricon* 99.3.

²² Cf. Kiliaan (1599, s.vv.), "OOD, Germanice Saxoniceque 'vacuus, inanis, vanus;' Wallice *oed*, Flandice *oyde*" [OOD, German and Saxon, 'vacant, void, empty;' Walloon *oed*, Flemish *oyde*]; "OOD-MOED, 'animus humilis, demissus, submissus' et 'humilitas, submissio, demissio animi'" [OOD-MOED, 'a mind humble, lowly, submissive' et 'humility, depression, dejection of the mind'].

odebore indaganti, in mentem quoque venit vocabulum *oodmoed* referri posse ad idem illud *ode* quod hac occasione offerebatur.

f At annis abhinc plus minus septem, cum Tatianum illustrarem, nihil tale animo se ingressit;²³ °quandoquidem contentus vocabulum *odmuot*, quod in Cantico *Beatae* Virginis occurrebat, ad Anglo-Saxonicum *eaðmob* retulisse, nihil ultra (velut in re satis per se manifesta) inquirendum putabam;²⁴ quumque pro *eaðmob* antiquissimi *codices* °| pluribus in locis scribant *eaðmob*, iudicabam *eaðmob* manifeste compositum ex *eað*, “facilis,” et *mob*, “mens, animus,” praecipuum enim humilitatis indicium est animus facilis et compositus in obsequium.

g Tertio loco redis ad illud *antfristot uurthan* quod habet Willeramus, meminitque Vestra Claritas illius *frist* quod Germanis “tempus” vel “terminum” denotat.²⁵ Scio quidem quod “occasio” Keroni monacho exponitur *frist*; et *frist libes* est “spatium vitae” apud Otfridum 2.3.55, sicuti et 5.23.451. Probe adhaec memini quod ƿƿƿꝛ Anglo-Saxonibus inter alia denotat “inducias,” nec non in genere quamvis “intercapedinem temporis,” sed non video quem acceptio ista locum hic habeat.²⁶ Magis ad rem facit illud Keronis “scrupulositate” exponentis *fristeo*, ut *antfristan* nihil sit aliud quam “scrupulos accuratae interpretationis subsidio ex animo lectoris eximere.” Addis deinde particulam *ant* et similes mira in quibusdam vocabulis operari. Sic *antwort* est “responsum,” *verantworten*, “defendere,” *uberantworten*, “tradere.” Omnino agnosco magnam passim in istiusmodi particulis initialibus varietatem deprehendi, quam tamen ego nunquam, propter immensam earum copiam, sigillatim rimari atque expendere in animum induxi, nisi cum exigeret ratio verbi sic compositi. Et quoniam Claritas Vestra in exemplum admirandae compositionis unum *antworten* adducit,

f quandoquidem: [- nam] quandoquidem | °|: [f.148r]

²³ Junius had evidently begun to annotate Tatian immediately after his return from Germany, where he had acquired the text, in 1653, **195a**.

²⁴ Tatian, *Harmonia evangeliorum* 4.5, “*bithiu uuanta her giscouuota odmuoti sinero thiwi*, ‘quia respexit humilitatem ancillae suae’” [because He has regarded his maidservant’s humility]. Junius’ annotations in Ms Jun. 13 not seen; Palthen (1706:301), who based himself on Junius’ annotations, **195a**, has, among other things, “Germani nunc inversis prioribus literis *domuth* vel *demuth* dicunt. Obtinent hic tamen antiquum Belgae *oodmoed oedmoedig* humilitas, humilisque dicentes. Anglo-Saxones olim dixere *eaðmob* humilis, *eaðmobneffe* humilitas, ab *eað* facilis, lenis, et *mob* mens uti interpretatur Somnerus” [The Germans nowadays say *domuth* or *demuth* with the first

odebore, it also occurred to me that the word *oodmoed* can be referred to this same *ode* which had been presented in that instance.

f About seven years ago when I explained Tatian, however, nothing like it crossed my mind, since indeed, satisfied to have referred the word *odmuot*, which occurred in the Song of the Blessed Virgin, to Anglo-Saxon *eadmod*, I believed that nothing else had to be examined (as if concerning something which is sufficiently clear in itself); and since the most ancient codices wrote *eaðmod* for *eadmod* in many places, I concluded that *eaðmod* was evidently formed of *eað*, “easy,” and *mod*, “mind, heart,” for an easy heart which is prepared for obedience is a particular sign of humility.

g In the third place you return to this *antfristot uurthan* which Willeram has, and your serenity recalls this *frist* which means “time” or “term” to the Germans. I know indeed that *frist* is translated “occasion” by the monk Kero, and *frist libes* is “term of life” in Otfrid 2.3.55, just as in 5.23.451. In addition, I fitly recalled that to the Anglo-Saxons *frist* means “a truce,” among other things, and also ever so much “interval of time” in general, but I do not see which place this meaning has here. The fact that Kero renders *fristeo* as “scrupulosity” is more to the point, so that *antfristan* is nothing else than “to remove scrupulosities from the reader’s mind by an accurate explanation.” Then you add that the particle *ant* and similar ones produce remarkable effects on some words. Thus, *antwort* is “answer,” *verantworten*, “to defend,” *uberantworten*, “to transmit.” I wholly acknowledge that a great variety in such initial particles is found everywhere, which I have however never decided to investigate and estimate one by one because of their sheer abundance, unless the nature of a word formed thus required so. Since your serenity has only adduced *antworten* as example of admirable composition, I also think it worth the trouble

letters changed. Yet here the Dutch preserve the ancient *oodmoed oedmoedig*, “humility, and speaking humbly.” The Anglo-Saxons formerly said *eadmod*, “humble,” *eadmodnesse*, “humility,” from *ead*, “easy, soft,” and *mod*, “mind,” as Somner has translated]. William Somner, *Dictionarium Saxonico* (1659), 191b. Ms Jun. 42 seems not to discuss the word.

²⁵ Abbot Williram of Ebersberg’s Old High German paraphrase of the Song of Songs, in Merula (1598:17), 188c. Junius, *Observationes* (1655:50–51), discussed the phrase *geantfristot uuir*, “exponitur in aliam notio rem linguam transferendo” [(something) is explained by translating it into another, more familiar language], with reference to two meanings of *antfristan*, “to divulge, publish” and “to explain, translate.”

²⁶ Cf. Spelman (1626, s.v. *fr̥fr̥full*); Somner (1659, s.v. *fr̥fr̥c*).

videor mihi quoque facturus pretium operae, si descripsero quae olim de huius verbi et similium compositione in chartam conieci.

h Tatianus tmemate 9 capitis 2 haec habet, *Tho antlingenti thie engil quad imo*, “tunc respondens angelus dixit ei.” Ubi nos annotamus,²⁷ “participium istud occurrit etiam apud hunc nostrum 3.7, °47.4, 57.2, 59.3, 63.4, 159.6, °225.1; *antlingota*, °‘re|spondit,’ 4.11, 13.20 et °22, 17.6; *antlingis*, ‘respondes,’ 187.4; *antalengita*, ‘respondit,’ 217.5; *antalengitun*, ‘responderunt,’ 236.2; *antlengan*, ‘respondere;’ *antlengantan*, ‘respondentem,’ Kero.”

i “Origo verbi *antlengan* dubio procul est ab *and vel ant*, et *lengan*.²⁸ Ac primum quidem °particula *and vel ant* frequenter patribus nostris in compositione idem significabat cum Graeco ἀντι, ‘adversus, contra,’ unde et abscissum est. Ita Cimbris ἈΠΡΟΠΡΟΝ ΨΑΠΝΑ est ‘oblocutor,’ ἈΠΡΟΠΡΟΝ, ‘adverso crine,’ ἈΠΡΟΠΡΟΝ, ‘conflictus,’ ἈΠΡΟΠΡΟΝ, ‘contra solem,’ ἈΠΡΟΠΡΟΝ, ‘remigatio in adversum,’ ἈΠΡΟΠΡΟΝ, ‘ventus adversus.’ Gothis quoque ἈΝΑΣΤΑΝΑΝ est ‘adversari,’ ἈΝΑΣΤΑΦΩΑ vel °ἈΝΑΣΤΑΦΑ, ‘adversarius,’ ἈΝΑΣΑΚΑΝ, ‘contradicere, adversari,’ etc.²⁹ Verbum vero *lengan* est ab illo ΛΑΓΓΑΝ quod Argenteo codici est ‘ponere,’ Marci 15.19, Lucae 9.44, Iohannis 10.15 et 13.37.³⁰ Quemadmodum igitur ἈΝΑΗΦΓΑΝ eidem codici passim est ‘respondere,’ ab ἈΝΑ, ‘contra,’ et ΗΦΓΑΝ, ‘tollere, attollere’ quasi dicas, ‘vocem ad respondendum contra tollere.’ Ita quoque Francis *antlengan* nihil aliud denotat quam ‘reponere aliquid ad quaesita.’ ἀμείβεσθαι certe quod Graecis est ‘permutare, commutare,’ nec non ‘alternare’ vel ‘alternis vicibus aliquid agere,’ passim quoque usurpatur pro ‘respondere,’ hoc est ‘commutare sermones et vicissim aliquid ad interrogata °reponere.’ Immo ipsum quoque °*antuuort*, ‘responsum,’ °quod passim occurrit apud Tatianum et alios, ad similem originem referri potest.³¹ Licet enim *andwoord* °| Kiliano videatur dici quasi *ander woord*, quod sit alter veluti sermo quem respondens accommodat

h 47.4, 57.2: *Ms Jun. 13* 57.2, 47.4 | 225.1: *Ms Jun. 13* 225.1; \antlengantan, ‘respondentem,’ Kero/ | re|spondit: re[[f.148v]spondit | 22: *Ms Jun. 13* 23 | **i** particula: *Ms Jun. 42* – | ἈΝΑΣΤΑΦΑ: *Ms Jun. 42* ἈΝΑΣΤΑ[Υ > Π]Α | reponere: *Ms Jun. 42* [reponere > regerere] | *antuuort*, ‘responsum’: *MS Jun. 42 antuuort* vel *antuuūrti*, ‘responsum’ | quod . . . alios: *Ms Jun. 42* (quod habes in annotationibus ad 8.8) | °|: [[f.149r] |

²⁷ Junius quoted the rest of this section, “participium . . . Kero,” from his annotations to Tatian, *Ms Jun. 13*, s.v. *antlingenti*.

if I transcribe what I had earlier conjectured on paper about the formation of this and similar words.

h Tatian, section 9 of chapter 2, has the following, *Tho antlingenti thie engil quad imo*, “then the angel said to him in answer.” Where we have annotated, “this participle also occurs in our 3.7, 47.4, 57.2, 59.3, 63.4, 159.6, 225.1; *antlingota*, ‘he answers,’ 4.11, 13.20 and 22, 27.6; *antlingis*, ‘you answer,’ 187.4; *antalengita*, ‘he answers,’ 217.5; *antalengitun*, ‘they answered,’ 236.2; *antlengan*, ‘to answer;’ *antlengantan*, ‘answering,’ Kero.”

i “The origin of the word *antlengan* is without doubt from *and* or *ant*, and *lengan*. Yet, the first particle *and* or *ant*, indeed, often meant the same in word formation to our ancestors as Greek ἀντι, ‘opposite, against,’ from which it has also been truncated. Thus to the Cimbrians *andgieflu madur* is ‘a contradictor;’ *andheris*, ‘with stubborn hair;’ *andraa*, ‘conflict;’ *andsælis*, ‘against the sun;’ *andpof*, ‘rowing up the stream;’ *anduidre*, ‘adverse wind.’ Also to the Goths *andstandan* is ‘to oppose;’ *andastahja* or *andastawa*, ‘opponent;’ *andsakan*, ‘to object, oppose,’ etc. The word *lengan*, however, is from this *lagjan* which is ‘to place’ in the *Codex argenteus*, Mark 15.19, Luke 9.44, John 10.15 and 13.37, just as *andhafjan* is therefore ‘to answer’ everywhere in the same codex, from *and*, ‘against’ and *hafjan*, ‘to raise, to elevate,’ as if you say ‘to raise your voice in answer to.’ Thus, also, *antlengan* means nothing else to the Franks than ‘to replace something to questions.’ ἀμείβεσθαι, for sure, which is ‘to exchange, interchange’ to the Greeks, as well as ‘to alternate’ or ‘to say something in alternate turns,’ is also used everywhere for ‘to answer,’ that is, ‘to interchange conversation and to replace something to questions in turns.’ By all means, also this *antuuort* ‘answer’ itself, which occurs everywhere in Tatian and others, can be referred to the same origin. Although to Kiliaan *andwoord* seems to be said as if *ander woord*, because it is another word which the answerer adapts to the interrogator’s question,

²⁸ Junius quoted **i** from his “Auctarium” of the annotations to Tatian, Ms Jun. 42, f. 255. Ms Jun. 13 has “origo verbi *antlengan* etc. vide Auctarium, pagina 255.”

²⁹ Junius also quoted most text from “**ANASTANAN**” to the end of this section virtually verbatim from Ms Jun. 42 in his *Gothicum glossarium* (1665, s.v. **ANAHAFGAN**), 209b.

³⁰ The *Codex argenteus* of the Gothic Gospels, 173b, 188a.

³¹ It is not clear whether with “the same origin” Junius meant ἀμείβεσθαι, or an original meaning which these words shared.

interrogantis percontationi, commodius tamen statuas compositum ex *and vel ant*, ‘contra,’ et *°uuort*, ‘sermo;’³² ut *°anduuord vel antuuürt* proprie sit ‘sermo quem °responsurus regerit °percontanti.’ °Anglo-Saxonibus *andþǫpþ*, Gothis **ANAYAPHA** est ‘responsum.’ Mire denique huc faciunt quae de verbo *ἀντιφωνεῖν* °tradit clarus Salmasius *De Modo Usurarum*, pagina 715.³³

j Incidi praeterea in plures alias huius particulae acceptiones, quas, ut vulgo satis notas, consulto praetereo. Illud rarius est, quod **ANA** Gothis in compositione videtur denotasse “post,” ac respondisse isti *hind* vel *hinder* quod Francis atque Anglo-Saxonibus °eorumque posteris exinde usurpatum pro “retrosum, post,” imo et Gothis ipsis. Legimus enim in Argenteo codice Marci 8.33, **ΓΑΓΓ ΗΙΝΑΡΚ ΗΙΣ ΣΑΤΑΝΑ ΠΝΤΕ ΝΙ ΗΚΑΦΟΕΙΣ ΦΑΙΜ ΓΨΣ ΑΚ ΦΑΙΜ ΜΑΝΝΕ**. Totam huius coniecturae meae rationem ex sequentibus intelliges. Non displicebunt, credo, vel ob hoc saltem, quod nonnullos nostrae gentis antiquos ritus leviter habent adspersos.³⁴

k Occurrunt in Harmonia evangelica, capite 63, *tmemate* 3, *ambaht*, “ministerium” et *ambahtan*, “ministrare.” Ad quem locum annotavi,³⁵ “*ambahta uuortes*, ‘ministri sermonis,’ Prooemium harmoniae, *tmemate* 2; *giengun tho zuo Gotes engila, inti ambahtituno imo*, ‘accedebant tunc angeli Dei, et ministrabant ei,’ 15.6; *arstuont siu tho uf inti ambahtita in*, ‘surrexit tum et ministrabat eis,’ 48.3; *ambaht*, ‘obsequium,’ 171.3; *ambahtes taga*, ‘officii dies,’ 2.11; °*sie ambechtent themo liude* ‘cibum vitae,’ Willeramii 1.10, 4.4 et 7.4; *ambaht man*, ‘ministri,’ glossario Lipsii; °*ambahtes*, ‘vil-

i *uuort*, ‘sermo’: *Ms Jun. 42 uuort* vel *uuürt*, ‘sermo’ | *anduuord* vel: *Ms Jun. 42* – | *responsurus*: *Ms Jun. 42* *respondens* | *percontanti*: *Ms Jun. 42* *percontanti*, unde et antiquioribus Belgis *weder-rede* vel *weder-taele* dicebatur | Anglo-Saxonibus . . . ‘responsum’: *Ms Jun. 42* at Gothis **ANAYAPHA**, Anglo-Saxonibus *andþǫpþ* | tradit clarus: *Ms Jun. 42* *affert* | **j** eorumque: [– *poster*] eorumque | **k** *sie* . . . 7.4: *Ms Jun. 42* vide locum | *ambahtes*, ‘villicationis’: *MS Jun. 42* \ *ambahtes*, ‘villicationis’/

³² Kiliaan (1599, s.v.), “AND-WOORDE, ‘responsio, responsum.’ Dictio composita ex *ander* id est ‘alius’ et *woord* id est ‘verbum, sermo’” [AND-WOORDE, ‘reply, answer.’ The saying is formed from *ander*, that is ‘other,’ and *woord*, that is ‘word, speech’].

³³ Claudius Salmasius, *De modo usurarum* (1639:715), **118e**, “Quod *ὑπισχεσθαι* et *ἐγγυᾶσθαι* Homero est, idem nempe quod pro ‘alio promittere et spondere,’ hoc etiam *ἀντιφωνεῖν* sequentibus Graecis dictum est, quod non ‘spondere,’ sed ‘respondere’ significat. Qui interrogatur a creditore an pro debitore spondeat, cum respondet id se facere, *ἀντιφωνεῖ*. Inde et *ἀντιφωνεῖν* pro ‘spondere.’ Hesychius, ‘*ἐγγυᾶζειν*, “*ἀντιφωνεῖν*.” Proprie *ἀντιφωνεῖν* est ‘respondere interroganti.’ Unde *ἀντιφωνοῦς ἦχῶ* Graecis. Hinc et pro ‘rescribere’ positum est, quod vulgo etiam ‘respondere’

as it were, you better determine that it is formed of *and* or *ant*, 'against,' and *uort*, 'word,' so that *anduuord* or *antuuirt* properly is 'a word which the answerer retorts to the questioner.' To the Anglo-Saxons *andweyrd* is 'answer,' to the Goths *andwaurd*. Finally, what the renowned Salmasius, *On the Manner of Usury*, page 715, proposes about the word ἀντιφωνεῖν applies to this remarkably."

j Furthermore, I have come upon many other meanings of this particle, which I deliberately omit, since they are commonly quite well known. It is more remarkable that *and* to the Goths seems to have meant "after" in word formation, and to have corresponded to this *hind* or *hinder* which was used for "backwards, after" by the Franks and Anglo-Saxons and their decendants after them, and even by the Goths themselves. For we read in the *Codex argenteus*, Mark 8.33, *gagg hindar mis, Satana, unte ni frapgeis þaim ghs, ak þaim manne* [get thee behind me, Satan: for thou savourest not the things that be of God, but the things that be of men]. You will understand the whole reasoning of my conjecture from the following. It will not displease, I think, even only because it has several ancient rites of our people lightly scattered over it.

k In the *Evangelical Harmony*, chapter 63, section 3, occur *ambaht*, "service," and *ambahtan*, "to serve." At which place I have noted down, "*ambahta uuortes*, 'ministers of the word,' Proem to the Harmony, section 2; *giengun tho zuo Gotes engila, inti ambahtituno imo*, 'then God's angels approached and served him,' 15.6; *arstuont siu tho uf inti ambahtita in*, 'then he arose and served them,' 48.3; *ambaht*, 'obedience,' 171.3; *ambahtes taga*, 'day of service,' 2.11; *sie ambechtent themo liude*, 'food of life,' Willeram 1.10, 4.4 and 7.4; *ambaht man*, 'servant,' Lipsius' glossary; *ambahtes*, 'of the estate-steward,' *ambaht*, 'servant,' *ambahtit*, 'he

dicimus" [what is ὑπίσχεσθαι and ἐγγυᾶσθαι in Homer—the same, that is, as 'to promise and pledge for someone else'—was also called ἀντιφωνεῖν by subsequent Greeks, which does not mean 'to pledge' but 'to respond.' Someone who is questioned by a creditor whether he will promise for a debtor and responds that he will do so, ἀντιφωνεῖ. Hence also ἀντιφωνεῖν for 'to pledge.' Hesychius, ἐγγυᾶζειν (to pledge), "ἀντιφωνεῖν". Properly, ἀντιφωνεῖν is 'to respond to an inquirer,' whence ἀντίφωνος ἠχώ (answering echo) for the Greeks. Hence it was also taken for 'to write back,' which we also commonly call 'to respond'].

³⁴ A reference especially to the long quotation of Tacitus, *De origine et situ Germanorum*, in o.

³⁵ Junius quoted from "*ambaht*, 'obsequium,'" up to and including p (!) from his "Auctarium" of the annotations to Tatian, Ms Jun. 42, ff. 266r–67v. The annotations before "*ambaht*, 'obsequium'" are presumably from the annotations to Tatian, Ms Jun. 13, which has not been compared with this passage.

licationis,' *ambaht*, 'minister,' *ambahtit*, 'ministraverit,' *untarambahte*, °| 'subministrat,' Kero; *ambahta*, *kisindi*, 'satellites,' °glossario C, 17; *ambatum*, 'exactoribus,' glossario A, 3; *ambaht*, 'officia,' *ambahti*, 'officium,' *ambahti*, 'officina,' Kero; *ambaht hus*, 'officina,' *Appendice glossarii C*.³⁶

1 "Anglo-Saxones quoque embiht et embehtan vel embihtan similiter usurpasse, liquet vel ex uno (ne alia eorum monumenta °in testimonium advocem) Rushworthiano quatuor Evangeliorum interlineato codice *manuscripto*, plurima venerandae antiquitatis decora atque insignia continente, atque ob hoc ipsum non sine quodam verborum honore nominando.³⁷ Ac primum quidem, sicuti paulo ante vidimus *ambehtan* Theotiscis olim non tantum acceptum pro 'sordido alicui opificio vacare,' verum etiam 'maioris momenti ac divinitus quoque iniuncta negotia ea sedulitate exequi qua mechanici opifices quotidiana opera exercent,' ita quoque in Rushworthiano codice *Lucae* 1.2 apostoli nuncupantur embihtmen þorþeþ, 'ministri sermonis.'³⁸ Eiusdem quoque capituli commate 23 vox embiht usurpatur de 'munere vel officio sacerdotali,' *giporþen þæþ þætte gefylleb þæpun þaþaþ embihter hīþ*, 'factum est ut impleti sunt dies officii eius.' At alibi passim, embihtar °embihtmen eidem Rushworthiano glossatori sunt 'servi, famuli, ministri;' embehtan vel embihtan, 'ministrare;' embihtniþ, 'obsequium,' etc."

m "Antiqua igitur vocis acceptione satis firmata, restat ut de vocabuli etymologia nonnihil addam.³⁹ Ac praecipue quidem huc facit Caesar *De Bello Gallico* libro 6, *capite* 15, 'equitum, ut quisque est genere copiisque amplissimus, ita plurimos circum se °ambactos clientesque habet.'⁴⁰ Festus, '*am* praepositio loquelaris significat "circum;" unde servus dicitur *ambactus*, id est "circumactus";' et rursus, '*ambac-*

k °|: [f.149v] | glossario: [- glos] glossario | 1 in testimonium advocem: *Ms Jun.* 42 insistam | embihtmen: [- et] embihtmen, *Ms Jun.* 42 et embihtmen | m ambactos: [- clien] ambactos

³⁶ Junius' "Appendix to glossary C," *Ms Jun.* 116b, ff. 150–63, 187a. Vossius, *De vitiiis* (1645:9, at *ambactus*), included the references to Willeram and Kero, as well as one to *ambachten*, Otfred, 1.25, and to such Dutch place-names as *Bergen-ambacht*. Cf. Kiliaan (1599, s.v.), who based himself on Goropius Becanus concerning *ambacht* as a public office or guild of craftsmen, and analysed, "AMBACHT '... ars manuarum' ... quidam scribunt *hand-bacht*" [AMBACHT, 'manual skill' is written by some as *hand-bacht*], and Spelman, *Archaeologus* (1626, s.v. *ambascia*). Cf. *SCW* no. 5228*.

³⁷ The Rushworth Gospels, 187e.

has served,' *untarambahte*, 'he supplies,' Kero; *ambahta*, *kisindi*, 'attendants,' glossary C, 17; *ambahtum*, 'to the superintendents,' glossary A, 3; *ambaht*, 'duties,' *ambahti*, 'duty,' *ambahti*, 'workshop,' Kero; *ambaht hus*, 'workshop,' Appendix to glossary C."

1 "The fact that the Anglo-Saxons also used *embiht* and *embehtan* or *embihtan* in the same way is evident even only from Rushworth's interlineated manuscript codex of the four Gospels (not to summon their other documents as evidence), which contains many ornaments and decorations of venerable antiquity, and must be mentioned because of this with verbal praise. Firstly indeed, just as we saw somewhat earlier that *ambehtan* was formerly used not only for 'to be free for dirty work' by the Theotiscans, but also for 'to perform duties of considerable importance which are imposed by divine providence with that assiduity with which artisans do their daily work,' thus the Apostles are also called *embihtmen wordes*, 'ministers of the word,' in Rushworth's codex Luke 1.2. Also in verse 23 of this chapter the word *embiht* is used for 'the priestly function or duty,' *gíworden was þætte gefylled wærun dagas embihtes his*, 'it happened that the days of his service were ended.' Yet here and there elsewhere *embihtas embihtmen* are 'slaves, attendants, servants' to the same Rushworth glossator, *embehtan* or *embihtan*, 'to serve,' *embihtnis*, 'obedience,' etc."

m "Since the ancient meaning of the word has been demonstrated sufficiently, remains that I add something about the etymology of the word. Caesar, *On the Gallic War*, book 6, ch. 15, is indeed especially useful to this: 'just as each of the knights is most magnificent in descent and wealth, so he has many *ambactos* [attendants] and retainers around him.' Festus, '*am* as inseparable preposition means "around," hence a slave is called *ambactus*, that is, "bent around";' and again, 'in Ennius a slave is called *ambactus* in the Gaulish language.'

³⁸ "Paulo ante" probably refers to a place in the original annotations.

³⁹ In Junius' method, establishing the various meanings of a word was a prerequisite for etymologization, 203d.

⁴⁰ Julius Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 6.15.2, which does not have "equitum." The edition Junius used is unidentified. Junius took this and the following references in this section from Claudius Salmasius, *Historiae Augustae scriptores* (1620:468), cf. this section, yet added the chapter number of Caesar's book. Junius also quoted from "Ac praecipue" up to o, "pagina 238," virtually verbatim from Ms Jun. 42 in his *Gothicum glossarium* (1665, s.v. **AN&BAHTS**), except for the full quotations of Tacitus in o.

tus apud Ennium lingua Gallica servus dicitur.⁴¹ Ubi Ant. Augustinus, Scaliger, Salmasius, aliique homines doctissimi suspicantur τὸ ‘lingua Gallica’ a Paulo adsumtum;⁴² censetque Scaliger ambactorum denominationem apud Caesarem originis esse Romanae, apud Ennium vero Gallicae °| esse originis; °contra vero disputat Salmasius pagina 486 Notarum in augustae historiae scriptores, quem adi.⁴³ Quod si tamen, ut arbitrantur viri magni, glossema °illud a Paulo additum est, non video cur temere adiectum dici mereatur, cum non sit vero simile hominem Longobardum usque adeo ignarum fuisse antiquae linguae Gallorum, ut iis falsa atque ab eorum idiomate prorsus aliena tribueret affingeretque.”

- n “Sane in longe antiquissima Argentei codicis translatione Gothica frequenter etiam incidas in hoc vocabulum, aliquanto tamen aliter scriptum; unde aliquando mihi °oborta est suspicio **ANABAHIT** antiquum esse ac genuinum, Romanos vero, atque Anglo-Saxones Francosque eorum exemplo, *and* istud mutasse in *am*, tanquam esset ab ἀμφί, ‘circum.’⁴⁴ Legas itaque in Argenteo codice, °**SNHNS HANS NI UAM ATANABAHITCAM. AK ANABAHITCAM**, ‘filius hominis non venit ut

m °|: [f.150r] | contra vero: *Ms Jun. 42* at contra | illud: *Ms Jun. 42* istud | n illud: *Ms Jun. 42* istud | oborta est suspicio **ANABAHIT**: *Ms Jun. 42* suspicio oborta est **ANABAHITS** | **SNHNS** . . . 10.45: *Ms Jun. 42* –

⁴¹ Sextus Pompeius Festus (2nd c. A.D.) abridged Marcus Verrius Flaccus (c.55 B.C.?–c. A.D. 20?), *De verborum significatione*, a comprehensive alphabetical encyclopaedic dictionary of Latin including quotations, obsolete words and antiquarian material, into twenty books of which the first half is now lost. Junius’ annotated copy of *M. Verrii Flaccii quae extant et Sex. Pompei Festi de verborum significatione libri XX* . . . *In eos libros Ant. Augustini annotationes* . . . edited by Joseph Scaliger ([Heidelberg]: Petrus Santandreaanus, 1593), is now UBL, 763 E 3 (from Isaac Vossius’ collection). The quotations from Festus are the latter’s full entries at *am* and *ambactus*. Salmasius, *Historiae Augustae* (1620:468), has *an* for *am*. Only from Festus’ quotation can it be inferred that the Roman poet Ennius (239–169 B.C.) used the word *ambactus* at some point in his *Annales*, a poem on the history of the Roman people, much of which has been lost. It is classified as “sedis incertae fragmenta,” no. 148. Cf. Skutsch (1985:739), *OCD* (1996:526–26, 1215, 1589), Bremmer (1998b:233).

⁴² This section, from “ubi” to “affingeretque,” is similar to Vossius, *De viuis* (1645:9–10 at *ambactus*), including the suggestion that the Lombard scholar Paul the Deacon, or Paulus Warnefridus Diaconus (c.720–800), who had presented Charlemagne (742–814) with an epitome of Festus, had not added the words without reason, since as a Longobard he must have been familiar with Gaulish. Vossius referred to Caesar, to the *Notae ad Festum* by the Spanish scholar Antonius Augustinus (1516–1586) and by Joseph Scaliger, which commentaries are both included in Junius’ copy of Festus, and to Salmasius’ notes on Flavius Vopiscus Carus, *Historiae*

Where Ant. Augustinus, Scaliger, Salmasius, and other most learned men have suspected that ‘in the Gaulish language’ has been added by Paullus, and Scaliger thinks the designation of *ambacti* in Caesar to be of Roman origin, but in Ennius of Gaulish origin, but Salmasius, on the other hand, disputes this in *Annotations on the Writers of Augustan History*, page 486; see there. Yet if however this gloss was added by Paul, as the great men think, I do not see why it deserves to be called an accidental addition, because it is not likely that a Longobard was ignorant of the ancient language of the Gaulish people to such an extent that he would make up and attribute to them false words which are wholly alien to their language.”

n “Really, in the most ancient Gothic translation of the *Codex argenteus* you may also frequently come upon this word, although written somewhat differently; from this the suggestion arose with me one time that *andbaht* is ancient and genuine, but that the Romans, and the Anglo-Saxons and Franks after their example, changed this *and* into *am*, as if it were from ἀμφι, ‘around.’ Thus, you may read in the *Codex argenteus*, *sunus mans ni qam at andbahjam. ak andbahjam*, ‘the son of man came not to be served but to serve,’ Mark 10.45; *jabai*

Augustae (1620:486), cf. below. Cf. Lindsay (1613), Jöcher (1.641–42, 4.1819). Paul the Deacon’s texts had been published by Friedrich Lindenbrog, 189c.

⁴³ Claudius Salmasius, *Historiae Augustae scriptores VI . . . quibus adiuncta sunt notae ac emendationes Isaaci Casauboni iam ante editae* (Paris, 1620:486), “In Flavium Vopiscum Notae,” “voces illas, ‘lingua Gallica,’ liquet mihi a Paulo additas esse, qui *ambactus* apud Caesarem in rebus Gallicis legerat, et putabat vocabulum esse Gallicum. [quotation from Caesar] Ex his verbis non magis liceat colligere Gallicam vocem esse *ambactos* quam *clientes*. Cur non enim et *clientes* vox Gallica? Quos heic *ambactos* vocat Caesar, paulo infra *servos* appellat et cum clientibus iungit, ac paulo supra hanc memoriam servi et clientes quos ‘ab his dilectos esse constabat.’ Frustra igitur vir magnus ad Festum qui notavit *ambactus* quum servum significat, Latinum esse, at cum pro cliente sumitur, Gallicum. *Ambactus* pura Latina vox” [It is clear to me that these words, ‘in the Gaulish language,’ were added by Paul, who had read *ambactus* with Caesar in the Gallic Wars, and believed that the word was Gaulish. (quotation from Caesar) From these words one can gather that *ambactos* is no more a Gaulish word than *clientes*, for why is not *clientes* a Gaulish word too? Those whom he calls *ambactos* here, Caesar calls *servos* somewhat further down and joins them with *clientes*, and somewhat above this recollection, *servi* and *clientes* whom ‘it is certain to be chosen by them.’ The great gentleman (probably Scaliger [SvR]), who annotated at Festus that *ambactus* is Latin when it indicates a slave, but Gaulish when it is used for a retainer, was therefore mistaken. *Ambactus* is a pure Latin word]. No copy of Junius is to be found in UBL, but the copy 725 A 11 stems from Isaac Vossius’ collection.

⁴⁴ Junius’ proposition that *and*, as present in Gothic, was borrowed into Latin and changed to *am* by analogy with Greek, picks up the suggestion that the word *ambactus* was Gaulish.

ministraretur ei, sed ut ministraret,' Marci 10.45; **ΓΑΒΑΙ ΘΑΣΥΛΙ**
ἸΚΗΜΙΣΤΣ ΥΙΣΑΝ· ΣΙΓΑΙ ΑΛΛΑΙΖΕ ΑἸΤΗΜΙΣΤΣ ΓΑΗ ΑΛΛΑΙΜ ΑΝΑ-
ΒΑΗΤΣ, 'si quis °velit primus esse, erit omnium novissimus et omnium
minister,' Marci 9.35; **ΣΑ ΘΑΖΗΗ ΣΑΕΙ ΥΙΛΙ ΥΑΙΚΦΑΝ ΜΙΚΙΑΣ ΙΝ**
ΪΖΥΙΣ· ΣΙΓΑΙ ΪΖΥΑΚ ΑΝΑΒΑΗΤΣ, 'quicumque voluerit fieri maior in
vobis, erit vester minister,' Marci 10.43; **ΣΤΩΦΗΝ ΣΚΑΛΚΟΣ ΓΑΗ**
ΑΝΑΒΑΗΤΩΣ, 'stabant servi et ministri,' Iohannis °18.18. Quum itaque
°in hoc loco Iohannis videamus **ΣΚΑΛΚΟΣ** et **ΑΝΑΒΑΗΤΩΣ** mani-
feste distingui (illi °enim in contextu Graeco δούλοι, hi vero ὑπηρεταί
nuncupantur), cuius quoque perspicuum fit **ΑΝΑΒΑΗΤΩΣ** fuisse 'minis-
tros honoratiores ac veluti per obsequium operam °praestantes;' quales
Graecis proprie dicebantur ἀκόλουθοι, ab ἀκολουθεῖν, 'sequi, comi-
tari.' Dicebantur et ὀπηδοί vel ὀπάονες, ab ὀπαζειν, quod Eustathius
exponit κατόπιν διώκειν, 'pone sequi.'⁴⁵ Latinorum quoque 'socius'
deductum volunt a 'sequi;' et Cimbricum 𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓 (unde Anglicum *fel-*
low corruptum est)⁴⁶ Wormius deductum °au|tumat ex 𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓𐀓, 'comi-
tari,' pro quo Anglosaxones *fylia*, *fylizean*, *fylzean*, *fylzan*, *folzan*
dicunt.⁴⁷ Pari prorsus ratione non obscuram priscae vocis originem
suppeditat nobis illud *indi bah*, quod *glossario* A, 25 exponit 'post ter-
gum.' Cui quoque consentaneum est illud *glossario* C, 13, *hint pacho*,
'pro tergum,' ubi tamen satius forte sit 'pone tergum' reponere.
Quum igitur Celtarum Gothorumque proceres asseclas suos olim
ΑΝΑΒΑΗΤΩΣ appellaverint, non iniuria quoque °videri Paulo sub-
orta suspicio, Romanos denominationem ambactorum desumpsisse
ex **ΑΝΑΒΑΗΤΣ.**"

- o "Quemadmodum interim ex iam allato Caesaris loco satis superque
liquet ambactos olim nobilioribus viris minime serviliter obnoxios
fuisse, ita magis id cognoscas ex Tacito *De Moribus Germanorum*
capitibus 13 et 14,⁴⁸

n velit: *Ms Jun. 42* vult | 18.18: *Ms Jun. 42* 18.18; **ΣΗΝΗΣ ΗΑΝΣ ΝΙ ΥΑΗ ΑἸΑΝΑ**
ΒΑΗΤΩΑΗ·ΑΚΑΝΑΒΑΗΤΩΑΗ, 'filius hominis non venit ut ministraretur ei, sed ut mi-
nistraret,' Marci. 10.45 | in . . . Iohannis: *Ms Jun. 42* Iohannis 18.18 | enim: *Ms*
Jun. 42 etenim | praestantes': *Ms Jun. 42* praestantes' \asseclae Latinis/ | au|tumat:
au[f. 150v]tumat, *Ms Jun. 42* putat | videri Paulo: *Ms Jun. 42* videri potest Paulo

⁴⁵ Eustathius (12th c. A.D.), archbishop of Thessaloniki, explained ὀπαζειν as
κατόπιν διώκειν in his commentary on Homer, *Parekbolai*, E 334, Z 156, Θ 341, P
461s.

⁴⁶ Cf. Spelman, *Archaeologus* (1626:252), "Anglo-Saxonica re, id est, 'fides,' laȝ, 'liga-

hwaz wili frumists wisan. sijai allaize aftumists jah allaim andbahts, 'if anyone wants to be first, he will be the last of all and servant of all,' Mark 9.35; *sa hwazuh saei wili wairþan mikils in izwis. sijai izwar andbahts*, 'whoever would wish to be greater among you will be your servant,' Mark 10.43; *stopun skalkos jah andbahtos*, 'the slaves and servants were standing,' John 18.18. Thus, since in this place in John we see that *skalkos* and *andbahtos* are clearly distinguished (for the former are called δούλοι in the Greek context, but the latter ὑπηρέται), it also becomes evident to anyone that *andbahtos* were 'rather distinguished servants who performed their duty in obedience, as it were,' such as were properly called ἀκόλουθοι by the Greeks, from ἀκολουθεῖν, 'to follow, attend.' They were also called ὀπηδοὶ or ὀπάονες, from ὀπαζειν, which Eustathius explained as κατόπιν διώκειν, "to follow behind." They also want Latin *socius* [companion] to be derived from *sequi* [to attend]; Worm also believes Cimbric *filaga* (from which English *fellow* was corrupted) to be derived from *at fylge*, 'to follow,' for which the Anglo-Saxons say *fylian*, *fyligean*, *fylgean*, *fylgan*, *folgan*. In truly equal manner a manifest origin of the pristine word is furnished to us by this *indi bah*, which translates 'behind the back' in glossary A, 25. To this, this *hint pacho*, 'before [*pro*] the back,' in glossary C, 13, corresponds, where it is perhaps better, however, to replace it with 'behind [*pone*] the back.' Thus, since Celtic and Gothic lords used to call their attendants *andbahtos*, the suggestion originating with Paul that the Romans derived the designation of *ambacti* from *andbahts* seems fair enough."

- o "Just as it is more than evident, nevertheless, from the place in Caesar just quoted that *ambacti* used to be quite noble men who were not at all submissive in slavish manner, so you may understand this better from Tacitus, *Germania*, chapters 13 and 14,

tus.' Hinc Anglo-Normanni *g* (ut solent) in *w* vertentes *felawe* dixerunt; nos hodie *fellow*" [Anglo-Saxon *fe*, that is, 'loyalty,' *lag*, 'bound.' From this the Anglo-Normans said *felawe*, changing *g* into *w* (as they use to do); and we *fellow* nowadays].

⁴⁷ Neither ᚱᚱᚱᚱ nor ᚱᚱᚱᚱ found discussed in Ole Worm, *Specimen lexici Runici* (1650).

⁴⁸ Tacitus, *De origine et situ Germanorum*, an appreciation of Germanic tribes by the Roman historian Tacitus in the first century A.D., which ever since its rediscovery and publication from the fifteenth century onwards had formed the impetus of humanist investigations into their "national" or ethnic—as opposed to classical—histories, cultures and languages. Tacitus' favourable opinion of the manners of the Germanic peoples had induced a chauvinistic pride in identities based in a Germanic past and in most parts of Europe stimulated the formulation of chauvinistic or

Insignis nobilitas aut magna patrum merita principis dignationem etiam adolescentulis assignant; caeteri robustioribus ac iam pridem probatis aggregantur, nec rubor inter comites adspici. Gradus quietiam et ipse comitatus habet iudicio eius quem sectantur, magnaque et comitum aemulatio quibus primus apud principem suum locus; et principum, cui plurimi et acerrimi comites. Haec dignitas, hae vires, magno semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari, in pace decus, in bello praesidium. Nec solum in sua gente cuique, sed apud finitimas quoque civitates id nomen, ea gloria est, si numero ac virtute comitatus emineat; expetuntur enim legationibus, et muneribus ornantur, et ipsa plerumque fama bella profligant. Cum ventum in aciem, turpe principi, virtute vinci; turpe comitatu, virtutem principis non adaequare. Iam vero infame in omnem vitam ac probrosum, superstitem principi suo ex acie recessisse; illum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta eius gloriae assignare, praecipuum sacramentum est. Principes, pro victoria pugnant; comites, pro principe. Si civitas in qua orti sunt longa pace et otio torpeat, plerique nobilium adolescentium petunt ultro eas nationes, quae tum bellum aliquod °ge|runt quia et ingrata genti quies, et facilius inter ancipitia clarescant, magnumque comitatum non nisi vi belloque tueantur. Exigunt enim principis sui liberalitate illum bellatorem equum, illam cruentam victricemque frameam. Nam epulae et, quamquam incompti, largi tamen apparatus, pro stipendio cedunt. Materia munificentiae per bella et raptus. Nec arare terram, aut exspectare annum tam facile persuaseris, quam vocare hostes et vulnera mereri; pigrum quinimo et iners videtur sudore acquirere, quod possis sanguine parare.

Videmus hic primam ambactorum institutionem severam prorsus ac virtutis verae feracissimam ut consentaneam pertinacissimae fidei solidiorum; ita Galli appellabant homines principi suo devotos. ‘Quorum haec est conditio,’ °ait Caesar, 3 De Bello Gallico capite 22,⁴⁹

ut omnibus in vita commodis una cum his fruantur, quorum se amicitiae dederint, si quid iis per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una ferant, aut sibi mortem consciscant. Neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam, qui, eo interfecto, cuius se amicitiae devovisset, mori recusaret.

o ge|runt: ge[f.151r]runt | ait: *Ms Jun. 42* inquit

ethnic definitions of the self. Tacitus' text was thus of major importance for the development of the study of the ancient Germanic languages and northern history. Edition used and quoted by Junius unidentified. Cf. Dekker (1999:14–17), Etter (1966), Tilmans (1992:199–217).

⁴⁹ Caesar, *De bello Gallico* 3.22.2–3.

Renowned ancestry or their fathers' great merits confer the dignity of lord even on youths; others are joined to stronger ones tried already long ago, and it is no shame to be seen among the companions. Even the retinue itself has grades too, based on the judgement of whom they follow, and there is also great emulation, among the companions for who will have the first place with their lord, and among the lords for who will have the most and the bravest companions. This dignity and power to be always surrounded by a great band of choice youths is a grace in peace and a protection in war. Furthermore, someone has this name and glory not only in his own tribe, but also among neighbouring societies, if the retinue stands out by number and prowess; for they are sought out by envoys and honoured with gifts, and very often they almost prevent wars by this very reputation. When come into battle, it is a disgrace for the lord to be surpassed in prowess, and a disgrace for the retinue not to equal their lord's prowess. Yet it is really disreputable and shameful for the rest of his life if someone has withdrawn from battle while surviving his lord; it is the principal loyalty to defend him, protect him, to ascribe also one's own deeds of prowess to his glory. Lords fight for victory; companions for their lord. If the society in which they were born is calm by long peace and quiet, many of the noble youths seek those peoples afar which are then waging a war, because both quiet is unwelcome to the tribe and they become famous more easily in the midst of hazards, and a great retinue can only be guarded by power and war. Thus, they demand that war-horse, that blood-thirsty and victorious spear from their lord's generosity. Banquets, namely, and, albeit rude, nevertheless large provisions fall to them as wages. There are goods for generosity through wars and raids. You would not so easily persuade them to till the land or await the year's produce as to challenge enemies and sustain injuries; indeed, it appears dull and sluggish to acquire by sweat what you could procure by blood.

Here we see the attendants' first truly serious custom, which was most fruitful of true virtue, as corresponding to the most unyielding loyalty of *soldurii*; thus the Gaulish people called men loyal to their leader. 'Whose position is such,' Caesar, *On the Gallic War*, [book] 3, chapter 22, says,

that they enjoy all profits in life together with those to whose friendship they have dedicated themselves; if anything happens to them by force, they either endure the same event together, or bring death upon themselves. As yet in the memory of man, no one has been found who refused to die on the death of him to whose friendship he had devoted himself.

Huc etiam pertinent Nicolai Damasceni verba apud Athenaeum libro sexto philosophantium super mensam, capite 13.⁵⁰ Quamvis idem Deipnosophista eiusdem libri capite 12 nos quoque verbis Posidonii Apamensis doceat non omnibus saeculis apud omnes Celtarum principes laudabilem hanc obtinuisse consuetudinem, sed principum nonnullos etiam parasitos in convictu suos habuisse.⁵¹ κελτοὶ, inquit Posidonius, περιάγονται μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ὁ καὶ πολεμοῦντες συμβιωτὰς, οἷς καλοῦσι παρασίτους, 'Celtae circumducunt secum, etiam cum bella gerunt, convictores quos vocant parasitos.' Ad quem locum vide animadversiones Casauboni, quibus adde quae de ὁ | principum scurris et bucconibus annotavit clarus Salmasius ad augustae historiae scriptores, pagina 238.⁵² Tales asseclas ὁ atque adeo reliquos omnes servilis animi homines eleganter veteres assimilabant sigillaribus sive νεροσπάστοις, quae per se immobilia, verticillis quibusdam atque alienis ὁ membris moventur; vide Casaubonum ad Persii satyram 5.128.⁵³

ο καὶ: [- συμβιωτὰς, οἷς καλοῦσι παρασίτους, 'Celtae circumducunt secum, etiam'] καὶ | ὁ: [f.151v] | atque... omnes: *Ms Jun. 42* atque omnes adeo | membris: *Ms Jun. 42* [membris > nervis]

⁵⁰ The writer and philosopher Nicholas of Damascus (b. c.64 B.C.), in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistes* 6.249, described that the Celts had so-called "siloduri," who vowed to live and die with their king and were sustained by him. Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistes* (1st c. A.D.), a comprehensive anthology of antiquarian, grammatical and literary material in the form of a table conversation. No copy of Junius found in UBL. Cf. *OCD* (1996:202, 1041-42).

⁵¹ The Stoic philosopher Posidonius of Apamea, Syria (c.135-c.51 B.C.), prolific writer of historical, cosmological, geographical, meteorological, astronomical and psychological texts, which are only known from fragments. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistes* 6.246. Cf. *OCD* (1996:1231-33).

⁵² Isaac Casaubon, *Animadversionum in Athenaei Deipnosophistas libri XV... secunda editio postrema*... (Lyon, 1621:col.433), "cave putes veteres Gallos usurpasse in lingua sua vocem parasitus. Sed accipe sic, vocant Gallica voce, quae respondet Graecae παρασιτος. Ita solent optimi scriptores loqui. Ut cum, exempli gratia, scribit noster libro quarto, 'ὄν νῦν καλοῦσι οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι προγεύστην.' Falsum hoc, nisi iuventur commoda interpretatione. Sic dixit Galenus, 'τὸ σῖγμα τὸ Ῥωμαϊκόν,' et alia ad hunc modum multa. Ita autem Posidonius vertit nomen vetustae Gallorum linguae 'soldurius.' Nicolaus Damascenus εὐχλωμαῖος interpretatur, alii aliter. Res omnibus nota" [beware to believe that the ancient Gaulish have used the word 'parasite' in their language, but believe as follows; they call them with a Gaulish word, which corresponds to παρασιτος of Greek. Thus the best writers are accustomed to say. However, our (writer) writes in book four, 'whom the Romans call "one who tastes before."' This is wrong, if it is not supported by a fitting interpretation. Galen said as follows, 'the Roman sigma,' and many other matters in this way. Yet, thus Posidonius translated the word *soldurius* (retainer) of the ancient language of the Gaulish. Nicolaus

Nicholas of Damascus' words in Athenaeus, book six of the *Philosophers over the Banquet*, ch. 13, are also applicable to this. In chapter 12 of the same book, however, the same *Scholars' Banquet* also teaches us in Posidonius of Apamea's words that this praiseworthy custom was not maintained among all Celtic leaders in all centuries, but that several leaders also had their parasites in their household. κελτοὶ, Posidonius said, περιάγονται μεθ' ἑαυτῶν καὶ πολεμοῦντες συμβιωτὰς, οἷς καλοῦσι παρασίτους, 'The Celts surround themselves with table-companions whom they call "parasites," even when they wage wars.' See Casaubon's *Observations* to this place and add to them what the renowned Salmasius, *Writers of Augustan History*, page 238, annotated on the leaders' dandies and fools. Such followers and, indeed, all other men of servile disposition the ancients elegantly compared to little images or *marionettes*, which are motionless in themselves and are set in motion by whirls and somebody else's limbs. See Casaubon at Persius' *Satire* 5.128."

of Damascus has interpreted it as *bound by a vow*, others otherwise. Something known to everybody]. No copy of Junius found in UBL, but the copy 718 A 3 stems from Isaac Vossius' collection. Salmasius, *Historiae Augustae* (Paris, 1620:238), "In Aelium Lampridium Notae," "sed ibi quidem buccae, buccellarii et bucciones, pro scurris vel parasitis ut vulgo accipiuntur. At illis locis . . . scurrae et buccellarii sunt satellites vel armigeri alicuius principis vel magnatis, et familiares ipsius vel domestici, vel contubernales; tot enim modis appellantur. Et ab ea re sic dicti quod non magis ab latere dominorum suorum discederent, quam parasiti illi veri et adseculae ab eorum quorum mensas sectabantur. Hinc illi parasiti dominos et reges appellabant, quos ventris gratia adsectabantur. Inde igitur scurrae et buccellarii vocati custodes corporis Imperatorum, vel satellites et armigeri magnatum qui eos assectabantur, et eorum latera tuebantur. Quilibet servi etiam sic dicti" [but here indeed bawlers, "buccellarii" and "bucciones" are used for jesters and parasites, as they are commonly interpreted. Yet in these places, . . . jesters and "buccellarii" are a prince's or magnate's followers or armour-bearers, and his family domestics or retinue or companions, for they are called in these many ways. Because of this they are called so, because they leave their masters' side no more than those true parasites and "adseculae" do from those whose dinners they attend. Hence these parasites called those whom they followed for the belly their masters and kings. From this, therefore, "scurrae" and "buccellarii" are called the guardians of the emperors' body, or followers and armour-bearers of magnates who attend to them and protect their sides. Any slaves are also called thus].

⁵³ Isaac Casaubon, *Auli Persii Flacci Satirarum liber*. *Isaacus Casaubonus recensuit et commentario libro illustravit* (Paris, 1615:437), "quasi dicat, non motu proprio sed alieno, dominorum nempe animi crudelissimorum, cupiditatis, libidinis, metus. Observent irones hypallagen venustam in ea locutione" [as if he says, not by his own motion but by somebody else's, that is, by that of the most cruel masters' intention, desire, eagerness, fear. Let students note the beautiful hypallages (*a rhetorical figure by which relations of things seem to be mutually interchanged* [SvR]) in this phrase]. No copy of Junius found in UBL.

p “Suspicarer interim a consuetudine istiusmodi buconum, qui (collapsa iam disciplina vetere) armigerorum satellitumque instar lateri principis adhaerebant, et recepto loquendi modo dominum ac regem suum dicebant eum cuius latus ventris gratia claudebant, Anglo-Saxonibus quoque ‘dominum’ (qui in longe antiquissima Cædmonis paraphrasi °frequenter dicitur heppa)⁵⁴ tractu temporis per adulationem hlaƿoþb coepisse nuncupari, a hlaƿ, ‘panis,’ et oþb, ‘origo, principium;’ nisi ex verbis Taciti, ‘nam epulae pro stipendio cedunt,’ liqueret aliquam etiam, incorruptis adhuc moribus, necessarii victus rationem habuisse viros militares °ac dominis suis integerrima fide ad extremum usque spiritum devotos. Caeterum de hoc vocabulo Anglo-Saxonico °(unde per quandam contractionem fecerunt Angli suum *lord*)⁵⁵ °plenius alibi, Deo *optimo maximoque* conatibus nostris annuente.”⁵⁶

q ° | Quarto loco quaeris numquid habeam de vocibus *adel*, “nobilitas;” *hunger*, “fames;” *arbeyd*, “labor;” *banck*, “scamnum;” *bauch*, “venter.” De voce *ethel*, “nobilis,” nonnihil habent nostrae in Willeramum observationes pagina 48.⁵⁷

r *hunger*, “fames.”
ababrahun hungerente ° *sine jungiron ahir*, “valebant esurientes discipuli eius spicas,” Tatianus, 68.1; ubi annoto,⁵⁸ “*hungerente gifulti guoto*, ‘esurientes implevit bonis,’ haec ipsa Harmonia 4.72; *hungerent*, ‘esuriunt,’ 12.11; *hungirita inan*, ‘esuriit,’ 15.2; *ir hungeret*, ‘esurietis,’ 23.2; *hungar*, ‘fames,’ Otfredi 2.4.8, 2.16.26, Hymno 4.5; *hungar hupilo spano*, ‘fames malesuada,’ °Hymno 8.9. Anglo-Saxonibus *hungær*, *hungor*, *hungur*

p frequenter dicitur heppa: *Ms Jun. 42* saepius heppa dicitur | ac dominis: *Ms Jun. 42* dominisque | (unde . . . *lord*): *Ms Jun. 42* – | plenius . . . annuente: *Ms Jun. 42* Deo conatibus nostris annuente, plenius agimus alibi | **q** °: [f.152r] | **r** *sine*: [- *hungerente*] *sine* | Hymno 8.9: Hymno 8.9 [- *hungiru*, “*famelicus*”, Otfredi 2.22.40]

⁵⁴ Spelman (1626) and Somner (1659) do not discuss heppa.

⁵⁵ Spelman (1626) does not have *lord* or hlaƿoþb; Somner (1659, s.v. hlaƿoþb) has only a brief explanation.

⁵⁶ In the *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. LORD), Junius included most of the material quoted in **o** and **p**, elaborated somewhat on the *lord* as the distributor of bread, indicated that the division of hlaƿoþb into hlaƿ and oþb “visa mihi sunt indubiam atque antiquissimae nobilissimaeque Teutonum genti convenientissimam etymologiam prae se ferre” [appear to me to furnish the definite and most convenient etymology of the most ancient and noble Teutonic people], and added “antiquioribus interim Gothis vocabulum hoc olim non fuisse ignotum, ex eo manifestum fit, quod

p “However, in consequence of such a custom of fools, who stuck to the leader’s side like adherents or followers (when the ancient discipline had already collapsed) and, in customary manner of speaking, called him their lord and king to whose side they clung for the sake of their stomach, I would suppose that also by the Anglo-Saxons the lord (who is frequently called *herra* in Cædmon’s very ancient paraphrase) began to be called *hlaford* in flattery in the course of time, from *hlaƿ*, ‘bread,’ and *ord*, ‘origin, beginning,’ if it were not clear from Tacitus’ words, ‘for banquets were equivalent to a stipend,’ that, when the manners were still uncorrupted, military men who were devoted to their lords with unfailing loyalty up to their last breath had also had a ration of necessary food. Yet more fully elsewhere about this Anglo-Saxon word (from which the English have made their ‘lord’ by a contraction), if Allgood and Almighty God favours our exertions.”

q In the fourth place you inquire what I have on the words *adel*, “nobility,” *hunger*, “hunger,” *arbeyd*, “work,” *banck*, “bench,” *bauch*, “stomach.” Our *Observations on Willeram*, page 48, have something on the word *ethel*, “noble.”

r *hunger*, “hunger.”
ababrahun hungerente sine jungiron ahir, “his hungry disciples plucked ears,” Tatian, 68.1; where I have annotated, “*hungerente gifulti guoto*, ‘he filled the hungry ones with goods,’ in this same Harmony 4.72; *hungerent*, ‘they are hungry,’ 12.11; *hungirita inan*, ‘he was hungry,’ 15.2; *ir hungeret*, ‘you will be hungry,’ 23.2; *hungar*, ‘hunger,’ Otfrið, 2.4.8, 2.16.26, Hymn 4.5; *hungar hupilo spano*, ‘seductive hunger,’

Islandice lavardur etiamnum est ‘dominus’” [meanwhile, it becomes apparent that this word was not unknown to the more ancient Goths from the fact that *lavardur* still means ‘lord’ in Icelandic].

⁵⁷ Junius, *Observationes* (1655:48–9), after citing attestations of *ethel* which all mean “noble,” referred it to OE *æþel*, adding that “voce non abludente ab ἀθλητής, ‘insignis atque in quolibet genere certaminum gnaviter exercitatus athleta,’ quod ii tantum vere nobiles iudicentur, qui perennem contestatamque maiorum suorum virtutem pari bellicae laudis gloria tuentur atque illustant” [the word is not unlike ἀθλητής, ‘an eminent athlete who is trained dilligently in any kind of contests,’ since only those are considered genuinely noble, who maintain and embellish their parents’ unfailing and proven virtue by a similar honour of military glory].

⁵⁸ Junius quoted “*hungerente* . . . Hymno 8.9” from his annotations on Tatian in Ms Jun. 13. There, he added “Anglo-Saxonibus etc. vide Auctarium, pag. 76.”

est ‘fames, esuritio, appetitus.’⁵⁹ Gothis *hnhkns* est ‘fames.’⁶⁰ *°γρκψ hnhkns mikias ana alla rikψa*, ‘facta est fames ingens in omni terra,’ *Lucae* 4.25; *°γρκψ hnhkns abks ana rari qainata*, ‘facta est fames valida in illa regione,’ *Lucae* 15.14; quibus adde illud *Iohannis* 6.35, *°ψana rarranarhah mis ni hngtkeiψ*, ‘qui venit ad me, non esuriet.’”

- s** “Quidam antehac deduxerunt *°hunger* et *hungeren* ab *°preeθai*, ‘cupere, appetere, protentis manibus prensare.’⁶¹ Sed hoc videri potest longiuscule petum, *°licet* enim *°preeξis*, ‘appetitus,’ *°passim* obviae derivationis analogia expedite satis ab hoc *°preeθai* deducatur, aegre tamen invenias modum quo *hunger* inde conficiat.⁶² Propius ad rem accedit Mericus Casaubonus.⁶³ Graecis nimirum, ut inquit ille, *κενός* est ‘vacuus, inanis;’ *κενή κοιλία*, ‘vacuus venter;’ *κενεαγγίη* vel *κενεαγγία*, ‘vasorum inanitas;’ Hippocrati, ‘fames, inedia;’⁶⁴ unde (τοῦ κ in *h* migrante, *°quo* nihil frequentius)⁶⁵ videri potest ortum *°traxisse hugger, hunger*. Casaubonianam hanc originationem firmat *°* | Latinorum *ieiuno*, quod viri docti deductum putant ex *ινάω* vel *ινέω*, ‘inanio, evacuo, expurgo.’ Accedit ipsius famis natura;⁶⁶ ‘nam,’ ut⁶⁷ ex Erasistrato tradit A. Gellius 16.3, “esuritionem faciunt inanes patentesque intestinorum fibrae, et cava intus ventris ac stomachi vacua

r *γρκψ* . . . terra: *Ms Jun.* 42 quod habet Argenteus codex | *γρκψ* . . . *Luc.* 15.14: *MS Jun* 42 et 15.14 | *ψana* . . . **mis**: *Ms Jun.* 42 – | qui venit ad me: *Ms Jun.* 42 – | **s** *hunger* . . . prensare: *Ms Jun.* 42 ab *°preeθai* exporrectis manibus captare avide appetere | licet . . . conficiat: *Ms Jun.* 42 – | *passim*: [– nota] *passim* | quo nihil frequentius: *Ms Jun.* 42 – | *traxisse hugger, hunger*: *Ms Jun.* 42 *traxisse Saxonicum hunger*, ‘fames, inedia’ | *°*: [f.152v]

⁵⁹ Junius quoted “Anglo-Saxonibus,” up to **s**, “‘nam,’ ut,” from his “Auctarium” of the annotations to Tatian, *Ms Jun.* 42, f. 76. The loose slip which is f. 76 breaks off after “‘nam,’ ut,” but may originally have comprised the rest of section **s**.

⁶⁰ Junius also quoted from “Gothis” up to **s**, “depelli creditum est,” in his *Gothicum glossarium* (1665, s.v.), referring to his annotations to Tatian 68.1.

⁶¹ Cf. Kiliaan (1599, s.v.), “HONGER, ‘fames . . .’ Germanice *hunger*, Hispanice *hambre*, Anglice *hunger*.”

⁶² “Sed . . . conficiat” is not in *Gothicum glossarium* (1665, s.v.), but the word is given in its Anglo-Saxon, Alamannic, Danish, English and Dutch forms. Junius evidently did regard spelling and sounds in his etymologies, but only as secondary to signification, **d**.

⁶³ Casaubon, *De quatuor linguis* (1650:287), who is quoted virtually verbatim in “Graecis nimirum . . . *hugger, hunger*.”

⁶⁴ The corpus of early classical texts on medicine were attributed to Hippocrates (fl. 5th c. B.C.), the most famous Greek physician of classical Greece, but no texts

Hymn 8.9. To the Anglo-Saxons *hunger, hungor, hungur* is ‘hunger, hungering, appetite.’ To the Goths *huhrus* is ‘hunger.’ *warþ huhrus mikils and alla airþa*, ‘great hunger occurred in the whole world,’ Luke 4.25; *warþ huhrus abrs and gawi jainata*, ‘intense hunger occurred in that region,’ Luke 15.14; add to this the phrase by John 6.35, *þana gaggandan du mis ni huggreiþ*, ‘who comes to me will not be hungry.’”

s “Some have previously derived *hunger* and *hungeren* from ὀρέγεσθαι, ‘to desire, long for, grasp with stretched hands.’ This, however, can appear somewhat farfetched, for although ὀρεξις, ‘desire,’ can quite fittingly be derived everywhere from this ὀρέγεσθαι by the analogy of easy derivation, you will nevertheless hardly find a way to produce *hunger* from it. Meric Casaubon has come closer to the matter. ‘To the Greeks, to be sure,’ as he says, ‘κενὸς is “empty, void;” κενὴ κοιλία, “empty stomach;” κενεαγγίη or κενεαγγία, “dishes’ emptiness;” in Hippocrates, “hunger, fasting;” from which (with *its* κ changing into *h*—nothing more common than that) *hugger*, *hunger* can appear to have drawn its origin.’ Casaubon’s origin is confirmed by *ieiuno* [I abstain from] of the Romans, which learned men believe to be derived from ἰνάω or ἰνέω, ‘I make empty, evacuate, purge.’ The nature of hunger itself agrees with this; ‘for,’” as A. Gellius 16.3 relates from Erasistratos, “hunger is caused by the empty and open entrails of the bowels and the empty, open, inner hollows of belly and stomach.” From this, the same Gellius then also describes from the same Erasistratos, “it is believed that because it is their habit to

can be ascribed to him with any certainty. The word occurs some ten times in the corpus. Cf. *OCD* (1996:710–11), Kühn and Fleischer (1989, s.v.).

⁶⁵ In his linguistic study, Casaubon described sound changes, such as *k > h*. On a sheet pasted on the back fly-leaf of his copy of Casaubon, UBL, 766 F 8, Junius indexed some twenty-five of them with page number, including “*l et r maxime permutabiles . . . p in f mutatur . . . β, π, φ saepe inter se mutantur*” [*l* and *r* are extremely changeable . . . *p* is changed into *f* . . . β, π, φ often interchange]. For the change *k > h* Junius gave cross-references, also at page 287, to Casaubon’s explanation (1650:170), “aliud Anglis veteribus usitatissimum, ut *c* literam in aspirationum verterent” [something else was most common among the ancient English, that they changed the letter *c* into an aspirated one]. This testifies to Junius’ acquaintance with and interest in sound changes, even though he did not give them a prominent place in his studies, *d*.

⁶⁶ Junius copied most from “Accedit” up to “ἐνοχλοῦσης” from Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 16.3, including the quotation of Erasistratos, but he did not do so from the copy extant with his annotations, *d*, for the Greek reads differently in it, cf. below.

⁶⁷ The loose slip from which Junius quoted this passage breaks off after “‘nam, ut,” *r*^a.

et hiantia.”⁶⁸ Unde ex eodem Erasistrato mox quoque refert idem Gellius, “Scythas, cum sit usus ut famem longius tolerent, fasciis ventrem strictissime circumligare; ea ventris compressione esuritionem posse depelli creditum est.”⁶⁹ Ipsius Erasistrati verba operae pretium est adscribere, εἰθισμένοι δέ εἰσι καὶ οἱ Σκύθαι, ὅταν διὰ τινὰ καιρὸν ἀναγκάζονται ἄσιτοι εἶναι, ζῶναις πλατεΐαις τὴν κοιλίαν διασφίγγειν, ὡς τῆς πείνης ἀντοὺς ἦττον ἐνοχλοῦσης.⁷⁰ Plura Gellius. Fortasse quoque vocabuli etymologiam non male petas ex ἀγγρία, “dolor.” Hesychius certe ἀγγρίας expronit λύπας, “dolores, molestias, aegritudines animi,”⁷¹ ἀγγρίζειν quoque eidem grammatico est ἐρεθίζειν, “irritare.” Praeter caeteros vero irritabiles esse famelicos argumento est, quod qui semel tantum de die cibum sumunt, morosiores plerumque sint iis qui bis propulsant famem. Evincitur id, non experientia modo teste, sed et ex deperditis Aristotelis problematis ab Apollonio refertur capite 9 historia mirabilium.⁷² Apposite Theocritus sub finem Idyllii 15, πεινῶντί γε μηδέποτ’ ἄντης, “esurienti quidem ne unquam occurras.”⁷³ Cum quo concinit incertus author versuum qui Plautinae Amphitryoni adiciuntur, “vetu’st adagium, ‘fames et mora bilem in nasum conciant’,” ubi eo meminit nasi, quod ex iratorum naribus aestuosius aliquanto soleat spiritus ebullire.⁷⁴ Respexit eo et Persius, Satyra 5, “disce; sed ira cadit naso, rugosaque sanna.”⁷⁵ Hebraeis profecto eadem vox נֶסֶם et “nasum” et “iram” significat.⁷⁶

t ° | *arbeyd*, “labor;” *arbeiten*, “laborare.”

Anglo-Saxonibus *ƿincan* est “laborare,” et nusquam adhuc, quantum memini, in vetustioribus monumentis °Anglo-Saxonicis incidi in verbum *arbeiþen*. At apud Alamannicos scriptores frequenter occurrunt *arbeiten vel arbeiten*; quod referendum inter alia plura quae pecu-

t ° | [f.153r] | Anglo-Saxonicis: Anglo-Saxoni[- bus]cis

⁶⁸ The influential physician Erasistratos of Keos (c.315–240 B.C.?), the father of pathological anatomy, in Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 16.3.3. Cf. *OCD* (1996:552–53).

⁶⁹ Gellius, 16.3.4.

⁷⁰ Gellius, 16.3.8; εἰσι: *Junius’ copy* εἰσι; ἄσιτοι εἶναι: *copy* ἄσιτειν; τῆς πείνης . . . ἐνοχλοῦσης: *copy* τις πληνης η κοιλια η.

⁷¹ In his own copy of Hesychius, *Dictionarium* (1521), UBL, 759 B 3, **94a**, Junius corrected the printed λύπας to λύπας.

⁷² Apollonios (?2nd c. B.C.), *Historiai thaumasiai* 9, which indicates that Aristotle made this suggestion among his “problems of natural science.” No copy of Junius found, but a copy of Joannes Meursius, *Apollonius historiae commentitiae liber* (Leiden, 1620), now UBL, 571 F 25: 2, stems from Isaac Vossius’ collection and had belonged to Isaac from 1632, cf. fly-leaf. Cf. *OCD* (1996:127).

endure hunger rather long, the Scythians lace up their stomach with belts very tightly; that hunger can be removed by this constriction of the stomach.” It is worth the trouble to copy Erasistratos’ own words, εἰθισμένοι . . . ἐνοχλοῦσης. Gellius has more. Perhaps you may also fittingly seek the etymology of the word from ἀγγρία, “grief.” Hesychius, for sure, renders ἀγγρίας as λύπας, “griefs, vexations, anguishes of the heart;” ἀγγρίζειν is also ἐρεθίζειν, “to irritate,” in the same grammarian. Evidence for the fact that famished people are more irritable than others, however, is that those who enjoy food only once a day are usually more morose than those who repel hunger twice a day. This is not only demonstrated witness experience, but also related by Apollonius in chapter 9 of the *Stories of Memorable Matters* from Aristotle’s lost problems. Appropriately, Theocritus [says] at the end of *Idyl* 15, πεινᾶντί γε μηδέποτε ἄντης, “indeed you will never meet hungry people there.” The uncertain author of the verses which are included in Plautus’ *Amphitruo* accords with this, “the very old proverb, ‘hunger and delay produce bile in the nose,’” where he thinks of the nose because breath sometimes bubbles up rather hotly from angry people’s nostrils. Therefore Persius has also considered in *Satire* 5, “learn; but anger falls from the nose and wrinkles his countenance.” To the Hebrews, actually, the same word *af* means both “nose” and “anger.”

t *arbejd*, “labour;” *arbeiten*, “to labour.”

To the Anglo-Saxons *swincan* is “to labour,” and nowhere yet, so far as I remember, have I come across a word *arbeiten* in the older Anglo-Saxon documents. Yet *arbeiten* or *arbeiten* frequently occur in Alamannic writers; among other things, this must be ascribed to the many words which the Franks preserved especially from the Gothic dialect, *gakunnaiþ blomans haiþjos hwaiwa wahsjand. nih arbaidjand. nih*

⁷³ Theocritus of Syracuse (3rd c. B.C.), the father of bucolic poetry, *Idyllia* 15.148, πεινᾶντι δὲ μηδὲ ποτένης. No copy of Junius found.

⁷⁴ Plautus, *Amphitruo* 35–36, 35e. The copy of *Plauti . . . Fabulae superstites XX, ex recensione Dousica* (Leiden, 1589), now UBL, 755 G 18 (from Isaac Vossius’ collection), contains numerous underlinings and some annotations by Junius. He also underlined the present quotation at page 47. The saying also occurs as Erasmus, *Adage* 1760; 35e.

⁷⁵ Aulus Persius Flaccus, *Satyræ* 5.91. No copy of Junius found. The image that anger resides in the nose occurs more often in classical texts, for instance in Theocritus, cf. Kibel (1990:166, 664).

⁷⁶ 𐌺𐌰, “nostril, nose, face, anger,” F. Brown (1972, s.v. 𐌺𐌰).

liariter ex dialecto Gothica reseruarunt Franci, ΓΑΚΟΝΝΗΑΙΨ ΒΛΩΜΑΝΣ ΗΑΙΨΟΞΣ ΘΑΙΥΑ ΥΑΗΣΟΑΝΑ· ΝΙΗ ΑΚΒΑΙΑΟΑΝΑ· ΝΙΗΣΠΙΝΑΝΑ, *Matthaei* 6.28; ΑΛΛΑ ΝΑΗΤ ΨΑΙΚΗ ΑΚΒΑΙΑΟΑΝΑΝΣ ΥΑΙΗΤ ΝΙ ΝΕΜΝΗ, *Lucae* 5.5. Caeterum de verbo *arbeiten* iam dudum sequentia haec annotaveram ad Tatiani 19.6,⁷⁷ “quidam Teutonicum *arbeiten* deduxerunt ex *orb* vel *arb*, ‘haereditas,’ et °*heyzen* vel *heiten*, ‘promittere,’ quod magni laboris multaeque operae homines certam sibi amplae veluti haereditatis aliorumque commodorum spem promittere possint, iuxta illud Appii Claudii apud Livium libro 5 ab *Urbe condita*, ‘Nusquam nec opera sine emolumento, nec emolumentum ferme sine opera est. Labor voluptasque, °dissimillima natura, societate quadam inter se naturali sunt iuncta’.⁷⁸

u “Quum tamen haec etymologia nequaquam animo meo satisfaceret, suspicarerque originem verbi aliunde petendam, verisimilem tandem etymologiam etiamnum haesitanti reddidit nobilissimus amplissimusque vir Georgius Ratallerus Doubletius, in suprema Hollandiae Zeelandiaeque curia Senator °quondam integerrimus, ac lubenti persuasit *arbeiden* vel *aerbeyden* dici quasi °*aerdbe-eyden*, ‘terram colere et glebas comminuere rastros, pectine, vel crate occatoria.’ °*Eyde* certe *veteribus* Frisiis et Hollandis septentrionalibus °etiam nunc dicitur ‘rastrium.’⁷⁹ Bonaventura °interim Vulcanius vocabulum ἔργον pari ferme ratione deduxit ἀπὸ τῆς ἔρας, ‘a tellure,’ tanquam olim ἔργα proprie sint dicta τὰ κατὰ τὴν γεωργίαν, ‘opera agriculturam spectantia.’⁸⁰ Ita Callimachus, ° | σύες ἔργα, σύες φυτὰ λυμαίνονται;⁸¹ et Leonidas libro secundo *Anthologiae* ἐργοπόνους dixit ‘agricolas.’⁸² Caeterum ut a °πονεῖν, ‘laborare,’ πόνος persaepe °usurpatur pro ‘aerumna,’ ita quoque ab hoc *arbeiten* patribus nostris °*arbeit* vel *arabeit* frequenter

t *heyzen* vel *heiten*: *Ms Jun. 42 heissen* vel *heyten* | *dissimillima*: *Ms Jun. 42 difficillima* | u *quondam*: *Ms Jun. 42 \quondam/* | *aerdbe-eyden*: *Ms Jun. 42 aerd be-eyden* | *Eyde* certe: *Ms Jun. 42 Nam eyde* | etiam nunc: *Ms Jun. 42 etiamnum* | interim: *Ms Jun. 42 certe* | °: [f.153v] | πονεῖν: [– *Graeco*] πονεῖν, *Ms Jun. 42 a Graeco πονεῖν* | usurpatur: *Ms Jun. 42 usurpabatur* | *arbeit*: *Ms Jun. 42 arbeid*

⁷⁷ Junius quoted from “quidam” up to and including u from his “Auctarium” of the annotations to Tatian, *Ms Jun. 42*, f. 27. *Ms Jun. 13* refers for “Quidam etc.” to the “Auctarium.” The *Gothicum glossarium* (1665, s.v. ΑΚΒΑΙΑΟΑΝ) quotes the “Auctarium” virtually verbatim.

⁷⁸ Appius Claudius Crassus, a descendant of the consul and tyrant of the same name, in Livy, *Libri ab urbe condita* 5.4.4, part of Claudius’ speech in the year 604 b.c., cf. Ogilvie (1965:607). No copy of Junius found. Cf. Kiliaan (1599, s.vv.),

spinnand ["Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin" AV], Matthew 6.28; *alla naht þairh arbai-djandans waiht ni nemum* ["we have toiled all the night, and have taken nothing" AV], Luke 5.5. However, already some time ago I had annotated the following on Tatian 19.6, "some had derived Teutonic *arbeiten* from *orb* or *arb*, 'inheritance,' and *heyzen* or *heiten*, 'to promise,' because men who labour hard and work much can give themselves the certain expectation of a large inheritance and other profits, so to speak, in accordance with Appius Claudius' [saying] in Livy, *From the Foundation of Rome*, book 5, 'there is nowhere exertion without gain, nor hardly gain without exertion. Labour and pleasure, most different in character, are joined by a natural union to each other'."

u "However, since this etymology did not satisfy my mind at all, and I supposed that the origin of the word must be sought elsewhere, the most noble and renowned Mr. George Rataller Doublet, the most virtuous sometime councillor in the Supreme Court of Holland and Zeeland, finally reported the true etymology to me, when I was still hesitating, and persuaded me to my pleasure that *arbeyden* or *aerbeyden* were said as if *aerdbe-eyden*, 'to till the earth and crumble the soil to pieces with a mattock, rake or a wicker-work for harrowing.' *Eyde*, for sure, is nowadays still called 'a harrow' by the ancient Frisians and the North-Hollanders. Bonaventura Vulcanius, meanwhile, derived the word ἔργον [work] with almost equal reasoning ἀπὸ τῆς ἔρας, 'from "the earth",' just as ἔργα [works] were formerly properly called τὰ κατὰ τὴν γεωργίαν, 'works pertaining to agriculture.' Thus Callimachus, σύες ἔργα, σύες φυτὰ λυμαίνονται [wild swines ruin work; wild swines ruin plants]; and Leonidas said in the *Anthology*, second book, ἐργοπόνους for 'farmers.' Yet, just as πόνος, from πονεῖν, 'to work,' is very often used for 'hardship,' so also *arbeit* or *arabeit*, from this *arbeiten*, frequently

"ARBEYD, 'labor, opera, sudor;' ARBEYD, 'nixus, partus, labor parturientium.' In *den arbeyd sitten*, 'parturire, in pariendo laborare'" [ARBEYD, 'labour, work, sweat;' ARBEYD, 'travail, delivery, labour of women in labour.' In . . . *sitten*, 'to be in travail, to labour in bringing forth'].

⁷⁹ Kiliaan (1599) does not discuss *eyde*.

⁸⁰ Bonaventura Vulcanius' discussion is unidentified; not in *Callimachi Cyrenaei hymni, epigrammata et fragmenta, quae exstant . . .* (Antwerp, 1584), cf. this section. Junius added this Greek example to demonstrate the plausibility of a relationship between *arbeyd*, "labour," and *aerd*, "earth."

⁸¹ Callimachus, *Hymni* 3.156, "On Diana." No copy of Junius found.

⁸² The Greek epigrammatist Leonidas (3rd c. B.C.) in the Greek *Anthologia* 11.9.3. Cf. 42h, *OCD* (1996:844).

significabat ‘gravem dolorem, tribulationem.’ °Unde et Harmoniae huius capite 174, commate 5 transfertur ad parturientium angustias, *thas uuif thanne berit, gitruobnessi habet, uuarta quam ir zit. thanne siu gibirit then knecht, iu ni huget thera arbeit, thuruh gifehon uuarta giboran ist man in mittilgart.* °Sed de hac vocis acceptione nonnihil habent annotationes nostrae in Tatiani 75.2.”⁸³

v *Bank*, “scamnum.”

Viri longe doctissimi iam olim deduxerunt *bank* e medio Graeci ἄβακος, inserto *n*; vide Vossium libro 2 capite 3 de Vitiis sermonis et variis glossematis.⁸⁴ Ipse quoque in annotatis ad Tatiani 26.2,⁸⁵ “Alamannicum *ding*, *tinc*, vel *thing*, ‘lis, causa,’ pari prorsus ratione deduxi ex δίκη, ‘iudicium, causa, actio,’ atque eius epentheseos exempla haec affero. °Ita obsoletum *mingo* est ex ὀμικήω; *ningo* ex νίφω; *lingo* ex λείχω; *tango* ex θίγω; *pinso* ex πλίσσω;⁸⁶ *scindo* ex σχίζω; *ver-runc* ex ἐρρύκω;⁸⁷ *rango* °ex Dorico πάγω;⁸⁸ *densus* a δάσύς; *pinguis* a παχύς; *fundus* a βυθός; *cinnamus* a κίκιννος; *anguis* ab ἔχis vel Dorico

u Unde . . . *mittilgart*: Ms Jun. 42 – | Sed . . . 75.2: Ms Jun. 42 vide annotata ad Tatiani 75.2 | v Ita . . . *mingo*: Ms Jun. 42 Sicuti \fundo est a χωω vel χωνω, obsoletum; magnus a μέγας | ex Dorico: Ms Jun. 42 ex πήγω vel Dorico

⁸³ At Tatian 75.2, Junius has in Ms Jun. 13, f. 156v, “*arbeits gitaneru*, ‘tribulatione facta.’ *ju ni huget thera arbeits thuruh gifehon*, ‘iam non meminit pressurae propter gaudium,’ 174.5. *uuanda her arbeyd thurgh minan uuillan leyth, so ne uuillon ouch ich negheyn arbeyd thurgh sinan uuillan scuwan*, ‘siquidem ipse aerumnas mea de caussa tulit, ego quoque nulla adversa propter eum vitabo,’ Willeram 3.4. *arbeits*, ‘tribulatio,’ Kero. Observa interim hanc acceptionem vocis *arbeit* desumptam ex primaria significatione verbi *arbeiten* de qua egimus ad 19.6; ac super omnia vide Ioh. Drusii Miscellaneorum centuriam primam, capite 4” [*arbeits gitaneru*, ‘when trouble had happened.’ *ju . . . gifehon*, ‘out of happiness she no longer thought of distress,’ 174.5. *uuanda . . . scuwan*, ‘since indeed he himself has borne hardships for my sake, I shall not shun any adversities for him either,’ Willeram 3.4. *arbeits*, ‘trouble,’ Kero. Note, meanwhile, that this meaning of the word *arbeit* is derived from the principal meaning of the verb *arbeiten* which we have discussed at 19.6; and before everything else, see Johannes Drusius, *Miscellany*, first division of hundred, chapter 4]. Johannes Drusius, *Miscellanea locutionum sacrarum. Tributa in centurias duas, in quibus, praeter Scripturas, varia theologorum loca, Augustini praecipue, illustratur, aut emendatur . . .* (Franeker, 1586:20–21), “πόνος pro labore et pro dolore. Finitima omnino sunt labor et dolor. Itaque Graeci uno nomine πόνος haec duo appellant” [πόνος (is used) for “toil” as well as for “grief.” Toil and grief are wholly alike. The Greek therefore call these two by the single word πόνος]. The copy now UBL, 501 G 18, stems from Isaac Vossius’ collection and also comprises Drusius, *De quaesitis per epistolam . . .* (1595), which includes a published letter from Drusius to Franciscus Gomarus. Johannes Drusius (1550–1616), professor of Oriental languages, first at Leiden, and at Franeker from 1585, was

meant 'a deep sorrow, distress' to our ancestors. From this it is also transferred to 'the pains of those in labour' in this Harmony, chapter 174, section 5, *thas uuif thanne berit, gitruobnessi habet, uuarta quam ir zit, thanne siu gibirit then knecht, ju ni huget thera arbeit, thuruh gifehon uuarta giboran ist man in mittilgart*. But our annotations on Tatian 75.2 have something on this meaning of the word."

v *Bank*, "bench."

Most learned men had already earlier derived *bank* from the middle of Greek ἄβακος, with inserted *n*; see Vossius, *On the Errors of Discourse and Several Foreign Words*, book 2, chapter 3. In the annotations on Tatian 26.2, I myself have also derived "Alamannic *ding*, *tinc*, or *thing*, 'lawsuit, case' with truly equal reasoning from δίκη, 'judgement, case, suit,' and cited these examples of this epenthesis. Thus obsolete *mingo* [make water] is from ὀμιχέω [make water], *ningo* [snow] from νίφω [snow], *lingo* [lick up] from λείχω [lick up], *tango* [touch] from θίγω [touch], *pinso* [beat] from πλίσσω [render insolvent], *scindo* [split] from σχίζω [split], *verrunco* [turn] from ἐρύκω [restrain], *pango* [fasten] from Dorian πάγω [make fast], *densus* [thick] from δόσύς [thick], *pinguis* [fat] from παχύς [thick], *fundus* [bottom] from βυθός [the deep], *cincinnus* [curled hair] from κίκιννος [ringlet], *anguis* [snake] from ἔχις [snake] or Dorian ἄχις, *unus* [one] and the ancient *oinus* from οἶος [alone], *tunc* [then] from τόκα [then], *planta pedis* [sole of the foot]

distinguished for his linguistic interpretations of the Bible, and had cooperated with Marnix of St. Aldegonde in revising the Dutch translation of the Bible, which project, however, was discontinued at Marnix's death. Cf. *NNBW* 1.753–57.

⁸⁴ Vossius, *De vitiiis* (1645:179–80), "possint tamen et posteriora secula *banci* vocem ex *abaci* corruississe, κατ' ἀφαίρεσιν, et *n* inserto, ut in *totiens*, *thensaurus*, et similibus. Pro qua sententia est, quod saepius in semibarbaris scriptoribus legas, 'in abaco sedere,' pro eo, quod alii 'in banco' dixerunt" [still, later centuries could also have corrupted the word *bancus* from *abacus* (sideboard), by removal and inserted *n*, just as in *totiens*, *thensaurus* and the like. The idea for this is that quite often you read in semibarbarous writers 'to sit on a sideboard' for that which others call 'to sit on a bench']. Cf. Kiliaan (1599, s.v.), "BANCKE, 'scamnum,' vulgo 'banca.' Germanice *banck*, Gallice *banc*, Italice *banco*, *banca*, Hispanice *banco*, Anglice *benche*" [BANCKE, 'bench,' commonly 'banca' . . .].

⁸⁵ Junius quoted "Alamannicum . . . βλάστη" from his "Auctarium" of the annotations to Tatian, Ms Jun. 42, f. 6. Alamannicum . . . actio: Ms Jun. 42 Fortasse interim *ding* vel *ting* istud derivatum est a δίκη, "iudicium, causa, actio," inserto tantummodo *n*.

⁸⁶ πλίσσω for πλίσσω.

⁸⁷ ἐρύκω for ἐρύκω.

⁸⁸ πάγω for πήγνυμι.

ἄχις; *unus* et antique *oivus* ab οἶος; *tunc* a τόκα;⁸⁹ *planta pedis* a πλάττη; *planta arboris* ab Aeolico βλάττη pro °βλάστη.” Quod vero serius facta sit haec epenthesis literae *n*, videtur adstrui posse ex Cimbrico ΒΗΥΥ†, “scamna,” quod occurrit strophæ 25 Epinicii Regneri Lodbrog Regis, ΒΛΓΓΒΝΛ ΨΒΝΛ ΒΗΥΥ† ΒΝΙΛ ΝΗ† ΗΨ ΛΙ ΗΝΨΓΝΨ, “Balderi patris scamna parata scio in convivia.”⁹⁰

W ° | *Bauch*, “venter.”

De hoc vocabulo nonnihil diximus ad paginam 2 glossarii D, ubi glossator, “‘venter,’ *buch*; ‘alvus,’ idem; ‘uterus,’ *buch*, sed proprie mulierum. Alvus, quando ad feminam pertinet, feminei generis est.” °Ad quae glossatoris verba annotamus nos,⁹¹ “Francis *buch* vel *buuch* est ‘venter,’ °quorum primum occurrit apud Willeramum 1.10 et 5.14; alterum vero apud eundem 7.2.⁹² Helvigius derivat Germanicum *bauch* a παχὺς, ‘obesus, pinguis, crassus.’⁹³ Considerandum tamen annon suum illud *buch* Franci desumpserint ex Anglo-Saxonico *buc*, ‘amphora, lagena.’ Ita in Ælfrici glossis pagina 22 *buc* exponitur ‘lagena.’ Legas itidem Lucae 22.10, eop ongean γρηῶ an man mib pæterbuce, ‘occurreret vobis homo cum amphora aquae.’ Atque ita videbuntur Franci hoc nomen indidisse ‘ventri,’ quod lagenae amphoraeque instar omnia capiat, et de novo subinde sit replendus. Immo ipsam quoque ‘lagenam’ videri poterunt Anglo-Saxones *buc* nuncupasse a βύειν vel βύζειν, ‘confertim implere.’⁹⁴ Convenientissimam sane avaro ventri fuisse hanc denominationem nemo non videt, cum πάντηξ, ‘abdomen, aqualiculus, alvus,’ ac proprie magis ‘omazum’ (cui Teutonicum *pans* vel *pens* respondet) similiter putetur dici ἀπὸ τοῦ πάντα ἔχειν. Veteribus quoque Cimbris ΒΗΨΨ† dicebatur ‘venter;’⁹⁵ Anglis *bellie*; Cambro-Britannis quoque *bol* vel *boly*;⁹⁶ Belgis *balg*;

v οἶος; *Ms Jun.* 42 οἶος; \vulnus ab ὀυλή/ | βλάστη; *Ms Jun.* 42 βλάστη; *planca* a πλαξ, ‘tabula’ | w ° |: [f.154r] | Ad: [- *ubi nos annotamus*] Ad | quorum: [- *siu buch is elephant beinir, venter eius eburacus, Willeramio 5.14*] quorum

⁸⁹ τόκα is Doric for τότε.

⁹⁰ The funeral poem for Ragnar Lodbrog known as “Krákumál,” in twenty-nine ten-line stanzas in runes with interlinear Latin translation and commentary per stanza, in Ole Worm, *Runer* (1636:197–241), 183a. For Junius, Cimbric represented an older stage in the chronology of Germanic languages than Tatian’s German, 189c. The absence of *-n-* in the example from Cimbric, just as its absence in Greek, indicated that the insertion of *-n-* must have been a fairly recent sound change which had occurred only in or not long before the stage of Tatian’s German.

⁹¹ Junius quoted “Francis . . . Tatiani 56.8” from “glossary D,” which has not been compared with this passage, so that the extent of the quotation is an assumption.

from *πλάτη* [blade], *planta arboris* [sprig of a tree] from Aeolian *βλάττη* for *βλάστη* [sprig].” Yet it seems possible to add that this epenthesis of the letter *n* occurred rather late on the basis of Cimbric *bekke*, “benches,” which occurs in the “Victory Song of King Ragnar Lodbrog,” strophe 25, *balldur fadur bekke buna ueit eg at sumlum*, “Balder’s father’s benches are prepared at the banquet, I know.”

w *Bauch*, “belly.”

We have said something about this word on page 2 of glossary D, where the glossator [has], “‘belly,’ *buch*, ‘womb,’ the same, ‘womb,’ *buch*, but properly of women. A womb, when it belongs to a woman, is of feminine gender.” On the glossator’s words we have annotated, “to the Franks *buch* or *buuch* is ‘belly,’ the former of which occurs in Willeram 1.10 and 5.14, but the latter in the same, 7.2. Helvigijs derives German *Bauch* from *παχὺς*, ‘plump, fat, thick.’ Yet it must be considered whether the Franks did not select their *buch* from Anglo-Saxon *buc*, ‘bottle, flask.’ Thus *buc* is translated ‘flask’ in Ælfric’s glosses, page 22. You may read in the same way in Luke 22.10, *eow ongean yrnð an man mid wæterbuce*, ‘a man carrying a jar of water will meet you.’ Thus the Franks seem to have applied this word to the belly, because it holds everything and must often be refilled again, like a flask or bottle. By all means, the Anglo-Saxons can also appear to have called the flask itself *buc* from *βύειν* or *βύζειν*, ‘to fill up tight.’ Nobody fails to see, truly, that this designation is most convenient for an avaricious belly, because *πάντηξ*, ‘abdomen, paunch, bowels,’ but more properly ‘bullock’s tripe’ (to which Teutonic *pans* or *pens* corresponds) is similarly believed to be called *after this* ‘to hold everything.’ Besides, by the ancient Cimbrians a belly is called *belgir*; by the English *bellie*; by the Welsh also *bol* or *boly*; by the Dutch

⁹² Junius did not specifically discuss *buch* in his *Observationes* (1655).

⁹³ Andreas Helvigijs, *Etymologiae, sive origines dictionum Germanicarum, ex tribus illis nobilibus antiquitatis eruditae linguis, Latina, Graeca, Hebraea, derivatarum* (Frankfurt, 1611, s.v. BAUCH), an etymological dictionary of German. No copy of Junius found in UBL.

⁹⁴ For an elaboration of Junius’ arguments, cf. his annotations in the “Auctarium” quoted below. Cf. Vossius, *De vitis* (1645:245), which has on *bauca*, “quod βούκη in glossis exponatur ‘viniferum,’ sive ‘oenophorum.’ *Baucam* pro ‘cyatho’ . . . invenias” [this βούκη (prudish, affected [SvR]) is translated ‘wine-bearing’ or ‘wineholder’ in glosses. You find *bauca* for ‘cyathus (a laddle for transferring wine from bowl to cup [SvR])’].

⁹⁵ ΒΗΥ|Α is not an entry in Ole Worm, *Specimen lexici Runici* (1650).

⁹⁶ The Welsh was presumably from John Davies, *Antiquae linguae Britannicae, nunc*

quae omnia similiter desumta sunt a veteri *balg vel belg*, quod prima sua significatione denotabat ‘utrem, lagenam, et quodvis fere quadrandam rerum receptaculum.’ Gothis certe **ΒΑΛΓΕΙΣ** erant ‘utres;’ **ΠΑΤΙΒΑΛΓ**, ‘pera.’ Anglo-Saxonibus \circ | similiter *belg vel pınbelg* est ‘uter,’ et *metebælg vel metbælg*, ‘pera;’ *beanbelg*, ‘valvulus, operculum, concha, tunica, siliqua fabae.’ Danis *balg* est ‘vagina.’⁹⁷ Atque adeo in omnibus istis manifestissimum deprehendas vestigium priscae vocis *bulga*, quam Festus origine Gallicam esse tradit, exponitque ‘sacculum, scor-teum.’⁹⁸ Sed de his plura habent annotata nostra in Tatiani 56.8.⁹⁹

w \circ |: [f.155v]

vulgo dictae Cambro-Britannicae . . . (London, 1632), now UBL, 365 A 7 (from Isaac Vossius’ collection), which contains many annotations by Junius. Junius inserted a list of Welsh monosyllabic words in *Observationes* (1655:265–88) purportedly truncated from Greek words, and he compiled a Welsh glossary in Ms Jun. 115b, ff. 64–89. In his *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. *wicket*), Junius explained how he had been attracted to Welsh by Sir John Vaughan (1603–1674) (“Nicholas” seems to be Junius’ mistake), from Trawscoed, Cardiganshire, a close friend of John Selden, “Non potui, certe ne debui lectoris curiositati hoc in loco subtrahere quod de vocabuli origine edocuit me humanissimus vir Ioh. Nicholas Vaughan, Cambobritannus, iudex, qui pro singulari erga Cymraeam gentem linguamque affectu non destitit septentrionalium linguarum antiquitates perscrutantem ad patriae sibi linguae considerationem incitare, ac pluribus verbis monere, hortari, rogare, ut praestantissima quoque monumenta idiomatis perantiqui altiore indagine perlustrarem. Facile igitur traduxit me ad suam sententiam; atque hos meos qualescunque conatus tam prono exinde, dum viveret, studio prosecutus est, ut quod, illo auctore, velle coeperam, adiutore quodammodo assequer” [At this place I could not, and really should not omit from the reader’s curiosity what was taught to me on the origin of this word by the most kind gentleman John Nicholas Vaughan, Welshman, judge, who out of a singular love for the Welsh people and language has not ceased to encourage me, when I was examining the antiquities of the northern languages, to a consideration of his ancestral language, and to admonish, urge and ask of me with many words also to examine the most excellent documents of the very ancient language by rather deep investigation. He accordingly easily drew me over to his opinion, and has followed my humble efforts with such ready attention as long as he lived, that because of this promotor I to some extent reached what I had begun to wish at his instigation]. Cf. Bremner (1998b:233), *SCW* no. 5226*, *DNB* 58.167.

⁹⁷ The Danish was presumably from *Den Forste Part aff den Danske Urtebog* (1647), now Ms Jun. 28, **205c**.

⁹⁸ Festus (1593, s.v. *BULGAS*), “*bulgas* Galli sacculos scor-teos appellant” [the Gaulish call little leather bags *bulgas*].

⁹⁹ Junius’ annotations in Ms Jun. 42, f. 177r, additional to those in the present section, are, “*bulge*, ‘obba,’ *bueus*, idem, glossario D,13. *palgalin smalsati*, ‘siliqua,’ glossario C, 17 . . . Nonio Marcello, ‘*bulga* est folliculus omnis vel sacculus ad brachium pendens’ . . . Cambro-Britannis *bolgan*, *bulgan*, *bylgan*, *bulan* est ‘*bulga*.’ Gallo-Celtis denique ab hoc ‘*bulga*,’ eliso *l*, est *bouge* et per diminutionem *bougette*. Vide Spelmannum

balg, all of which have similarly been adopted from ancient *belg* or *belg*, which denoted in its principal meaning 'bag, flask, and a vessel for almost anything.' To the Goths, for sure, *balgeis* were 'bags,' *matibalg*, 'wallet.' To the Anglo-Saxons *belg* or *winbelg* is similarly 'bag,' and *metebelg* or *metbælig*, 'wallet,' *beanbelg*, 'mouth of a bag, lid, vessel for holding oil or salt, a skin, the pod of a bean.' To the Danes *balg* is 'vagina.' In all of these you may quite manifestly perceive a trace of the ancient word *bulga*, which Festus confides to be Gallic in origin and translates as 'a little leather bag.' Yet our annotations on Tatian 56.8 have more on this."

in *bulgia* et Vossium libri 1 de Vitiis Sermonis, capite 2. Danis . . . *belge om erter oc bœner*, 'siliqua pisarum et fabarum.' Quod vero Nonius in voce *bulga* etiam citat haec Lucilii verba ex libro 26, 'ita ut quisque nostrum e *bulga* est matris in lucem editus,' manifeste satis evincit Celtas eadem quoque voce 'ventrem' vel 'uterum' olim designasse, atque adeo non esse mirandum si nonnullae gentium Celticarum 'ventris' denominationem etiamnum ab hac voce retineant, ob quandam eius similitudinem cum sacco isthoc scorteo qui Gallis dicebatur *bulga*. . . Originem vocis *bulga* tradit clarus Vossius in *Etymologico Latino*" [*bulge*, 'beaker,' *bueus*, the same, glossary D.13. *palgalin smalsati*, 'pod,' glossary C, 17. . . In Nonius Marcellus, '*bulga* is any bag or a little bag hanging on the forearm' . . . To the Welsh *bolgan* . . . *bwlan* is '*bulga*.' Finally, from this *bulga*, with elision of *l*, the Gallo-Celts have *bouge*, and by diminution *bougette*. See Spelman at *bulgia* and Vossius, book 1 *On the Errors of Discourse*, chapter 2. To the Danes . . . *belge* . . . *bœner*, 'the pod of peas and beans.' Yet the fact that Nonius also quotes Lucilius' words from book 26 at the word *bulga*, 'just as each of us has come to light from their mother's womb,' quite clearly demonstrates that the Celts formerly indicated 'belly' or 'womb' also by the same word, and that one need not be so surprised if several Celtic peoples have still kept the designation 'belly' from this word because of its similarity to that little leather bag which is called *bulga* by the Gaulish. . . The renowned Vossius discusses the origin of the word *bulga* in the *Latin Etymologicum*]. Junius' *Gothicum glossarium* (1665, s.v. **ΒΑΛΓΕΙΣ**) quotes from this passage of the "Auctarium." Spelman (1626, s.v. **BULGIA**), "idem quod *bulga*; ab Italica *bolgia*, Graecobarbarica βουλγίον et βουλγιδίον. Malmesbury de Gestis Pontificum libro I, 'bulgias et manticas coram efferri et expiari iussit'" [the same as *bulga*; from Italian *bolgia*, barbaric Greek βουλγίον and βουλγιδίον. (William of) Malmesbury, in book 1 on "Deeds of the (English) Bishops," 'he ordered the *bulgias* and cloak-bags to be brought and plundered for him']. Vossius, *De vitiis* (1645:11), "*bulga* origine Gallicum esse, ab eodem Festo accepimus . . . Hodieque Galli, eliso *l*, ut saepe, dicunt *bouge*" [we learn from the same Festus that *bulga* is Gaulish in origin . . . And nowadays the French say *bouge*, with elision of *l*, as often]. Vossius, *Etymologicum linguae Latinae, praefigitur eiusdem de literarum permutatione tractatus*, edited by Isaac Vossius (Amsterdam, 1662), a copious etymological dictionary of Latin, which included a treatise on sound changes between Greek and Latin. The copy now UBL, 761 B 12 (from Isaac Vossius' collection), contains Junius' annotations, but Junius must have made use of the *Etymologicum* when it was still in manuscript. At **BULGA**, Vossius referred to Nonius, Lucilius and Festus, and added, "aiunt, Latinos *bulgae* vocem accepisse a Gallis, qui hodieque dicunt *bouge* . . . Sed quid repugnat, quo minus Gallos hanc vocem dicamus accepisse a Massiliensibus, qui Graece loquebantur; nempe ut *bulga* fit ex βολγός, pro μολγός,

x Post haec quaesita transit Claritas Vestra ad opus praelo iam paratum, in quo agis de consonantibus ratione lenitatis asperitatisve recte iungendis aut separandis, de literis etc., ac tandem concludis videre te laborem meum circa alia, aut circa eadem alio modo versari.¹⁰⁰ Tenes profecto rem totam. Fieri nequit ut eandem insistamus viam atque idem in plerisque sentiamus, te ad hodiernae linguae idiotismos animum advertente, me vero sola (quantum studio ac labore consequi datur) carae potissimum vetustatis vestigia °indagante et premente. Abimus quidem in diversum, sed nulla in re tibi a me difficultas erit. Sic a te dissentiam, ut in disiunctione sententiae coniunctio tamen amicitiae maneat; quoniam enim difficile est in hac re iudiciis omnium satisfacere, oportet suo quemque iudicio relinqui.¹⁰¹ Frustra nimirum sit qui in maxime instabili linguarum negotio stabilitatem requirat, quam tamen aliquam hauriri posse credo ex antiquissimorum *codicorum* orthographia, fideli genuinae antiquitatis custodia.¹⁰² Mendosiores quidem plerumque aetatis mediae libri, sed antiquiores plurima vetustatis adhuc intemeratae vestigia servant;¹⁰³ neque potiore ullam videor mihi operam philoteutonibus posse navare, quam ut priscam ubique scripturam lectori praestem, ac reverendum illum sinceræ vetustatis colorem quavis occasione studiosorum oculis ingeram, si quem forte a nuperis hisce ad antiqua et solida °| patriae linguae decora daretur traducere.¹⁰⁴

x indagante: [- *pr*] indagante | °|: [f.154r]

quod Hesychio teste, est βόειος ἄσκος, ‘saccus coricaeus, bulga.’ Aeoles μ in β convertunt” [they say that the Latin people have received the word *bulga* from the Gallic, who say *bouge* today . . . Yet what prevents us from saying that the Gallic have received this word from the people of Marseille, who spoke Greek; that is, that *bulga* comes from βολγός, for μολγός, which is βόειος ἄσκος, ‘leather bag,’ witness Hesychius. The Aeolians changed μ into β]. Cf. Rademaker (1981:298–99, 375, no. 42), Bremmer (1998b:232), Dekker (1999:224).

¹⁰⁰ Clauberg, *Ars etymologica Teutonum e philosophiae fontibus derivata, id est, Via Germanicarum vocum et origines et praestantiam detegendi, cum plurimum tum harum Vernunft, Suchen, Auszspruch exemplis, atque exinde enatis regulis praemonstrata*; Deutsch von Deutschem (Duisburg, 1663), a theoretical treatise on contemporary German discussing sounds and sound changes in twenty-four rules on the basis of the words *Vernunft, Suchen* and *Auszspruch*. The first rule determined that German words should preferably be derived from other German words, that is, in contemporary German, since Clauberg did not take historical evidence into account. He intended to demonstrate the aptness of German as a language for philosophy and theology—in short, the superiority of German, as well as Dutch, which yielded many of his examples, over other languages such as Latin or Greek. This superiority, he claimed, was

x After these questions, your serenity passes on to the work ready for the press now, in which you discuss the proper joining or separating of consonants on the basis of smoothness or roughness, letters, etc., and finally you conclude that you see that my work is concerned with different topics, or with the same topics in a different manner. You absolutely get the whole point. It is impossible that we follow the same path and believe the same in everything, since you give your attention to the characteristics of the present-day language, whereas I only investigate and tread on the traces of preferably precious antiquity (as much as is granted to pursue with assiduity and labour). We depart indeed in opposite directions, but you will have no difficulty from me in any respect. Thus I may disagree with you, so that in a disjunction of opinion the conjunction of friendship lasts nevertheless; for, since it is difficult to satisfy everybody's judgements in this respect, each must be left to his own judgement. Certainly in error is he who demands stability in the most unstable affair of languages, yet some can be derived, I believe, from the orthography of the most ancient codices—a faithful conservator of genuine antiquity. Books of the middle ages are indeed often rather full of errors, but the more ancient ones preserve many traces of an as yet undefiled antiquity, and I think I can do no more profitable service for the lovers of Teutonic than to show pristine writing to the reader everywhere, and present this reverend splendour of genuine antiquity to students' eyes at every possible occasion, if it were perhaps granted to draw someone over to the ancient and genuine ornaments of the vernacular from the recent ones.

owing to the appropriateness with which German words reflected the ideas they expressed, principally because of the possibility of compounding and affixation to form the proper word for the expression of a particular concept. Thus, Clauberg's conception of German comes near the ideal one-to-one relationship of "word" and "thing," **203d**^a. No copy of Junius found in UBL. Cf. Waterman (1973), Weber (1999)—too much of whose article is disturbingly similar to Waterman (1973), and lacks sufficient acknowledgements.

¹⁰¹ Cicero, *De Provinciis consularibus in senatu oratio* 17 [i.e. 40], "ita dissensi ab illo ut in disiunctione sententiae coniuncti tamen amicitia maneremus."

¹⁰² Cf. **203d**^a, **211b**.

¹⁰³ Junius distinguished between faulty manuscripts of the northern languages of the later Middle Ages and pristine ones from an earlier period, which latter he may have conceived of as a northern antiquity, **177a**.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. **d**.

y Mire interim nostram hanc spem extenuat intempestivum illud inter superiores inferioresque Germanos de linguae praecellentia certamen, dum acriter atque contente nimis pro sui utrimque idiomatis usu propugnant.¹⁰⁵ Habebit haec res bene longam et satis litigiosam controversiam, si porro hinc inde affectibus obsequamur; semper inter nos dissidebimus et perpetuam hanc in saecula litem trahemus potius quam ut in commune aliquando tandem confutamus. At hac altercatione nemo non videt plura detrimenta publicae causae quam adiumenta per homines alioqui minime malos importari. Homines minime malos dico qui non prorumpunt in manifestam verborum contumeliam, a qua sibi non satis temperavit Andr. Helvigijs, qui in ea ad lectorem epistola quam Germanicis originibus praefixit, immitem prorsus atque erudito homine indignam de lingua Belgica fert sententiam.¹⁰⁶ “Belgica lingua,” inquit ille, “spuria est, seu (ut mitius dicam) spuma nostrae Germanicae, tanquam a lallantibus et balbutientibus pueris per mutuam συνθήκην introducta quondam, et veluti per febrim recepta in vulgus eius gentis; nisi quod ad vicinorum Hispanorum °suorum Gallorumque imitationem multa hodie semilatina intermiscet.” Idem rursus in etymo vocis *adam* linguam Batavam dicit “fatuam.”¹⁰⁷ Vides quam indigne, ne dicam inliberaliter, Belgas habeat Helvigijs.

z Ego certe non probo hanc gratuitae acerbitatis odiique magnitudinem, atque omnes cordatos minusque vehementes Germanicae linguae cultores impense rogo ut potius audiant magni Gesneri de lingua Belgica iudicium, “quaecunque fere vetera Germanice scripta apud nos °reperiuntur,” inquit singulare illud non Helvetiae suae tantum, sed totius quoque Europae ornamentum, “inferioris Germaniae dialectum prae se ferunt,” etc.; vide Gesneri Mithridatem pagina 41, 6 editionis Tigurinae, anno 1555.¹⁰⁸ Id ipsum quoque °| repetit idem

y suorum: [- *et*] suorum | z reperiuntur: reperiuntur [- *inquit vir magno . . . merito . . .*] | °|: [f.155v]

¹⁰⁵ The strife between upper and lower Germans on the superiority of their own variety of the language was topical, and so was Junius’ denunciation of the strife, while nevertheless intimating that he himself favoured his mother tongue over higher German, as in this section and z. At the same time, however, upper and lower Germans considered their tongues merely variant forms of general *Duutsch/ Düdesch* (“*Schwestervarianten*”) rather than different languages (“*Schwester Sprachen*”), 189c. Cf. de Grauwe (1992, esp. 199, 202).

¹⁰⁶ In Helvigijs, *Etymologiae*, Letter to the Reader (1611:28–29), the quotation follows on his appreciation of other northern languages, “Anglicam et Scoticam, differentes saltem idiomate (quemadmodum et Danicam ac Svecicam) ex nostra

y Our hope is meanwhile strangely thwarted by this unseasonable rivalry between the High and Low Germans about the excellence of the language, because zealously and too complacently they are contending for the use of their own dialect on both sides. This affair will result in a rather long and quite quarrelsome controversy, if we continue to yield to emotions on either side; we will always be divided among ourselves and prolong this continuous dispute for ages rather than ever finally repress it together. Nobody fails to see either that due to this dispute more losses than gains are brought about for the common cause by otherwise not in the least bad gentlemen. I call “not in the least bad gentlemen” those who do not burst forth in obvious word abuse, from which Andr. Helvigijs has not checked himself enough, who passes a really rude judgement on the Dutch language, unbecoming a scholar, in that Letter to the Reader which he has prefixed to *Germanic Origins*. “The Dutch language,” he says, “is spurious, or (to speak more gently) the spume of our German, as if introduced once by jabbering and stammering boys in communal *compilation*, and received among the mass of its people through fever, as it were; except that nowadays it mixes in much semi-Latin in imitation of their Spanish and French neighbours.” He calls the Holland language “foolish” again in the origin of the word *adam*. You see how indignantly, not to say ignobly, Helvigijs treats the Dutch.

z I, for sure, do not approve of this extent of gratuitous harshness and hatred, and urgently ask all prudent and less hotheaded students of the German language rather to hear the great Gesner’s judgement on the Dutch language: “Almost all ancient writings in German which are discovered with us,” this singular ornament of not only his Switzerland but also all Europe says, “reveal the dialect of lower Germany,” etc.; see Gesner’s *Mithridates*, page 41.6, in the

Germanica ortas seu detortas esse, nemo dubitabit, qui paulo diligentius illarum voces consideravit . . . De Belgica lingua noli quaerere! Spuria haec est [*follows quotation*]” [that English and Scottish, which differ only in dialect (just as Danish and Swedish too), have descended or been turned from our German will not be put in doubt by anyone who has somewhat carefully examined the words of these languages . . . Do not ask about Dutch! It is spurious . . .].

¹⁰⁷ Helvigijs (1611, s.v. ADAM), in a discussion of Joannes Goropius Becanus, “fat-uam (Batavam volui dicere) linguam” [the foolish language (I wanted to call Dutch)].

¹⁰⁸ Konrad Gesner, *Mithridates de Differentiis linguarum tum veterum tum quae hodie apud diversas nationes in toto orbe terrarum in usu sunt* (Zürich, 1555:41), continues on the quotation, “a qua Islandica quoque minus differt quam ab alijs plerisque Germaniae

Gesnerus libro primo epistolarum, cum in epistola quadam ad P. Gasserum diserte testatur, “omnes veteres libros qui Germanice scripti inveniuntur, Belgice scriptos videri.”¹⁰⁹ Pulchre, scio, perspicis quorsum haec tendant.

aa Quumque ipsi mihi quoque scriptio haec potius iam reprimenda quam producenda esse videatur, taedio tuo pariter ac lassitudini meae consulam. Verbum ultra non addam, nisi ut benevolentiae tuae commendem schedas exigui pretii, ac simpliciter inanes, quas tu tamen si displicebunt, propriae imputabis °flagitationi. Sin autem aliquid apud te ponderis habebunt, inuenies in iis nostrum de summa totius rei iudicium, quod aut sequere, si probaveris, aut tuo stabis, si rectius °putaveris. In particularibus variarum etymologiarum coniecturis non temere meum quid affirmabo esse verius quam tuum; potest enim non solum aliud mihi ac tibi, sed mihi ipsi aliud alias videri.

bb Quoniam in hoc qualicunque mearum commentationum specimine loca quaedam ex Argenteo codico Danicisque monumentis deprompta ipsis Gothicae Cimbricaeque linguae characteribus expressi, non alienum erit ab instituto hoc in loco addere literas utriusque idiomati peculiare.

cc °| Runae iuxta Romanam seriem dispositae.¹¹⁰

ʌ dicitur *aar*, et respondet Romano ‘a.’

ʙ dicitur *biarkan*, et respondet Romano ‘b.’

ƿ dicitur *knefol*, et respondet ‘c’ vel ‘k.’

þ vel † dicitur *duss*, et respondet ‘d.’

‡ dicitur *stungen jis*, et respondet ‘e.’

ƿ dicitur *fie*, et respondet ‘f’ vel ‘ph.’

ƿ dicitur *stungen kaun*, et respondet ‘g.’

aa flagitationi: [*desiderio* > flagitationi] | putaveris: [- *putabis*] putaveris | **cc** °|: [f.156r]

dialectis. Non habent illi (Germani inferiores, septentrionales et Saxones) tam frequentes diphthongos *ei* et *au* pro *i* et *u* longis, quibus Suevi, Bavari et alii plerique Germani abundant” [from which Icelandic also differs less than from most other German dialects. They (lower and northern Germans and Saxons) do not have such frequent diphthongs *ei* and *au* for long *i* and *u*, which abound in the Suevi, Bavarians and most other Germans]. Junius’ copy is now Ms Jun. 88, together with the second edition (Zürich, 1610). In *Mithridates*, Konrad Gesner (1516–1565), an important Swiss polymath and natural historian, discussed as many languages as he could, devoting about one-fifth of the book to the Germanic languages. As Metcalf (1963:153) has noted, Gesner’s distinction into “Cimbri” and “Teutones” corresponds closely to current notions of North and West Germanic languages. On Gesner’s view of

edition Zürich, 1555. Gesner also repeats this in the first book of letters, when he eloquently attests in a letter to P. Gasser, “that all ancient books which are found written in German seem to be written in Dutch.” You excellently perceive, I know, to what this leads.

aa Then, since I too think that this writing must be curbed rather than prolonged, I will equally care for your weariness and my fatigue. I shall not add another word, except that I commit to your benevolence these simply useless sheets of little value, for which you must nevertheless blame your own importunity if they displease you. If, however, they have any value for you, you will find in them our judgement on the heart of the whole matter, which you must follow if you agree with it, or you must persist in yours if you think it better. In partial conjectures of various etymologies I will not rashly maintain that my opinion is nearer to the truth than yours, for not only I and you can think differently about it, but I myself can also think differently about it at an other occasion.

bb Since I rendered some places derived from the *Codex argenteus* and Danish documents in the characters of the Gothic and Cimbric language in this modest sample of my observations, it will be suitable to the purpose to add the letters peculiar to each dialect in this place.

cc Runes arranged according to the Roman order.

a is called *aar*, and corresponds to Roman ‘a.’

b is called *biarkan*, and corresponds to Roman ‘b.’

k is called *knēfol*, and corresponds to ‘c’ or ‘k.’

d or *d* is called *duss*, and corresponds to ‘d.’

e is called *stungen jis*, and corresponds to ‘e.’

f is called *fie*, and corresponds to ‘f’ or ‘ph.’

g is called *stungen kaun*, and corresponds to ‘g.’

the Germanic languages, cf. Metcalf (1963). Cf. *SCW* no. 5199, Dekker (unpubl. ms.), *NDB* 6.342–45.

¹⁰⁹ Konrad Gesner, *Epistolae Gesneri de libris a se editis . . .*, ed. Joseas Simlerus (Zürich, 1566:28), has the quotation as a continuation of his appraisal of Otfrid, which “magis forte locum haberet apud Belgas, sive inferiores Germanos, ad quorum linguam propius videtur accedere, aut Saxones” [would perhaps more have a place with the Dutch, or lower Germans, to whose language it seems to correspond quite closely, or with the Saxons]. The copy now UBL, 515 D 13, stems from Isaac Vossius’ collection, but does not contain Junius’ annotations. Achilles Pirminius Gasser (1505–1577), physician of Emperor Maximilianus I. Cf. *BU* 16.533–34.

¹¹⁰ Junius took the runic alphabet from Ole Worm, *Runer* (1636), chapter 7, which depicts various Danish runic alphabets. It corresponds to the Scandinavian Dotted Futhark of twenty-four symbols, cf. Elliott (1989: 25).

- * dicitur *hagl*, et respondet ‘h.’
 | dicitur *jis*, et respondet ‘i.’
 ʎ dicitur *kaun*, et respondet ‘k.’
 † dicitur *lagur*, et respondet ‘l.’
 ʝ dicitur *madur*, et respondet ‘m.’
 † dicitur *naud*, et respondet ‘n.’
 † dicitur *oys*, et respondet ‘o.’
 B dicitur *stungen biarkan*, et respondet ‘p.’¹¹¹
 ʎ dicitur *kaun*, et respondet ‘q.’
 R et in fine † dicitur *ridhr*, et respondet ‘r.’
 † et saepius † dicitur *sol*, et respondet ‘s.’
 † vel † dicitur *tyr*, et respondet ‘t.’
 † dicitur *ur*, et respondet ‘u.’
 ʝ dicitur *stungen fie*, et respondet ‘v’ vel ‘w.’
 *† respondet ‘x.’
 † dicitur *stungen °ur*, et respondet ‘y,’ pro eo tamen quandoque etiam
 † scribebant Cimbri.
 † dicitur *stungen duss*, et respondet ‘th.’
 † respondet ‘ae.’

dd ° | Gothicum alphabetum Argentei codicis.

- Ṙ** respondet Romano ‘a,’ **ṘTTA PINSAR**, “pater noster,” *Matthaei* 6.9.
B respondet ‘b,’ **BARMS PIBLA**, “arbor mala,” *Matthaei* 7.17.
Ṛ respondet ‘c’ vel ‘g,’ **ṚṚARIZE BARMS**, “arbor bona,” *Matthaei* 7.17.
Ḃ respondet ‘d,’ **ḂAPPIGANAṢ**, “baptizans,” *Iohannis* 10.40.
E respondet ‘e,’ **EI NI BISAPLANṚḂAEINA**, “ut non contaminarentur,”
Iohannis 18.28.
F respondet ‘f,’ **FṚPPIANS ḂAIKṢANA ṘFTPIANS**, “primi erunt novis-
 simi,” *Marci* 10.31.
G respondet ‘g,’ **GṚS FIAN AIKZṘAI SIGṚṢ**, “vos multum erratis,”
Marci 12.27. Saepius exprimit ‘i’ consonum; ita **ṚṚTA** est
 ἰῶτα, *Matthaei* 5.18; **ṘSSARṘAN**, ἄσσαρίου, °*Matthaei* 10.29;
ṘIṘARṘEḂṚ, εὐαγγέλιον, *Marci* 14.9; **ṘARṘA**, μαρία, *Matthaei*
 27.56; **ṚSARṘṚTES**, ἰσκαριώτης, *Iohannis* 14.22; **GṚṘAS**, ἰούδας,
Iohannis 12.4; **GṚṘAIEI**, ἰουδαῖοι, *Iohannis* 11.45; **ṘARṘAS**, καϊάφας,
Iohannis 18.14; **GṚNNINS**, ἰαννά, *Lucae* 3.24.
H respondet ‘h,’ **HEṚṚAES**, ἠρώδης, *Lucae* 3.19; **ḂANḂHAIKṚEI**, “super-
 bia,” *Marci* 7.22.

cc ‘q’: ‘q’ [- ..] | ur: [duss > ur] | dd °|: [f.156v] | *Matthaei* 10.29: \Matthaei 10.29/

h is called *hagl*, and corresponds to ‘h.’
i is called *jīs*, and corresponds to ‘i.’
k is called *kaun*, and corresponds to ‘k.’
l is called *lagur*, and corresponds to ‘l.’
m is called *madur*, and corresponds to ‘m.’
n is called *naud*, and corresponds to ‘n.’
o is called *oys*, and corresponds to ‘o.’
p is called *stungen biarkan*, and corresponds to ‘p.’
k is called *kaun*, and corresponds to ‘q.’
r and at the end *r* is called *riðhr*, and corresponds to ‘r.’
s and more often *s* is called *sol*, and corresponds to ‘s.’
t or *t* is called *tyr*, and corresponds to ‘t.’
u is called *ur*, and corresponds to ‘u.’
v is called *stungen fie*, and corresponds to ‘v’ or ‘w.’
hs corresponds to ‘x.’
y is called *stungen ur*, and corresponds to ‘y,’ for which the Cimbric sometimes also wrote *ʌ*.
þ is called *stungen duss*, and corresponds to ‘th.’
æ corresponds to ‘æ.’

dd The Gothic alphabet of the *Codex argenteus*.

a corresponds to Roman ‘a,’ *atta unsar*, “our Father,” Matthew 6.9.
b corresponds to ‘b,’ *bagms ubila*, “the bad tree,” Matthew 7.17.
g corresponds to ‘c’ or ‘g,’ *godaize bagms*, “the good tree,” Matthew 7.17.
d corresponds to ‘d,’ *dauþjands*, “baptizing,” John 10.40.
e corresponds to ‘e,’ *ei ni bisaulnodedeina*, “so that they might not be defiled,” John 18.28.
f corresponds to ‘f,’ *frumans wairdand aftumans*, “the first will be the last,” Mark 10.31.
j corresponds to ‘g,’ *jus filu airzjai sijuw*, “you are quite wrong,” Mark 12.27. More often it expresses the consonant ‘j;’ thus, *jota* is ἰώτα, Matthew 5.18; *assarjau*, ἄσσαρίου, Matthew 10.29; *aiwaggeljo*, εὐαγγέλιον, Mark 14.9; *marja*, μαρία, Matthew 27.56; *iskarjotes*, Ἰσκαριώτης, John 14.22; *judas*, ἰούδας, John 12.4; *judaiei*, ἰουδαῖοι, John 11.45; *kajafas*, καϊάφας, John 18.14; *jannins*, ἰαννά, Luke 3.24.
h corresponds to ‘h,’ *herodes*, Ἡρώδης, Luke 3.19; *hauh hairtei*, “pride,” Mark 7.22.

¹¹¹ Junius’ *ß* has a dot only in the lower bow of the character; the upper one is empty in imitation of Ole Worm (1636), who gave *ß* as attested form, but used the single-dotted one. The present form is the closest equivalent in the Gullskoen font, 164c^a.

- ο | **ī** respondet ‘i,’ **İK İΗ ΥΕΙΝΑΤΡΙΠΨ İS ΣΗΗΘΕΙΝΩ**, “ego sum vitis vera,” *Iohannis* 15.1; **ΑΨΑΓΨΙΑΡΙ**, “vexati,” *Matthaei* 9.36; **ΕΨΕΙΨΙΝΣ**, ὁ ἡσαίου, *Iohannis* 12.38; **ΗΛΙΕΨΙΝΣ**, ἡλίου, *Lucae* 2.17.
- K** respondet ‘k’ vel ‘c,’ **ΚΑΨΑΨΑΣ**, καιάφας, *Iohannis* 18.14; **ΚΑΛΚΙ-ΝΑΨΣΘΝΣ**, “adulteria,” *Marci* 7.21.
- Λ** respondet ‘l,’ **ΛΕΙΚ ΨΕΙΝ ΛΙΠΗΑ ΔΕΙΝ ΥΑΨΚΨΙΨ**, “corpus tuam lucidum erit,” *Matthaei* 6.22.
- Μ** respondet ‘m,’ **ΜΑΝΑΜΑΠΚΨΚΨΑ ΥΑΣ ΞΚΑΜ ΞΚΠΠΙΣΤΨΑ**, “homicida erat ab initio,” *Iohannis* 8.44.
- Ν** respondet ‘n,’ **ΝΙ ΤΨ ΨΙΣΤ ΝΙΜΑΝ ΗΛΑΨ ΒΑΚΝΕ**, “non bonum est sumere panem filiorum,” *Marci* 7.27.
- Ξ** respondet ‘o,’ **Ξ ΚΠΠΙ ΠΝΓΑΛΑΠΨΘΑΝΑΩ**, “o generatio incredula,” *Marci* 9.19.
- Π** respondet ‘p,’ **ΠΠΝΑ ΒΑΨΑΝΙΣ**, “libra unguenti,” *Iohannis* 12.3.
- Θ** respondet ‘q’ vel “chu,” **ΘΕΨΑ ΘΑΨ ΒΑΨΙΝΑ**, “temporales sunt,” *Marci* 4.17.
- Κ** respondet ‘r,’ **ΚΨΑΨΑΝ ΓΑΨΑΠΨΨ ΠΗΚΨΑΨΑΝΑΨΝΣ**, “loqui facit mutos,” *Marci* 7.37.
- Σ** respondet ‘s,’ **ΣΤΨΒΝΑ ΥΨΠΨΑΝΑΨΝΣ**, “vox clamantis,” *Lucae* 3.4.
- Τ** respondet ‘t,’ **ΤΑΨΚΝΙΝΣ ΚΑΨ ΞΑΨΚΑ** ο | **ΤΑΨΑ ΓΨΒΑΝΑ**, “dabunt signa et portenta,” *Marci* 13.22.
- Ψ** respondet ‘th,’ **ΨΑΨΑΣ**, “Thomas,” *Iohannis* 11.16; **ΨΠΨΕΨΣ**, “bonus,” *Lucae* 18.19.
- Π** respondet ‘u,’ **ΠΝΑΨΣ**, “Iudas,” *Iohannis* 13.29; **ΠΠΗΠΑΨΩ**, “daemonium,” *Marci* 7.29.
- Υ** respondet ‘v’ consono vel ‘w,’ **ΥΑΨ ΜΙΑΨΑΨΨΕΨΠΠΑΨΝΣ ΚΑΨ ΞΚΑΨΙΣ-ΤΙΑΨΑΛΛΑΨΝΣ**, “venit diluvium et perdidit omnes,” *Lucae* 17.27.
- Υ** respondet ‘w’ °vel ‘v,’ **ΥΑΨ**, “vae,” *Lucae* 6.25; **ΥΑΨΨΠΠ ΨΙΝΑΨΣ**, “flaverunt venti,” *Matthaei* 7.27; **ΔΑΨΕΨΑ**, “David,” *Marci* 2.26; **ΛΑΨΨΥΨ**, “Levi,” *Marci* 2.14. Ponitur et pro ‘y,’ in **ΣΥΜΑΨΙΟΝ**, “Symeon,” *Lucae* 2. 25; **ΣΥΝΑΨΓΩΓΕ**, “synagoga,” *Marci* 1.21.
- X** respondet ‘ch,’ ita **XS** in Argenteo codice passim est “Christus” per abbreviat.
- Z** respondet ‘z,’ ita **ZΑΚΑΨΙΑΨ** in Argenteo codice passim est “Zacharias.” ‘x’ *Latinorum* vel **Ξ** *Graecorum* exprimit Argenteus codex per **KS**, **ΑΛΑΨΚΣΑΝΑΚΑΨΝΣ**, ἀλεξάνδρου, *Marci* 15.21; **ΑΚΨΑΚΣΑΨΙΣ**, ἀρφαξιδ, *Lucae* 3.36.

- i* corresponds to 'i,' *ik im weinatriuþs is sunjeino*, "I am the true vine," John 15.1; *afdawidai*, "harassed," Matthew 9.36; *esaeiins*, ἠσαίου, John 12.38; *haileiins*, ἡλίου, Luke 1.17.
- k* corresponds to 'k' or 'c,' *kajafas*, καιάφας, John 18.14; *kalkinassjus*, 'adultery,' Mark 7.21.
- l* corresponds to 'l,' *leik þein liuha dein wairþiþ*, "it will be full of light [in] your body," Matthew 6.22.
- m* corresponds to 'm,' *manamauþrija was fram frumistja*, "he was a murderer from the beginning," John 8.44.
- n* corresponds to 'n,' *ni toþ ist niman hlaib barne*, "it is not right to take the children's bread," Mark 7.27.
- o* corresponds to 'o,' *o kuni ungalaubjando*, "o faithless generation," Mark 9.19.
- p* corresponds to 'p,' *þund balsanis*, "a pound of ointment," John 12.3.
- hw* corresponds to 'q' or "chu," *hweila hwairbai sind*, "they are temporal," Mark 4.17.
- r* corresponds to 'r,' *rodjan gataujþ unrodjandans*, "he makes the deaf speak," Mark 7.37.
- s* corresponds to 's,' *stibna wopjandins*, "the voice of one crying," Luke 3.4.
- t* corresponds to 't,' *taiknins jah faura tanja giband*, "they will show signs and wonders," Mark 13.22.
- þ* corresponds to 'th,' *þomas*, "Thomas," John 11.16; *þiuþeigs*, "good," Luke 18.19.
- u* corresponds to 'u,' *iudas*, "Judas," John 13.29; *unhulwo*, "demon," Mark 7.29.
- q* corresponds to the consonant 'v' or 'w,' *qam midjasweipains jah fragistida allans*, "the flood came and destroyed them all," Luke 17.27.
- w* corresponds to 'w' or 'v,' *wai*, "woe," Luke 6.25; *waiwoun windos*, "the winds blew," Matthew 7.27; *daweid*, "David," Mark 2.26; *laiuwi*, "Levi," Mark 2.14. It is also used for 'y,' in *swmaion*, "Symeon," Luke 2.25; *swnagoge*, "synagogue," Mark 1.21.
- c* corresponds to 'ch,' thus by *cs* "Christus" is abbreviated everywhere in the *Codex argenteus*.
- z* corresponds to 'z,' thus *zakarias* is "Zacharias" everywhere in the *Codex argenteus*.
- 'X' of the Latins or Ξ of the Greeks is expressed by the *Codex argenteus* by *ks*, *alaiksandraus*, ἀλεξάνδρου, Mark 15.21; *arfaksadis*, ἀρφαξᾶδ, Luke 3.36.

205 61 05 29 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [-]¹

A To Mr William Dugdale, King at Armes, called Norroy.²

a Noble Sir,

Having bene informed by Mr Philippes his letters what his majestie after this happie revolution hath most worthily done for you, I hope also ere long to heare that the most noble Lord Hatton hath bene remembred and rewarded for all his endurings.³ In the meane while doe I much desire to have this letter conveighed to his *Lordship*'s hands; and knowing that your assistance can much advance my desire, I must needs acquaint you with the contents of the inclosed.⁴

b At the time of my being with his *Lordship* in Northamptonshire, I shewed his *Lordship* an alphabetical collection of English words, whose proper signification and originall I had traced out and set downe as well as I could.⁵ Whereupon his *Lordship* wishing me to goe on in that search, I answered that I should perchance bee able to doe more in it, if I could meete with anie compleate English dictionarie, for that I found both Rider and Thomasius very defective.⁶ His *Lordship* then told mee of a collection of his owne, which was left in France, but would send for it.⁷

c Afterwards falling at severall times upon severall discourses, we had one time a discours about the word *Findie*, which occurreth in an old countrie proverbe; but not knowing what to make of that word, I shewed his *Lordship* not long after a place in the Pastoralls I transcribed then, which place seemed something to cleere the true signification of the word, though not so much as to give us anie full satisfaction.⁸ Which made mee afterwards to conferr with Mr. Somner and to aske what he could say to it: but neither hee, nor others I since spoke with, could resolve mee what the true meaning was of a proverbe everie where so frequently repeated and inculcated.⁹ Since my returne into this countrie, I beganne to take some view of the moderne Danish Language and to conferre it with the old Cimbrike, something lately revived and cultivated by Olaus Wormius, and finding manie things in it to helpe my intended studies (for it appeared

¹ p: Hamper (1827, no. 131).

² Norroy: "the third King of Arms, whose jurisdiction lies to the north of the Trent," cf. *OED*.

205 61 05 29 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [-]

[See the original letter.]

³ Fabian Philipps' letters to Junius is unretrieved. Kingship had been restored in England the year before, when Charles II had been proclaimed king in May and entered London in early June: the so-called Restoration. At the Restoration, Dugdale had been honoured with the title of Norroy, **190a**. Christopher Hatton (1605?–1670), first Barron Hatton, former privy councillor and comptroller of Charles I's household in the 1640s, had been considered for lord Privy Seal in 1660, yet was to be appointed privy councillor of Charles II in 1662. He had a keen interest in antiquities and was Dugdale's patron. From 1648 to 1656 he had resided in France. Cf. *DNB* 25.162–63, **190a**.

⁴ Junius' letter to Christopher Hatton on the word *findie*, **c**, is unretrieved. ⁵ original: "the earliest stage, origination," cf. *OED*. Hatton's family estate was in Kirby, Northamptonshire. Probably introduced to Hatton by Dugdale, Junius must have been with him, perhaps for studies, in the late 1650s, when he made one or several stays in England, **198**. Junius' "Etymologicum linguae anglicanae," a monumental etymological dictionary of English in two manuscript volumes, now Mss. 4 and 5, which were edited and published by Edward Lye as *Etymologicum anglicanum* (Oxford, 1743). During his stay in England in the late 1650s, Junius had evidently already prepared a substantial part of the "Etymologicum linguae anglicanae," which he presumably also showed to Gerard Langbaine then, **c-d**, **198**. The *Etymologicum* contains letters **198** and **202**. Cf. *DNB* 25.162–63; for a facsimile of the *Etymologicum*, cf. Sherwin and Freutels (1970).

⁶ John Rider, *Bibliotheca Scholastica, a Double Dictionarie. Penned for All Those that Would Have within Short Space the Use of the Latin Tongue, Either to Speak or to Write* (Oxford, 1589), the earliest dictionary in which the English–Latin part precedes the Latin–English. Much of it must have been based on Thomasius' dictionary. No copy of Junius found in UBL. Thomas Thomas, *Dictionarium summa fide ac diligentia accuratissime emendatum, magnaue insuper rerum scitu dignarum, et vocabulorum accessione, longe auctius locupletiusque redditum* . . . (London, 1631). Junius' copy is UBL, 701 C 10 (from Isaac Vossius' collection), **208b**. Junius had presumably used it for translating his *Painting* (1638), **116b**. Cf. *DNB* 48.277–78, Bremmer (1998b:233).

⁷ Hatton's collection of words is unretrieved.

⁸ In the entry *FYNDIE*, *Etymologicum anglicanum*, Junius gave the proverb as, "a May cold and windy maketh the barn full and fyndie." This is the only MnE reference for *findy* in *OED*. Junius' transcription of the Old English, Alfredian version of Gregory the Great's *Cura pastoralis*, from BL, Cott. Ms Tib. B.xi, now fragmentary, and collated with BLO, Ms Hatton 20 and BL, Cott. Ms Otho B.ii, is now Ms Jun. 53. Junius had evidently made the transcription in the later 1650s. In the entry *FYNDIE*, he quoted *Pastoral Care* 52.9, "æfter ðæm þe ða ðornas beoð aheapene 7 ƿe æker bið oneþe 7 þringð ƿone ƿæƿom. ma ƿe lufiað ðone þonne ðone þe ƿent on clæne lanðe 7 bið unƿæƿombæpe oððe unƿeƿynbe coƿn þringð oððe beaf" [after the thorns have been hewn out and the field will be ploughed and brings good produce, we love it better than the one which is on a fallow land and will be fruitless or brings sterile or barren corn], and argued that, if unƿeƿynbe 7 beaf coƿn meant "sterilem segetem" [sterile crop], ƿeƿynbe coƿn should mean "bonum probumque frumentum" [good and excellent corn]. Cf. *SCW* no. 5165, Sweet (1871:vi–vii, xiv).

⁹ inculcate: "to urge on the mind," cf. *OED*. William Somner had published

everie where unto me what influence the Danish language had left in your Englishe since the times of Cnut and other Danishe Kings) I meane also to have found the true signification and originall of the sayd word *Findie*, and send my concept or conjecture here enclosed unto his *Lordship*, together with an earnest desire to see his *Lordship*'s collection of words not obvious in your vulgar and ordinarie Dictionaries.¹⁰

d I meant to have ended here, and not to have troubled you further, but one thing more commeth now afresh in my mind which heretofore did something lightly as it were but incidently runne in my thoughts. Monsr. Menage, a learned and wittie Frenchman, hath given out *Les origines de la langue Francoise*, and is much esteemed and commended in France for the doeing of it.¹¹ If anie English Antiquarie but reasonably skilled in Latine, Greeke, and Frenche, would go about such like worke for the credit and honour of his owne countrie and language, I should bee most willing and readie to supply him with what I have to say to some wordes peculiar to your nation: and as for the greater part that doe agree with the French, I could perchance rectifie and mende diverse of Monsr. Menage his etymologies.¹² It is forsooth most evident unto mee that your language having a neer relation to the old Gothike, Cimbrike, and Saxonike languages, is much more capable of goodly and gallant ornaments, then anie of the languages so much cried up and allmost wholly derived or traduced out of that corrupted barbarous Latin, which about the times of the decaying Romane Monarchie came in, and since was chiefly maintained and partly forged by Monkes.¹³ If I were as yet young, I should not despaire, if not to outstrippe, at least to keepe an even foot with Monsr. Menage, in the sayd taske of etymologizing: but being now past three score and ten, and having manie other workes readie for the presse, what I can not doe my selfe, I would most willingly imparte to anie gentleman you should commende: not doubting but that wee should bee able to doe much in a short time, if anie industrious gentleman, reasonably furnished and instructed with such studies, as I mentioned before, should bee here assisted by a good and painefull amanuensis.¹⁴ Pardon me for these long and tedious expressions of my thoughts: and if you are of another mind, thinke all this but to be a wilde and flying fancy proceeding out of my good wishes towards a countrie and

Dictionarium Saxonico (1659), **191b**. In the entry *FYNDIE*, Junius also observed, “[f]requenter . . . ex compluribus Anglis patriae linguae studiosis exquisivi quid sibi vellet illud *fyndie*, sed hactenus in neminem incidi, qui de vocabuli proprietate certi aliquid afferret” [I have frequently asked of several English students of their mother tongue what this *fyndie* would mean, but I have found nobody yet who could adduce anything definite about the meaning of the word].

¹⁰ vulgar: “vernacular;” ordinarie: “common/ frequent/ methodical,” cf. *OED*. Junius returned to Holland in August 1659, **199c**, **201a**. His unannotated copy of *Den forste part aff den Danske urtebog* (n.p., 1647), with second and third parts, and Simon Paullus, *Flora Danica* (Copenhagen, 1648), are now Mss Jun. 28 and 30. In his annotations to Tatian, the Danish quotations consistently occur in the margins, and were presumably added after August 1659 too, **195a***. Ole Worm’s books were Junius’ source of “Cimbric,” or Old Norse, **164c**. In view of his emphasis on the usefulness of Danish and Cimbric for the understanding of English, Junius’ intended studies must have been on English etymologies for his “*Etymologicon linguae anglicanae*,” **d**. The profound Scandinavian influence on English has not only yielded many loanwords, including grammatical ones such as “they,” but also affected grammar and syntax, especially in the early ME period, after the reign of the Danish King Cnut (995–1035). In the entry *FYNDIE*, Junius reasoned that *Da fynd* meant “*libra vel pondus*” [pound or pound], the same as OE *pund* and (OH)G *phunt, funt*, and that *Da fyndig* meant “*firmus, solidus, praestans robore, virtute, pondere*” [firm, solid, excellent in strength, vigour, weight], so that *ungefynde 7 beaf corn* must mean “*iusto pondere destitutam surdamque segetem*” [deaf corn lacking proper weight], and a *fyndie barn* “*horreum scatens probo ponderosoque frumento*” [a barn abounding with excellent and heavy corn]. Cf. *SCW* nos 5140, 5142, Dekker (unpubl. ms.), Baugh and Cable (1993:90–104).

¹¹ *wittie*: “wise, sensible, intelligent, ingenious,” cf. *OED*. Gilles Menage, *Les origines de la langue françoise* (Paris, 1650), the copy of which now UBL, 1407 C 16, has been annotated by Isaac Vossius.

¹² Junius must already have had much, probably even most of “*Etymologicon linguae anglicanae*” ready, so that he needed an Englishman to complete it and see it through the press, rather than one whom he could assist himself. He possibly suspected that a dictionary of English by an Englishman would be received more favourably than one by a Dutchman, for he may have been quite aware of sir Henry Spelman’s misgivings about the Dutchman Johannes de Laet writing an Anglo-Saxon dictionary in the 1630s and 1640s. No Englishman seems to have been proposed, so that Junius continued work on his “*Etymologicon linguae anglicanae*.” Cf. Bremmer (1989:176–79).

¹³ *gallant*: “ornate, splendid;” *traduce*: “translate,” cf. *OED*. Notwithstanding being of French descent, Junius seems to have been quite averse to the French language, **189e**, **204d**. The notion that the French language was merely a corrupted form of Low Latin was soon to be food for polemics in the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, **220e**.

¹⁴ *painefull*: “painstaking, diligent,” cf. *OED*. For the works Junius had ready for the press, cf. **206a**, **216b**.

language I have bene conversant with the greater part of my life. Thus ceasing to trouble you further, I remaine,
Sir, your most obliged freind and servant, F. Junius.
Haegh, the 29 of May, *stilo novo*, Anno 1661.

- e Commend mee to Mr Philippes, Mr Ashmole, Mr Somner, and the Master of Queene's at Oxford, when you see him at London.¹⁵ I have formerly made bold to persuade *Mynheer* de Vliet to be acquainted with you by all meanes, and hope that you have not found him unworthie of your acquaintance.¹⁶

° 206 61 09 23 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [-]¹

A °To his noble freind Mr William Dugdale, King of armes, called Norroy.

- a Honoured Sir,
your loving letter dated the 28 of Jule, together with the second volume of your *Monasticon* were brought me the 20eth day of September by a worthie gentleman, the minister of the English court at Dordrecht.²

206A: f -

¹⁵ Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), antiquarian, alchemist and astrologer, who had been appointed Windsor herald at the Restoration. He was currently preparing *The Institution, Laws and Ceremonies of the Most Noble Order of the Garter* (London, 1672). A friend of Dugdale, he was to marry Dugdale's daughter in 1668. He possessed a notable collection of manuscripts and a museum, now known as the Ashmolean Museum, which he had partly inherited and which he presented to Oxford University in 1677. Junius wished to give him a copy of *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665) in 1667, **214e**. Thomas Barlowe (1607–1691), provost of Queen's College from 1657, in succession to Gerard Langbaine. Esteemed for his intellect, he had been librarian of the Bodleian Library, in succession to John Rous, from 1652 to 1660, when he became Lady Margaret professor of theology. In 1664 he was to be made archdeacon of Oxford, and bishop of Lincoln in 1675. Junius had presented him with a copy of *Caedmonis paraphrasis* (1655) on 55 07 15. Cf. *DNB* 2.172–74, 3.224–29, Lucas (2000:xxixn).

¹⁶ Jan van Vliet, or Vlitius (1620–1666), lawyer and town clerk of Breda, philologist and Neo-Latin poet. From Antwerp ancestry, and a friend of Isaac Vossius, Johannes Fredericus Gronovius and Nicolaas Heinsius, he had studied at Leiden and subsequently made a tour of England and France from 1641 to 1643. In 1651 he was a secretary to the Dutch embassy to England which attempted to avert the imminent first Anglo–Dutch War. He published, among other things, an anthology

206 61 09 23 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [-]

[See the original letter.]

of Latin bucolic verse (1645), a multi-language collection of poems in praise of Mary Stuart (1653), the poem *Carolus redux* on Charles II's coronation, **208a**, and worked on an edition of Aesop's fables, **212a**. His interest in local history had inspired his study of Middle Dutch and other older Germanic languages. After Isaac Vossius' gift of a copy of Junius' *Observationes* (1655) in 1659, van Vliet and Junius had repeated contact to discuss their studies, **207**. Van Vliet assisted in the publication of Junius' and Thomas Marshall's *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665) and *Gothicum glossarium* (1665), and contributed to the latter book with an extensive dedicatory poem for Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, **173d**, **209b**, **211A**. Besides, he was to bring out Breda statutes on the laws of succession (1663), *Bredaesche almanac* (1664), which is of particular interest for its inclusion of Frisian proverbs, **207a**, and *'t Vader ons* . . . (1664), **210b**. Junius probably also urged him to publish Frisian laws, **206b**. Van Vliet and Junius had met in London in 1641 and met again in Antwerp in 1644, **146a**, **156b**. Cf. Dekker (1999:388–429); on van Vliet, cf. Dekker (1999).

¹ *o*: BNF, NAF 14823, f. 78. *f*: Thibaudeau (1885:356). Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**. In an unidentified hand, "Mr Junius his Letter upon receipt of the 2d volume of the Monasticon. 23 Sept. 1661."

² Dugdale's letter to Junius is unretrieved. Roger Dodsworth and William Dugdale, *Monastici Anglicani volumen alterum* . . . (London, 1661), Junius' copy of which is not found in UBL. It was a continuation of the project begun by the antiquary Roger Dodsworth (1585–1654), with cooperation of Dugdale, the first volume of which was *Monasticon anglicanum, sive Pandectae Coenobiorum, Benedictinorum, Cluniacensium, Cisterciensium, Carthusianorum, a primordiis ad eorum usque dissolutionem. Ex Mss. Codd. . . digesti* . . . (London, 1655), and the third volume was to appear in 1673. The *Monasticon* described the medieval English monasteries and abbeys, their networks and administration on the basis of charters, many of which were published in full for the first time, and thus stimulated studies on charters. Wenceslaus Hollar contributed with sumptuous illustrations, particularly of architecture, and Sir John

Having then enjoyed his companie an houre or two upon that occasion, I can not but wishe I had here at the Haegh such an other good schollar to conferre now & then with. I hope very shortly to have overcome those obstructions by which the Visconte Stafford doth as yet hinder & delay the execution of that sentence both our Courts at the Haegh have given mee against him:³ and I shall not so soone have recovered my right, but presently goe in hand with my glossaries, Tatianus, Boethius, the pastoralls, &c. to answere the publike expectation, and to have something to returne in thankfulness to my noble freinds.⁴ Our good God, I hope, will ere long enable me to doe more then I would willingly saye or promise.

b In the severall *Ordaliis* and some other poincts you goe in hand with, the old Frisian lawes can give much opening: and if mijn heer de Vliet, or monsr Gabbema (historian to the States of Freesland, who also hath mett °with some better & compleater Manuscript coppies) publishe them, I shall presently send you a translated & printed coppie, with anie other helpes I shall bee able to light on.⁵ Thus desiring you to remember my most humble service to my Lord Hatton, and °wishing you length of healthie dayes for the publike good, I remaine
your most obliged freind and servant F.F.F. Junius.
Haegh. 1661. the 23eth of Sept. *stilo novo*.

b with: \with/ | wishing: [- *wi*] wishing

Marshall with a preface to the first volume, in which he urged for esteem for the medieval institutions, despite their being Roman Catholic. Thomas Marshall (1621–1685), minister to the Company of Merchant Adventurers in Rotterdam from 1650, and in Dordrecht from 1656. An excellent scholar in Oriental languages, he was stimulated by Junius to examine the northern languages as well, and joined him in the preparation of *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665), **209b**. He was elected fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, on account of his “Observationes” in *Evangeliorum versiones* in December 1668, and was to be its rector in 1672. On 8 July 1669 he became doctor of theology, **220A**. A royal chaplain from 1672, he was made dean of Gloucester in 1681. Marshall became Junius’ most important correspondent, and probably closest friend, and in 1676 Junius settled near him in Oxford, **224a**. Cf. Parry (1995:227–36), *DNB* 15.176, 16.136–42, 36.247–48.

³ Stafford evidently still opposed the verdict made in Junius’ favour by the Supreme Court in The Hague in 1659, **199a**.

⁴ Junius' glossaries, **187a**, **204b**, **213a**; his annotations to Tatian, **195a**; his transcription of the Old English *Pastoral Care*, **205c**; and his transcription of King Alfred's Old English version of Boethius, *De consolatione philosophiae*, from BLO, Ms Bodl. 180, with notes from BL, Cott. Ms Otho A.vi, now partly burnt, and slips of the printed Latin text, now Ms Jun. 12. Junius' transcription was the basis of the *editio princeps* of the text published by Richard Rawlinson, *An. Manl. Sever. Boethi "Consolationis philosophiae" libri V Anglo-Saxonice redditi ab Alfredo, inclyto Anglo-Saxonum rege* (Oxford, 1698). It is not certain that Junius intended to publish the *Pastoral Care*. Cf. *SCW* no. 5124, Griffiths (1991:17–18).

⁵ Dugdale was working on his *Origines iuridiciales, or Historical Memorials of the English Laws, Courts of Justice . . .* (London, 1666), which presented a history of the Inns of Court and the Chancery, cf. Parry (1995:224). Simon Abbes Gabbema (1628–1688), historian of the States of Friesland from 1659, and collector of historical documents concerning Friesland and Leeuwarden, such as chronicles and Frisian laws. A friend of Gysbert Japix, he published the enlarged edition of Japix's *Friesche rymlerye* (1668) in 1681–84, **196c**. Junius may well have urged Jan van Vliet to prepare an annotated edition of the Old Frisian laws of *Druk*, **196a**, for van Vliet worked on such an edition between 1659 and 1665, after they had renewed contact. For the purpose, van Vliet borrowed Junius' *Druk* and Ms Aysma, now Mss Jun. 109 and 78, respectively, in 1659 and 1660, when he acquired his own copy of *Druk*, which Junius presented to Thomas Marshall after van Vliet's death, so that it is now Ms Marshall 60. Van Vliet probably discontinued his studies due to ill health. Cf. Breuker (1989), *NBW* 6.537–39; for van Vliet's study of Old Frisian, cf. Dekker (1998), from which the above has been derived.

207 [61 00 00] JUNIUS [-] TO JAN VAN VLIET [-]¹

Hactenus indulsi Claritatis vestrae desiderio, tantumque abfuit ut molestiam ullam persentiscerem, ut contra blandum fuerit de communibus studiis tecum agere.² hoc tantum doleo me opellam hanc eousque protraxisse, ut iam nihil temporis quo te porro de nonnullis rebus compellem sit reliquum. Vale vir summe, ac nihil esse crede, quod non tibi se debere putet tuus

F.F.F. Iunius.

208 62 02 15 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
[DORDRECHT]¹

a Worthie Sir

Since my returne to the Hague recollecting my selfe a little & remembering how *Dominus* Colvius and Mr Pagett expressed a great desire to see the verses dispersed & distributed in England at the Kings coronation, I thought it needfull to send over one of the fewe copies that came backe againe out of England.² Bee therefore pleased, I praye you, to lett them enjoye the sight of that poëme; the more, because they spoke of I know not what freind whoe was about the like worke, and feared he might come too late & *actum agere*.³ I had not so soone resolved to send Vlitius his *Carolus redux*, but I resolved also °to thanke you & Mr Pagett for your free & freindly °enquirie made about the proper Englishe signification of the words *Smoult*, *speckle*. &c. and °to send the enclosed little note, to no other end, but to shewe that I have most commonly followed other writers in the interpretation of English words.⁴ I have with a running eye gone over Hungerus, finding him tedious & little to my purpose.⁵ I hope

208a to: \to/ | enquirie: enquir[e > i]e | to . . . note: [that > to send the enclosed little note]

¹ o: Lambeth Palace, Ms 783, f. 246a, a slip pasted on f. 246v. e: Feitsma (1956:109). Presumably written in 1661, a.

² The letter accompanies van Vliet's "Dubia ex proverbii Frisicis clarissimo Iunio proponenda" [Uncertainties from the Frisian proverbs to be proposed to the most renowned Junius], to which Junius made annotations, now Lambeth Palace, Ms 783, ff. 243r-v, 246r-v. Van Vliet was working on his annotated edition of a selec-

207 [61 00 00] JUNIUS [-] TO JAN VAN VLIET [-]

I have complied with your renown's desire so far, and I have been so far from feeling any trouble, that it was, on the contrary, to my pleasure to discuss our joint studies with you. I just feel sorry that I have deferred this small service so long, that there is no time left to speak further to you about several matters. Farewell, excellent gentleman, and be convinced that there is nothing which is not felt to be owed to you by your

F.F.F. Junius.

208 62 02 15 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
[DORDRECHT]

[See the original letter.]

tion of Frisian proverbs from *Oude Friese Spreekwoorden Gelyck die zelven huydendaags by haer in haer eygen vaderlant gebruykt ende gesproken worden...* (Franeker, 1641), Junius' annotated copy of which is now Ms Jun. 122, ff. 41–96. Van Vliet had been urged by Junius to prepare an edition, and had it ready for publication by the end of January 1662, as he indicated to Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695). Van Vliet had presumably consulted Junius on the “Dubia” in 1661, so that the present letter dates from then as well. The work was never printed, and has partly been preserved in Lambeth Palace, Ms 783. It has been edited, including the annotated “Dubia,” in Feitsma (1956). Van Vliet did include a list of Frisian proverbs, though, in his *Bredaesche almanac* (1664). Cf. Dekker (1998:131n, 1999:140–44, 149–51, unpubl.ms), SCW no. 5232*.

¹ o: BLO, Ms Marshall 134, ff. 3–5v; **b–m** are on slips pasted on the back of f. 3.

² Junius had been in Dordrecht with Marshall, **m**. Andreas Colvius; Robert Pagett (d. 1684), minister of the Scottish congregation, later the English Church, in Dordrecht from at least 1637. Charles II had been crowned in May 1660, **205a**. Jan van Vliet, who had been present, had composed the poem *Carolus redux per musas Bredanas panegyri repraesentatus...* (1660) for the occasion, but it was not favourably received by Charles. Cf. this section, *NNBW* 5.419–20, Dekker (1999:87–88, 430).

³ “actum agere” [do what has already been done]. Friend unidentified.

⁴ Evidently, Junius had discussed these words as entries in his “Etymologicon linguae anglicanae” with Marshall and Pagett, who had made inquiries among their English acquaintances to assist Junius. The enclosed note is sections **b–m**. This letter indicates that Junius was diligently working on the “Etymologicon linguae anglicanae” at the time. It includes the entries *smoult* and *speck* (for *speckle*), **c^a**, **b^a**.

⁵ Wolfgang Hungerus, *In C. Bouilli vocum Gallicanarum tabulas notae. Arguuntur obiter complures ab aliis quoque eruditus viris perperam expositae, super Gallicis dictionibus etymologiae. Eiusdem Hungeri Elenchus alphabeticus, praetermissas in tabulas Bouillianis... dictiones Germanicas, quibus hodie passim Gallia utitur, exponens, etc.* (Strasburg, 1583), not seen.

you have recovered your health ere this perfectly, praying God to confirme it more & more and so to continue it.

's *Graven Haegh*. 1662. the 15 of *Februarii s̄ilo novo*.

your assured freind & servant F.F.F. Junius.

- b** | Thomas Thomasius both in his Latino–Anglicke & Anglico–Latine dictionaries confoundeth *speckes* & *freckles* as synonyma. see the first in *Lentiginosus* & *Lentigo*. the other in *Specke* & *Specki*.⁶ I followed this my author, and relied most upon that Dictionarie as beeing overseen & augmented by Philemon Holland, a wittie gentleman I °knew.⁷
- c** As for the word *smoult*, I had it & its significatio[n] out of Somners Anglosaxonik dictionarie.⁸ *smolt*, Serenus, *faire*, *clear*, as the weather. *Hereof our smoult hot weather*, *id est* aestus, ardor, fervor. *as when the sky is clear and without wind*. These are the very words of Mr Somner. who likewise a little after addeth; *smȳlt*. *id est* *smolt*. *smȳlt pæðer*, Serenum tempus. &c.
- d** |⁹ *Variae Anglosaxonici smȳlt vel smolt acceptiones*.
smȳlt vel smolt, °“serenus, tranquillus, placidus.”
germȳltan, “placare, lenire, mitigare.”
Matthaei 16.2, *hȳt byð smȳlte pæðer*, “serenum erit;” atque ibi Cottonianus codex *manuscriptus* interlineatus habet *smolt bið*.¹⁰ Beda 4.13, þa *rc̄ah* 7 *com smȳlte p̄ng* 7 *mȳcel genihrc̄um*, “descendit pluvia serena, sed copiosa.”¹¹ Beda 5.13, *he me læbbe in p̄ægep̄neffe smȳltes leohtes*, “in auras me serenae lucis eduxit.” Interlineati veteris Ecclesiae hymni Feriae quartae hymno “Ad Laudes,” *eala ðu leoht earceplices tungles. onliht uꝛ mid ðinum smȳltum anb̄rlitan*, “o tu lux eoi sideris, inlumina nos tuo sereno vultu.”¹² *Observatio lunae* 9, *c̄lb*

b knew: knew [– formerly] | **d** serenus: [– pl] serenus

⁶ Thomas Thomas, *Dictionarium* (1631), **205b**, “*lentiginosus* . . . ‘That hath his face or body full of freckles, speckes or pimples;’ *lentigo* . . . ‘A specke or pimple red or wanne appearing in the face or other part like a lintell;’ *A specke in the face*, *lentigo*; *speckie*, maculosus [spotted], *lentiginosus*.”

⁷ wittie: “wise, sensible, intelligent, ingenious,” cf. *OED*. Junius’ *Etymologicum anglicanum* (1743, s.v. *СПЕЧК*), has on *speckle*, “*speckle*, ‘maculare,’ *speckled*, ‘variegatus, discoloribus maculis distinctus.’ *Belgice spickelen* est ‘variegare, versicoloribus maculis inficere.’ Referunt, s tantummodo praefixo, *Graece ποικίλλειν*, ‘variegare.’ *Anglo-Saxonibus* interim *p̄pecca* dicebatur ‘macula’” [speckle, ‘to spot,’ speckled, ‘variegated, decorated with differently coloured spots.’ Dutch *spickelen* is ‘to variegate, stain

- c . . . “*Smolt, ‘fair, faire, clear, as the weather.’ Hereof our smoult hot weather, that is, ‘heat, ardour, violent heat,’ as when the sky is clear and without wind*” . . . “*Smylt, that is, smolt. Smylt wæder, ‘fair weather,’ etc.*”
- d Several meanings of Anglo-Saxon *smylt* or *smolt*.
smylt or *smolt*, “fair, tranquil, calm.”
gesmyltan, “to calm, soothe, mitigate.”
 Matthew 16.2, *hyt byð smylte wæder*, “it will be fair,” and there Cotton’s interlineated manuscript codex has, *smolt bið*. Bede 4.13, *þa stah 7 com smylte reng 7 mycel genihtsum*, “a fair but plentiful rain fell down.” Bede 5.13, *he me lædde in fægernesse smyltes leohtes*, “he brought me out into the airs of fair light;” in the hymn “at Laud” of the fourth day in the interlineated hymn of the ancient church, *eala ðu leoht easterlices tungles. onliht us mid ðinum smyltum andwoltan*, “O, you light of the morning star, illuminate us with your fair face;” Observation of the

with particoloured spots.’ With just a prefixed *s*, they relate to Greek ποικίλλειν, ‘to variegate.’ To the Anglo-Saxons, however, ‘a spot’ is called *specca*]. Philemon Holland (1552–1637), translator, especially of classical writers, such as Pliny’s *Natural History* (1601), **116b**. He had first published his edition of Thomas’ *Dictionarium* in 1615. No further details found on Junius’ and Holland’s acquaintance. Cf. *DNB* 27.151–53, 56.192–93.

⁸ William Somner, *Dictionarium Saxonico* (1659), **191b**. The entry *SMOULT* in the *Etymologicum anglicanum* is a basically similar, although much reduced version of **c–k**.

⁹ From **d** on, the first language of the text is Latin.

¹⁰ The Old English *Gospels* (1571) published by John Foxe, and the Lindisfarne Gospels, **203c, e**.

¹¹ The Old English version of the Venerable Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* (1643), published by Abraham Wheelock, **203e**.

¹² Junius’ transcription of Latin hymns with Old English interlinear glosses, from BL, Cott. Mss Vesp. D.xii and Jul. A.vi, now in Mss Jun. 107 and 108. Cf. *SCW* no. 5218–19.

acenneb corngærælig. gear. ꝛranꝥ. ꝛmýlte, “puer natus graciosus, astutus, strenuus, serenus.”¹³

e ꝛmýltnýꝛ, “serenitas.”

Beda 1.1, Ðibernia Scotta ealond ge on halpenðneꝛge ge on ꝛmýltnýꝛge lýꝛta iꝛ betere mýcle þonne Breotone land, “Hibernia salubritate ac serenitate aerum multum Britanniae praestat.” Beda 1.7, ꝛmýltneg Eꝛiꝛtenra tida, “serenitas Christianorum temporum.”

f ꝛmýlt vel ꝛmolt, “placidus, placatus.”

ꝛmýlte vel ꝛmolte mode 7 bliðe him eall foꝛlet, “placida mente dimittebat iis omnia,” Beda 3.22. | hi ealle ꝛmýlte mod to him hæꝛðon, “omnes placidum erga se animum habebant,” Beda 4.24. ꝛæ ꝛmýlte geꝛihð. ceapeꝛ ꝛꝛðoꝛinge zetacnað, “mare placidum viderit, negotii expeditionem significat,” Somnium 166.¹⁴ þæt iꝛ ꝛio an næꝛt eallra uppa geꝛꝛinca. ꝛio an hýð bið ꝛimle ꝛmýltu æꝛteꝛ eallum ðam ýꝛtum 7 ðam ýðum uppa geꝛꝛinca. þæt iꝛ ꝛeo an ꝛꝛiðꝛtop 7 ꝛio an ꝛꝛoꝛeꝛ eꝛminza æꝛteꝛ ðam eꝛmðum ðiꝛꝛeꝛ anbꝛeapðan liꝛeꝛ; verba sunt Alvredi Regis paraphrastice reddentis tres sequentes versiculos Boethii metro 10 libri tertii De Consolatione philosophia,¹⁵

Heic erit vobis requies laborum.

Heic portus placida manens quiete.

Hoc patens unum miseris asylum.

Caeterum iam nunc allatam Bodleiani codicis paraphrasin eximius Cottonianae bibliothecae codex aliquanto plenius exequitur, þæt iꝛ ꝛio an næꝛt. eallra geꝛꝛinca. hihtlicu hýð. heaum ceolum. modeꝛ upꝛeꝛ. meꝛe ꝛmýlta ꝛic. þæt iꝛ ꝛio an hýð. þe æꝛpe bið. æꝛteꝛ ðam ýðum. upa geꝛꝛinca. ýꝛta gehpelcꝛe. ealniꝥ ꝛmýlte. þæt iꝛ ꝛio ꝛꝛiðꝛtop. 7 ꝛio ꝛꝛoꝛeꝛ an. eallra ýꝛminza. æꝛteꝛ ðiꝛꝛum ꝛeopulð geꝛꝛincum. þæt iꝛ ꝛýnꝛum ꝛtop. æꝛteꝛ ðýꝛꝛum ýꝛmðum. to azanne.¹⁶

g geꝛmýltan, “placare, lenire.”

he ðone aðunðenan ꝛæ geꝛmýlte, “tumida aequora placavit,” Beda 5.1.

¹³ Junius’ transcription of “De observatione lunae et quae cavenda,” a Latin collective lunary with Old English glosses, which interprets events on the basis of the phases of the moon, from BL, Cott. Ms Tib. A.iii, is now in Ms Jun. 44. corngærælig, a hapax, literally translates Latin *granosus*, a transcriptional error for *graciosus*, which occurs in some other manuscripts, none of which Junius was presumably able to consult. Junius probably emended the Latin but retained the Old English. Cf. *SCW* no. 5156, Chardonnes (forthcoming).

¹⁴ Junius’ transcription of “De somniorum diversitate secundum ordinem abcharii [read: abcdarii] Danielis prophete,” from BL, Cott. Ms Tib. A.iii, is now Ms Jun. 43, pp. 1, 76, in an as yet unidentified printed book (Copenhagen, 1631), not seen. Cf. Förster (1910, no. 169), *SCW* no. 5155, Dekker (unpubl. ms.).

moon 9, *cild acenned corngesælig. geap. strang. smylte*, “a child born gracious, shrewd, vigorous, fair.”

e *smyltnys*, “fairness.”

Bede 1.1, *Hibernia Scotta ealond ge on halwendnesse ge on smyltnysse lyfta is betere mycle þonne Breotone land*, “Ireland is much better than Britain with respect to the wholesomeness and fairness of the air;” Bede 1.7, *smyltnes Cristentra tida*, “the fairness of Christian times.”

f *smylt* or *smolt*, “calm, still.”

smylte or *smolte mode 7 bliðe him eall forlet*, “he left everything to them with a calm heart,” Bede 3.22. *hi ealle smylte mod to him hæfdon*, “they all had a calm heart towards him,” Bede 4.24. *sæ smylte gesihð. ceapes fyrðringe getacnað*, “he saw the calm sea; it indicates the advancement of business,” Dream 166. “*That is the only rest of all our exertions; the only haven will always be calm after all the tempests and the waves of our exertions. That is the only sanctuary and the only comfort for the wretched after the wretchedness of this present life.*” The words are King Alfred’s, who paraphrastically rendered the three following verse lines of Boethius in metre 10 of book 3 *On the Consolation of Philosophy*, “here you will have rest from labours/ here is a haven lasting in calm quiet/ this is the only sanctuary open to the wretched.” Yet the excellent codex of the Cottonian library presents the paraphrase of the Bodleian codex just quoted somewhat fuller, “*that is the only rest of all exertions, a joyful haven for our heart in the high heaven, a calm place in the ocean. That is the only haven which will be always calm for ever, after the waves of our exertions and of every storm. That is the only sanctuary and comfort of all the wretched after the exertions of the world. That is a joyful place to have after this wretchedness.*”

g *gesmyltan*, “to calm, soothe.”

he ðone aðundenan sæ gesmylte, “he calmed the high seas,” Bede 5.1. *heo*

¹⁵ Alfred’s Old English *Metres of Boethius* 21, transcribed by Junius from Ms Bodl. 180, cf. below, **206a**.

¹⁶ Alfred’s Old English *Metres of Boethius* 21.10–19, transcribed by Junius from BL, Cott. Ms Otho A.vi, **206a**. About the manuscripts Junius indicated in *Gothicum glossarium* (1665:***2), “descripsi ex Bodleianae bibliothecae codice manuscripto, ac postea contuli cum altero melioris notae codice Cottoniano” [I have transcribed it from a manuscript codex of the Bodleian library, and later I collated it with the other, Cottonian codex of better quality]. Junius’ addition of metrical pointing indicates that he recognized the Old English as poetry, just as in *Cædmonis paraphrasis* (1655), **183a**. Cf. Griffiths (1991:17n), Cunniff Plumer (2000:257–59). ealpa: Ms Cott. eallpa | hihrlcu: Ms Cott. hihrlcu, cf. Griffiths (1991:113).

heo ælce hreohneffe Ʒermýlceð, “haec quamlibet tempestatem lenit,” Herbarius, *capite* 168.¹⁷

h Ʒmýlt, “tranquillus, quietus.”

ƷriƷteƷ Ʒelearan unpemmedne on Ʒmýltre Ʒebbe heolbon, “Christi fidem inviolatam integramque quieta pace servabant,” Beda 1.4. ƷæƷ ƷeƷorþen þætƷe ƷƷa ƷƷa he Ʒmýltre ƷillƷumneffe þrihtne ðeopþe. þæt he eac ƷƷýlce ƷƷa Ʒmýlce deaðe miðþan Ʒeapþ ƷæƷ Ʒorþlætende, “factum est ut quomodo tranquilla devotione Domino servierat, ita etiam tranquilla morte mundum relinqueret,” Beda °4.24. | On Ʒmýltre Ʒebbe ðin lif ƷeenþaƷt, “in pace tranquilla vitam terminabis,” Beda 5.20.

i ƷmýltnýƷ, “tranquillitas.”

ƷmýltnýƷ micel, “tranquillitas magna,” *Matthaei* 8.26, *Marci* 4.39, *Lucæ* 8.24.

j Ab hisce acceptionibus ƷmýltnýƷ quoque usurpatum pro “silentio,” sicuti videre est in Cottoniano codice interlineato, *Matthaei* 22.24. Et quoniam coelo vespascente omnia silere incipiunt, ipsum quoque serum diei ƷmýltnýƷ *vel* Ʒmolt nuncupatum. Ita legimus *Iohannis* 6.16 in duobus nobilissimis codicibus interlineatis, Cottoniano nempe et Rushworthiano, ƷmýltnýƷƷe aƷorþen ƷæƷ, “sero factum est.”¹⁸ *Marci* quoque 6.47 habet uterque codex, mið ðý eƷeƷn *vel* Ʒmolt ƷæƷ, “cum sero esset.” *Iohannis* denique 20.19 pro Ʒmolte þæƷe, “sero die,” quod est in Rushworthiano, Cottonianus habet, mið ðý uæƷ Ʒmolte þæƷ. Ʒmelt haƷol, “serotinus imber,” *Proverbio* 16.¹⁹

k Prima itaque vocabuli Ʒmýlt acceptio et a qua reliquae promanarunt, est “serenus, placidus, tranquillus.” Quemadmodum vero Ʒelôn Graecis, et “ridere” Latinis etiam usurpantur de rebus inanimatis grata quadam specie florentibus ac dulce renidentibus, ita quoque suspicor Ʒmýlt istud habere communem originem cum Anglico *smile*, “subridere, leniter ridere,” Belgice *smuylen/ smollen*. Danis *smiler ad* est “subrideo,” quae fortasse videri possunt derivata ex Hesychianis

h 4.24: 4.24. [– *smýltnýƷ micel*, ‘tranquillitas magna’, *Matth. 8.26*, *Marc. 4.39*, *Luc. 8.24*.]

¹⁷ The Old High German glossary, headed “Theotisce herbarum nomenclaturae *manuscripto* macro antiqua manu ad oram additae” [Theotiscan terminology of herbs added in the margin in a large manuscript by an ancient hand], distinguished by Junius as ‘M,’ now Ms Jun. 116f, ff. 118–121, and copied from a thirteenth-century manuscript from Isaac Vossius’ collection, Odo Magdunensis, *De viribus herbarum*,

ælce hreohnesse gesmyltd̥, “this soothes any tempest,” Herbarius, chapter 168.

h *smylt*, “tranquil, quiet.”

Cristes geleafan unwemmedne on smyltre sibbe heoldon, “they preserved faith in Christ unviolated and whole in quiet peace,” Bede 1.4. *wæs geworden þæt se swa he smyltre willsumnesse drihtne ðeowde. þæt he eac swylce swa smylte deaðe middan geard wæs forletende*, “it happened that just as he served the Lord in tranquil devotion, so he also left the world in a tranquil death,” Bede 4.24. *On smyltre sibbe ðin lif geendast*, “you will end your life in tranquil peace,” Bede 5.20.

i *smyltnys*, “tranquillity.”

smyltnys micel, “great tranquillity,” Matthew 8.26, Mark 4.39, Luke 8.24.

j On the basis of these meanings, *smyltnis* was also used for “silence,” as can be seen in Cotton’s interlineated codex, Matthew 22.24. Then, since everything turns silent when the sky darkens towards evening, this late hour of the day was also called *smyltnis* or *smolt*. Thus, in the two most noble interlineated codices, that is Cotton’s and Rushworth’s, we read at John 6.16, *smyltnisse aworden wæs*, “it had grown late.” Both codices also have at Mark 6.47, *mīð ðy efern* or *smolt wæs*, “when it was late.” Finally, at John 20.19 instead of *smolte dæge*, “late in the day,” which is in Rushworth’s, Cotton’s has, *mīð ðy wæs smolte dæg. smelt hagol*, “late shower,” Proverb 16.

k The primary meaning of the word *smylt*, then, and the one from which the others have ensued is “fair, calm, tranquil.” Yet just as γελᾶν [to laugh] with the Greeks and *ridere* [to laugh] with the Romans were also used for inanimate things blooming with a pleasing appearance and shining sweetly, so I also suspect that this *smylt* has an origin in common with English *smile* “to smile, laugh softly,” Dutch *smuylen*, *smollen*; to the Danes *smiler ad* is “I smile,” [all of] which can perhaps appear to have been derived from Hesychius’ σμηλακεῖ, “he sounds,” as well as σμιλακτεῖ, “he produces a sound,” so

now UBL, Ms Voss. Lat. O.78. Confusingly, this glossary ‘M’ of Junius is different from his glossary ‘M’ of Hrabanus Maurus, 187aⁿ. Cf. 193b, 213a.

¹⁸ The Rushworth Gospels, 169e.

¹⁹ The Kentish interlinear glosses on the Proverbs of Solomon, now BL, Cott. Ms Vesp. D.vi, which Junius copied in Ms Jun. 71, ff. 127–57. Cf. *SCW* no. 5182, Dekker (unpubl. ms.).

σηλακεῖ, “φωνεῖ,” item σμιλακτεῖ, “φωνὴν ἀποτελεῖ;” ut *smile* proprie sit “cum quodam fremitu et modico veluti iam iam erupturae vocis susurro subridere.”²⁰ Nam et Anglosaxonicum *gmeaprcian* atque Anglicum *smirke* pari quoque ratione videri possunt desumpta ex *σμαραγεῖν*, “resonare, strepitum vel stridorem edere.” Ipsum vero *σηλαχεῖ* et *σμιλακτεῖ* videntur, praeposito *σ*, facta ex *μειλίσσω*, “blandis ac veluti mellitis artibus aliquem demulceo ac mihi concilio,” unde *μείλιχος* est “blandus, mitis, placidus,” etc.

1 | A praecedentibus vocum *γμύλτ* et *γμύλτνεγ* acceptionibus plurimum videntur distare *γμύλτνγ*, “pinguedo,” et *βεγμύλτνγ*, “spurcicies, sordes.” In optimo sane glossario Rubeniano, quod Ælfrici grammaticae subiunxit Guili. Somnerus, *γμύλτνγ* exponitur “pinguendo.”²¹ At *βεγμύλτνγ* occurrit apud Bedam libro tertio, *capite* 23, *þa tilode he ða onfranzenan gtope ðær mýnhtref æreft mid zebedum 7 færcenum fram ungyfernngum hi zeclænngian ðara ærrena mana 7 beγmýltnngre*, “tunc studuit acceptum monasterii locum primo precibus ac ieiuniis a pristina flagitiorum sorde purgare.”

m Nonnulla quidem veniunt hic in mentem quae utriusque vocabuli proprietatem atque originem non parum forte illustrarent, quoniam tamen excessi modum in iis quae Durdrehti obiter tantum attigeramus, nequeo in animum inducere ut porro peccem in bonas horas gravioribus studiis debitas.²²

209 63 01 12 JUNIUS (DORDRECHT) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (THE HAGUE)¹

A Aen den Heer den Heer Isaacus Vossius, historie-schrijver van d'edele grootmoghende heeren heeren Staten van Holland, Zeeland, en West-Friesland, woonende op 't eynde van de Turffmarckt, 's Gravenhaegh.
port.

a *Dilectissime cognate*,
ik en behoeve niet te schrijven hoe aengenaem de Samaritana geweest sijn aen Mr Marschall, want VE genoegsaem kan bevroeden hoe

²⁰ Hesychius, *Dictionarium* (1521), **94a**. Instead of suggesting that the English, Dutch and Danish verbs were “derivata” [derived], from Greek, the *Etymologicum anglicanum* reads that they “singularem videntur affinitatem habere cum” [seem to have a singular affinity with] the Greek.

that *smile* is literally “to smile with a humming and moderate murmuring of the voice, so to speak, about to burst out.” Then, in the same way, both Anglo-Saxon *smearcian* and English *smirke* can also appear to have been derived from *σμαραγεῖν*, “to resound, produce clattering and hissing.” This *σμηλαχεῖ* and *σμιλακτεῖ*, however, seem to have been made, with prefixed *σ*, from *μειλίσσω*, “I allure and win someone over to me by means of charming and as it were honey-sweet tricks;” hence *μείλιχος* is “charming, mellow, calm,” etc.

1 *Smyltnys*, “fatness,” and *besmyltnys*, “filth, dirt,” seem to differ much from the preceding meanings of the words *smylt* and *smyltnes*. In Rubens’ truly excellent glossary, which William Somner joined to Ælfric’s *Grammar*, *smyltnys* is translated “fatness.” Yet *besmyltnys* occurs with Bede in book three, chapter 23, *þa tilode he ða onfangenan stowe ðæs mynstres ærest mid gebedum 7 fæstenum fram unsyfernyssum hi geclænsian ðara ærrena mana 7 besmyltnysse*, “then he tried to purge the site of the monastery originally destined for prayers and fasting from the former dirt of disgraces.”

m Several matters which might perhaps well explain the proper meaning and origin of both words do indeed come to mind here, but since I have gone beyond the limit in what we only barely touched on in Dordrecht, I cannot set my heart to offending the good hours due for more serious studies any further.

209 63 01 12 JUNIUS (DORDRECHT) TO ISAAC VOSSIUS (THE HAGUE)

A To the gentleman Mr. Isaac Vossius, historian to the lofty lords States of Holland, Zeeland and West-Friesland, residing at the end of the Turfmarkt, The Hague.
Postage.

a *Sweetest Nephew*,
I need not write how welcome the *Samaritana* have been to Mr. Marshall, for you can guess well enough how a truly inquisitive,

²¹ The Old English “Archbishop Ælfric’s Vocabulary,” conveyed to Junius from the legacy of Peter Paul Rubens, and published in Somner, *Dictionarium* (1659), 191b, 203e.

²² No such further elucidations appear in the *Etymologicum anglicanum*.

¹ *o*: UBA, I 89f.

een recht wetgierig overnaerstig man sodanige schatten plaght t'ontmoeten.² VE sal bevinden, so ik vertrouwe, dat sulck een weldaed niet quaelik aen hem besteedt is. Ik hebbe VE mede grootliks te bedanken dat VE mijne saken t'Amsterdam so behertight dat ik al haest een gewenscht goed eynde begin te gemoet te sien.³

b Ik vinde mij selven °onderentusschen alle daeg meer en meer geneghen om den Gotischen text met eenighe *notulis* °wat lichts te geven.⁴ en overmids den Anglosaxonischen text daer toe ten hooghsten dienstig is, so dunckt het mij als noch noodig °*Argentei codicis fragmenta*, daer se te vinden sijn, °op een *pagina in quarto columnatim* met d'Anglosaxonische *evangeliis* te laeten drucken; en op de *adversa pagina in quarto* te stellen *textum Graecum columnatim* met *vetere vel vulgata versione Latina*.⁵ om dat het blijckelik is dat *Ulphilae translatio* den Griekschē text wtdrukt, en dat *Evangelia Anglosaxonica* d'oude Latijnsche *translatio* volghen.⁶ °dus sullen dan mede met het opslaen van eenigh blad alle dese vier translatien sik vertoonen, vers op vers passende en een vaerdige colatie aendienende Immer, 't sal het mij in *annotatiunculis ad Argenteum codicem* lichte vallen *vocabula et phrasiologiam Gothicam* door den medegaenden Anglosaxonischen text vaerdighlik t'illustreren, mids nu en dan daer bij voegende eenighe plaetsen wt *Tatiani harmonia* bijgebracht, om te bewijzen waer in *Francica dialectus* d'eyenschap van den Gotischen text naerder gevolght heeft en de selvige woorden en manieren van spreken on-verandert of seer weynigh

b onderentusschen: onderen\tu/sschen | wat: [- ..] wat | *Argentei*: [- ..] *Argentei* | op: [*in* > op] | dus ... aendienende: \dus ... aendienende/

² Probably, Thomas Marshall had been studying the Samaritan Pentateuch and the Samaritan-Aramaic Targum as printed in volumes 1 and 6 of the *London Polyglot* (1657) for his "Observationes" to the Gothic Gospels, which include some Samaritan, **199d**. Isaac had borrowed several volumes of the *London Polyglot* from Herbert Thorndike for his studies on the Septuagint, **199d**. The Samaritan Pentateuch is a "Pentateuch in Samaritan characters in Hebrew, an earlier version than the Septuagint and therefore important for the verification of the Hebrew text," while the Targum is a Samaritan-Aramaic translation of it. Marshall borrowed the Samaritan texts again in 1667, **214c-d**, and later was to correspond with Samaritan communities. Cf. *TCE* 13.417-420, Toomer (1996:281-83), personal communication Alistair Hamilton.

³ Affairs which Isaac was managing on Junius' behalf in Amsterdam are unidentified; however, ten years later, on 8 Jan 1672, Junius signed a warrant in which he authorised Isaac to be his attorney in England, cf. van Romburgh (1998).

⁴ Junius had been examining the Gothic version of the Gospels from the *Codex*

most diligent person is accustomed to take such treasures. You will notice, as I trust, that such a favour is not badly wasted on him. I must also thank you very much for caring for my interests in Amsterdam in such a way that I almost begin to look forward to a desired good end now.

- b** Meanwhile, every day I find myself more and more inclined to illustrate the Gothic text with some *annotations*. Since the Anglo-Saxon text is most useful for this, I think it necessary now to have the *fragments of the Codex argenteus*, where they can be found, printed with the Anglo-Saxon *Gospels* on a *page in quarto with columns*, and to put the *Greek text* with the *Latin Vulgate translation in columns* on the *opposite page in quarto*, because it is obvious that *Wulfila's translation* expresses the Greek text, and that the *Anglo-Saxon Gospels* follow the ancient Latin translation. Thus, all these four translations will be visible at the turning up of any page, verse fitting verse and offering a ready collation. Surely, it will be easy for me readily to illustrate the *words and Gothic phraseology* with the accompanying Anglo-Saxon text in the *small annotations to the Codex argenteus*, if adding some places from *Tatian's Harmony* to it now and then to demonstrate where in the *Franconian dialect* the property of the Gothic text has been followed more closely, and the words and manners of speech have been used unchanged

argenteus, which Isaac had brought from Sweden in 1654, **173b**, **188a**. His textual studies became an edition, and his annotations grew into a dictionary, cf. below.

⁵ This project became *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665), for the full title of which, cf. **210a**, on which Thomas Marshall and Junius cooperated. The description of his design in this section suggests that Junius envisaged it as a modest polyglot, and Marshall, indeed, described it as a northern counterpart to the eastern (Arabic, Persian, Armenian), western (Latin) and southern (Ethiopian, Coptic) Bible versions—which had been included in the *London Polyglot* (1657), **121a**^a—in his “Observationes de versione Gothica,” *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665:386). Eventually, only the Old English version, in Marshall's re-edition of John Foxe's 1571 edition, **203c**, and the Gothic version, excerpted by Junius from the *Codex argenteus*, were printed in columns side by side. Marshall provided the commentary to the Old English and Gothic texts, while Junius accompanied the edition with the *Gothicum glossarium*, cf. below. The book was dedicated to Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie with letter **211**, cf. **210a**. The book, both Gospels and dictionary, appeared as a title reissue in 1684 by Janssonius van Waesberge in Amsterdam. The joint publication of *Evangeliorum versiones* and *Gothicum glossarium* deserves to be made the topic of a study which elaborates on van de Velde (1966:130–208).

⁶ Cf. **173d**.

verandert gebruyckt heeft.⁷ Maer hier van sullen wij bequaemer spreken als VE bij ons komt nae 't wtvoren der saecke °t'Amsterdam. Middeler tijd verhope ik binnen acht of tien daghen (nae dat ik eenige *Islandica*, daer ik noch in verwarrt ben, sal hebben afgedaen)⁸ de voorgemelde *notulas* te beginnen.⁹

- c *Dominus* Colvius was gister bij mij, en toonde mij den ingesloten van Wendelinus, dien hij meynde dat VE misschien (alhoewel over ettelicke jaren geschreven) niet on-aangenaem sal wesen.¹⁰ VE magh hem met VE komst wederom aen Colvius behandigen. in grooten haest. den 12en *Ianuarii*. 1663. Dordrecht.

210 65 03 13 JUNIUS (DORDRECHT) TO N.N. [FRANKFURT]¹

- a Waerde Vriend,²

De naeste herfstmisse (so 't den almogenden God toelaet) sal 't werk, welkers tijtel UE alhier siet, konnen worden gesonden.³ Het is nu ten naesten bij voldrukt, en daer ontbreken maer vier of vijf vellen aen 't boek; dies soude ik het nu noch wel hebben ko[nn]en gereed krijgen om dese misse over te senden, ten waer saeke dat het eerst aen den Rijks-Cancellier van Sweden moet worden over-gesonden; want geene copijen in handen van eenige boekhandelaers behooren te geraeken, voor ende al-eer hij een copije heeft ontfangen, dien 't

b t'Amsterdam: \t'Amsterdam/

⁷ These annotations became the *Gothicum glossarium, quo pleraque argentei codicis vocabula explicantur, atque ex linguis cognatis illustrantur* (Dordrecht: typis et sumptibus Iunianis, Henricus and Joannes Essaeus, 1665) [Gothic glossary, in which many words of the *Codex argenteus* are explained and illustrated with the aid of cognate languages], a Gothic-Latin dictionary with etymological expositions and comparative data from other Germanic languages, it testifies to the comparative approach Junius had developed upon examining the *Codex argenteus*, **187a**, **210a**. It was prefaced by "alphabetum Gothicum, Runicum," discussing the characters of the Gothic and runic alphabets (pp. 1–31) and a Letter to the Reader, and dedicated to Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie with a lengthy and learned poem by Jan van Vliet, **173d**. Much of the entries were adopted from Junius' annotations to Tatian, **195a**, so that it was finished soon, and already in press in 1664, **210a**. The Swedish scholar George Stiernhielm (1598–1672) added Swedish translations to the entries and republished the dictionary as *Glossarium ulphila-gothicum . . . nunc etiam sueuo-gothica auctum . . .* (Stockholm, 1671). For a contemporary impression of the dictionary, cf. **213e**. Cf. Dekker (1999:388–429), van de Velde (1966:186–208).

⁸ Icelandic material which Junius was examining is unidentified.

⁹ Junius would accordingly have begun the annotations towards the end of January.

or changed very little. But we will discuss this more properly when you come to us upon finishing the business in Amsterdam. In the meantime, I hope to begin the aforementioned *annotations* within eight or ten days (after having concluded some *Icelandic matters*, in which I am still entangled).

- c Mr. Colvius was with me yesterday, and showed me the enclosed [letter] of Wendelin, which he thought might be welcome to you (although written several years ago). You may hand it back to Colvius again on your arrival.

In great haste; 12 January 1663, Dordrecht.

210 65 03 13 JUNIUS (DORDRECHT) TO N.N. [FRANKFURT]

- a Good Friend,

This autumn fair (if the almighty God be willing) the book of which you see the titlepage here can be sent. It has been almost completely printed now, and the book is short of just four or five sheets. I would accordingly still have been able to get it ready to be sent this fair now, if it had not been the case that it must be sent to the chancellor of Sweden first, since no bookseller should lay hands on any

¹⁰ Probably a letter from Godfried, or Godefroy Wendelin (1580–1660), astronomer and scientist of the southern Netherlands, who published on astronomy and natural science and maintained contact with the leading scientists of his time, cf. *BNB* 27.180–84.

¹ *ca*: UBA, M 80.

² The addressee was a Dutch bookseller in Frankfurt, as the language of the letter and references to both the book fair and to Junius' Frankfurt friends in **a** and **e** indicate. The question on the addressee's family and Junius' friends in **e** suggests, furthermore, that they knew each other, but did not maintain contact. The addressee may have been the publisher Willem Blaeu (1635–1685), who is listed among the publishers from Frankfurt at the book fair for 1665 in Schwetschke (1870:127).

³ Junius and Thomas Marshall, *Quatuor Domini Iesu Christi Evangeliorum versiones perantiquae duae, Gothica scilicet et Anglo-Saxonica, quarum illam ex celeberrimo codice argenteo nuncprimum depromsit Franciscus Iunius. Accedit et glossarium Gothicum, cui praemititur alphabetum Gothicum, Runicum etc., opera eiusdem Francisci Iunii* (Dordrecht: typis et sumptibus Iunianis, Henricus and Joannes Essaeus, 1665), **209b**. The title page states explicitly that the books were printed "with Junius' fonts and at his expenses," at Hendrik and Johan van Esch in Dordrecht. The book fair in Frankfurt, held yearly in spring and autumn, was the most important centre for the international book trade, and attracted booksellers, printers and scholars from many countries. Evidently, the Gothic Gospels and glossary were ready for display at the Frankfurt autumn fair in 1665. Cf. Lucas (1998:182), Laeven (1992).

boek door toe-eygeninge toe-komt.⁴ Benevens den voorgemelden tijtel, sende ik met eenen ook een oud schetsken van de gedruckte Evangelien ende een geheel blad van 't Gotische *Glossarium*, om UE de gestalte des werks eenigsins voor oogen te stellen.

b Wat de gantsche gelegenheyd en d'andere omstandigheden des boeks aengaet, deselvige worden in 't medegaende *Vader Ons* wijdloopighlik en al te luydruchtig voorgesteld.⁵ Den Heer Johan van Vliet, griffier der stad van Breda, is den autheur van 't boekken; maer gelijk hij vol is van geest en wonderlik genegen tot de poësijsje, so heeft hij in dit werksken de maete vrij wat veel te buyten gegaen als hij van mij spreekt, eendeels door affectie, anderdeels ook door poëtische invallen aengeleydet ofte aengedreven sijnde tot overtollige en gantsch hyperbolische manieren van spreken.

c D'Observatien op Willeramus die ik anno 1655 't Amsterdam liet drucken, sijn niet meer te vinden; dies wordense tot Leyden in auctien so hoogh opgejaeght, dat men se niet wel onder de 4 of 5 guldens kan bekomen.⁶ Dies worde ik versocht eenen anderen druck te willen geven, daer ik seer wel toe gesint ben, als hebbende verscheyden andere observatien daer bij te voegen.⁷ Maer hier toe soude mij seer noodigh sijn d'editie van Willeramus ofte Walram, gelijk hij bij Voegelinus, nae 't beleyd van den Heer Marqu. Freherus tot Heidelberg even ju[i]st voor de Palatijnsche troubelen gedrukt was, geconfereert sijnde met verscheyden manuscripten als de Electorale bibliotheke noch in wesen was.⁸ Ist mogelijk helpt mij aen eenen Wallram of Willeramus van die Heidelberghsche editie.

⁴ Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie (1622–1686), royal chancellor of Sweden. Having studied at Uppsala and, in 1641, at Leiden, he became a colonel in Sweden, and succeeded Grotius as ambassador in Paris in 1646. During the reigns of Queen Christina and Karl Gustav he had several governmental duties, and was made governor of Livonia in 1649. He was later dispatched on various embassies to Poland and Denmark. He contributed to antiquarian studies not only by stimulating Swedish scholars, but also by buying the *Codex argenteus* from Isaac Vossius in 1662, and presenting it to Uppsala University in 1669. Junius dedicated *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665) and *Gothicum glossarium* (1665) to de la Gardie, the former by letter **211** and the latter by Jan van Vliet's poem, **209b**. Most of the printing was actually already finished in September 1664, as van Vliet indicated to Nicolaas Heinsius, "Gothica Evangelia cum Glossario Iunii meaque opella absoluta sunt. Sed accedent, quae iam quoque finem spectant, doctissimi viri Thomae Marshalli, collationes variarum interpretationum cum Gothica" [The Gothic Gospels and Glossary by Junius and my small work (*cf.* **b**) have been finished. But the most learned gentleman Thomas Marshall's collations of various versions with the Gothic, which are also expecting the end, will be added], 64 09 10, Burman 3.54. In 't *Vader Ons* (1664:[vii]), **b**, van Vliet listed *Evangeliorum versiones* even as printed in 1663. Title pages of the *Gothicum*

copies before he to whom the book belongs by dedication has received a copy. Besides the aforementioned title, I am also sending an old sample of the printed *Gospels* and a whole sheet of the Gothic *Glossary* in order to give you an impression of the appearance of the book.

- b** Concerning the full facts and other circumstances of the book, these have been represented circumstantially and too loudly in the enclosed *Vader Ons*. Mr. Jan van Vliet, clerk of the town of Breda, is the author of the booklet; but just as he is high-spirited and exceptionally inclined to poetry, so he went quite beyond the limit in this booklet when speaking of me, partly through affection, partly also through being moved or driven to redundant and entirely hyperbolic manners of speaking by poetic inspiration.
- c** The *Observations on Willeram*, which I had printed in Amsterdam in the year 1655, can be found no more. They are consequently jacked up so much at auctions in Leiden, that they can hardly be obtained for less than four or five guilders. That is why I have been asked to make a second edition; something to which I am quite inclined, since I have several other observations to add to them. For this purpose, however, I would badly need the edition of Willeram or Walram as printed by Voegelin in Heidelberg at Mr. Marquard Freher's instigation just before the Palatine troubles, and collated with several manuscripts when the Electoral library still existed. If possible, please help me to a Walram or Willeram of that Heidelberg edition.

glossarium with a year "1664" were subsequently used by Junius as covers for Glossaries A and B. Cf. *SBL* 10.657–80, Dekker (unpubl.ms).

⁵ [Jan van Vliet], *'t Vader Ons in XX oude Duijtsche en Noordse Taalen Met d'wijtleeggingen etc.* (Dordrecht, 1664), an edition of versions of the Lord's Prayer in Gothic, Old English, Old High German, Swedish, Danish, Middle High German, Middle Dutch, Frisian, Norwegian, Icelandic, Middle English, Scots, and Finnish, printed with Junius' types, and prefaced with an exposition on the Germanic languages, a list of Junius' work ready for the press, and specimens of Junius' types. It was intended as a taste of *Evangeliorum versiones*. The preface is partly a eulogy on Junius for bringing to light the Gothic Gospels, and thus uncovering the heritage and even source of the northern languages. Cf. Dekker (1999:151–58).

⁶ Junius' *Observationes* (1655), **188c**. For comparison, five guilders was the price for the regular copies of *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665), **214b**. Leiden was a centre of scholarly book trade and auctions, **6c**, **214b**.

⁷ In the copy of *Observationes* now UBL, 579 G 14 (from Isaac Vossius' collection), Junius made corrections, such as changing "monosyllaba Gothica" into "monosyllaba Cimbrica" (1655:259), and occasional additions; in the imperfect copy now Ms Jun. 75, Junius not only wrote out the missing parts, such as quire X, and inserted the corrections from his printed corrigenda, but also made several additional corrections and notes. Cf. **188c**, Voorwinden (1992:xviii).

⁸ Marquard Freher's annotations on and collations of Willeram had been pub-

d | Als ik anno 1653 mij een goede wijle tijds in Duytschland onthield, had ik eenighe kennis met den Prior van de Dominicanen tot Frankford, wt naem van den Elector gelast sijnde des Viscontes boetpenningen in handen van desen Prior te leveren, die eenen Ruremunder was, en geerne van de Nederlandsche saken in 't Nederduytsch met mij plaght te kouten.⁹ Op dese gelegenheyd kreeg ik eens 't gesicht van de bibliotheke des Convents, ende in 't intreden van de galerije, sach ik aen de rechter hand eenen hoop vermuftte verschimmelde folianten liggen, die sij als onnut hadden utgemonstert en hun meynden quijt te maken. Het luste mij eenighe met een loopend ooge te besichtighen, maer vond het heele stapel wt enkele grollen te bestaen. Alleenlik quam 'er mij een oud boek te vooren, 't welk een *Glossarium* ofte *Dictionarium Latino-Francicum* scheen te wesen, want daer in wierden allerley Latijnsche woorden wt geleyt nae d'eygenschap van d'oude tale der Franken.¹⁰ Het en gaf doe geen pas met eenige gemeyne munniken die omtrent mij waren, dies aengaende te spreken; en als ik daer nae 't boek meynde te bekomen, mosten wij onse reyse nae Holland op 't aller schielikste aenvaerden. Dat boek sou mij nu dienstig kunnen sijn in 't verrijken van mijne Observatien op Willeramus, in 't illustreren van Otfridus, en verscheyden andere betrachtungen van dien slag.¹¹ Kan UE dit boek, ofte eenige diergelijke oude schriften ergens voor mij bekomen, sal 't geld daer voor betaelen waer 't UE sal gelieven.

e Laet mij eens weten of de Heer Curtius en den Heer Alexander Zum Jonge, als mede Dr Schefferus noch in 't leven sijn.¹² Eenen sekeren *Dominus Hondius* (die nae mijn onthoud met den jongen

lished posthumously by Gotthard Vögelin (1572–1634) as *In Willerami abbatis Eberspergensis expositionem super Canticum Canticatorum A. 1598 Lugduni Bat. editam notae, variae lectiones, supplementa, Marquardi Freheri* (Worms, 1631), in a composite publication which included Vögelin's *Uhralte verdolmetschung dess Hohen liedes Salomonis: Ausz. Abt Walrams zu Ebersperg etc. berühmter Teutschen Auslegung . . .*, a transcript found among Freher's papers, and Freher's improved edition of Otfred. Freher had collated Merula's edition with several manuscripts, yet mostly with the *Codex Palatinus*, now in Rome, Pal. 73, and identified as 'F' in stemmata. Vögelin had been a publisher in Heidelberg from 1598 to 1622, which is why Junius must have believed the book to have been printed there. Many copies must have been destroyed during the Thirty Years' War, and Junius probably never acquired one. In 1661, Johann Georgius Graevius, **224a**, had also inquired after the book on Junius' behalf, "Vossium et Iunium saluta meo nomine, ac huic, si non grave est, significa, me amicos Duisburgenses et Vesalienses de cive Heidelbergense, qui fertur habuisse editionem Germanicam Willerami, appellasse saepius, sed irrito successu" [Greet (Isaac) Vossius and Junius on my behalf, and if it is no trouble, indicate to the latter that I have rather often

- d When I stayed in Germany for quite a while in the year 1653, I had some acquaintance with the prior of the Dominicans in Frankfurt, since I had been ordered on the elector's behalf to hand the viscount's fine to this prior, who was from Roermond and used to like discussing Dutch affairs with me in Dutch. On this occasion, I once caught sight of the library of the convent, and on entering the ambulatory I saw a pile of mouldy, musty papers, which they had discarded as useless and decided to rid themselves of, lying on the right-hand side. It pleased me to run my eye over some of them, but I noticed the whole heap consisted of some fiddle-faddle. I was struck only by one old book, which seemed to be a *Glossary* or *Latin–Franconian Dictionary*, since all kinds of Latin words had been explained there after the idiom of the ancient language of the Franks. It was not proper at the time to speak on that subject to some ordinary monks who were with me, and when I later intended to procure the book, we had to set out on our journey to Holland all in a hurry. That book could be of use to me now for enriching my *Observations on Willeram*, explaining Otfrid, and for several other such studies. If you are able to obtain this book or some similar ancient writings for me anywhere, I will pay the money for it where it pleases you.
- e Please let me know whether Mr. Curtius and Mr. Alexander zum Jungen, as well as Dr. Scheffer are still alive. A certain Mr. Hondius

addressed friends in Duisburg and Wesel about the Heidelberg citizen who is said to have a German edition of Willeram, but without success], 61 02 21, Burman 4.17, Graevius to Nicolaas Heinsius. Cf. Seemüller (1877:2–3, 66–74), Kornexl (1967:141, no. 55), Benzing (1982:197, no. 17).

⁹ Junius had been in Germany in 1653 to release Stafford, who had been imprisoned possibly by order of the Prince Palatine, Charles Louis, **184a**. The prior of the Dominican convent in Frankfurt is unidentified. As he came from Roermond, he may have met Vossius' relatives there, **21a**.

¹⁰ Possibly *Gemma gemmarum*, that is, *Vocabularius Gemma gemmarum: quia per insertionem multorum vocabulorum emendatus est, ideo merito Gemma gemmarum appellatur* (Hagenau, 1512), a Latin–German dictionary, of which no copy of Junius has been retrieved, but which he collated in Ms Jun. 21, his copy of the incunable Gerard van der Schueren, *Teuthonista* (Cologne, 1477), a Low German–Latin and Latin–Low German dictionary. Cf. Dekker (unpubl.ms), *SCW* no. 5133.

¹¹ Junius has not proceeded far in annotating Otfrid of Weissenburg's Old High German *Evangelienbuch*; he mainly made cross-references and compiled an index, **203d**, **222a**.

¹² Mr. Curtius (unidentified); Alexander zum Jungen, a relative of Hans Hector and Johann Maximilian zum Jungen, and hence a member of the influential patrician family in Frankfurt; and Dr. Sebastian Scheffer, all of whom Junius must have met during his stay in Frankfurt in 1653, **184a**. Cf. Körner (1971:81–95).

Heer Zum Jonge had gereyst) dede mij d'eere van mij tot Frankford voor ons vertrek te komen bezoeken.¹³ Gelijk ik hem bevond een oprecht liefhebber van allerley geleerde antiquiteyten te wesen, so twijffel ik niet of hij sal UE in mijn versoeck geerne bijstaen, indien hij sik tot Frankford als noch onthoudt. Laet mij ook weten wat familie God UE verleent heeft. Ik woone tot Dordrecht ten huysse van juffrou Melanen, in 't Steversloot.¹⁴
Anno 1665. den 13 *Martii stilo novo*.

211 65 00 00 JUNIUS [-] TO MAGNUS GABRIEL DE LA GARDIE [-]¹

A | Illustrissimo et excellentissimo Domino, *Domino* Magno Gabrieli de la Gardie, Comiti de Leckou et Arensburg, Domino in Habsal, Magnushoff, et Hoyendorp, *sacrae* Regiae maiestatis regnique Sueciae senatori et cancellario, Wester-Gothiae ac Daliae iudici provinciali, nec non academiae Upsalensis cancellario.

a Tanta veterem linguam Teutonicam claritas undiquaque superfluit, ut ei hoc nostro saeculo propter singularem longe lateque diffusi idiomatis ubertatem, splendorem, magnificentiam, spectabilemque nativi decoris exsuperantiam primas | lubentes concesserint magni nominis exteri;² unde et mihi, ad hanc praestantissimae linguae celebritatem erecto, turpe praeter caeteros videbatur nescire ultimam nobilis linguae stirpem, natales, cunabula, quibusque processibus in excelsitatem aliis quoque gentibus agnitam evecta fuerit.

b Sed quorsum, quaeso, experiatur quis, quod se assequi posse diffidat? Ubi locorum quaerat? Quo inquisitionem suam primum intendat omni annalium memoria, quam replicat, destitutus?³ Quomodo denique

¹³ Mr. Hondius is unidentified; the young man zum Jungen may have been Alexander, or a(n)other son of Hans Hector zum Jungen.

¹⁴ To facilitate the printing of *Evangeliorum versiones* and *Gothicum glossarium*, Junius had temporarily moved to Dordrecht, apparently staying with the landlady Mrs. Melanen, details unidentified, at 't Steversloot, currently Steegoversloot, **212b**.

¹ *p*: Junius and Marshall, *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665:*2-***3); I used the copy UBL, 501 B 13. This is the dedicatory letter to *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665), **209b**.

² The phrase "tanta claritas superfluit" only occurs in Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia* 4.24.3-4, "libera haec civitas nec indiga ullius praeconii amplius: tanta claritas superfluit" [this town is free and not in need of any further laudation: such a great splendour overflows (it)], said in praise of Athens; it may be significant that Junius chose it to refer to Teutonic. The opening of the dedication to the Swedish chancellor with a eulogy on the quality of "Teutonic," which seems to be the term

(who had travelled with young Mr. zum Jungen, if I remember well) did honour to me by coming to see me in Frankfurt before our departure. As I found him to be a true lover of all kinds of learned antiquities, I have no doubt that he will gladly assist you with my request if he is still staying in Frankfurt. Please let me also know what family God has granted you. I live in Dordrecht at Mrs. Melanen's house at *Steversloot*.
In the year 1665, 13 *March new style*.

211 65 00 00 JUNIUS [-] TO MAGNUS GABRIEL DE LA GARDIE [-]

A To the most illustrious and excellent lord, Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, count of Leckou and Arensburg, count in Habsal, Magnushoff and Hoyendorp, senator and chancellor of his holy royal majesty and the kingdom of Sweden, provincial judge of Wester-Gothia and Dalia, as well as chancellor of Uppsala University.

a Such a great splendour overflowed the ancient Teutonic language everywhere that foreigners of great name in our century have willingly granted it the primacy because of the extraordinary richness of an idiom spread far and wide, the splendour, the magnificence, and the remarkable pre-eminence of authentic elegance; and, being intent on this fame of the most excellent language, it accordingly also seemed disgraceful to me, more than others, not to know the earliest root, lineage and earliest childhood of that noble language, and not to know through which courses it had proceeded to a loftiness which has also been recognized by other peoples.

b Yet to what end, I ask, must one attempt what one doubts to be able to attain? Where must one search? Whither must one direct one's searching first, lacking any account in chronicles to unfold?

with which Junius referred to the Dutch language, including Frisian and its earlier stages, is telling of the focal point of his studies; he presented his aim as the recovery of its origin and development, **169d**, **189c-d**. The qualities of Teutonic, its rich vocabulary, splendour, magnificence and authentic elegance, are those required of a refined language aspiring to the status of the Classics, **h**. Teutonic had been praised by, for instance, the Swiss Konrad Gesner in *Mithridates* (1555), **204z**. Cf. van Romburgh (2001:11–12).

³ This suggests that research on the origin of a language is more difficult than antiquarian research, for which one can make use of written documents such as annals and charters, either in Latin or the vernacular.

ex medii saeculi obscuritate atque ignorantia, post tot tantasque pugnacissimarum gentium incursiones, excidia, transmigrations, eruere quis valeat quod non turbidae nec ambiguae, sed purae liquentesque sit fidei?⁴

- c** Ab hac itaque spe depulsus, omnem meam curam operamque ad Theotisca atque Anglo-Saxonica monumenta contuli, rimaturus an aliquod in iis deprehenderem initium inveniendi quod quae | rebam.⁵ Caeterum ut in Theotiscis frustra operam sumpturum praemonebant sequentia Otrfridi verba, “Lingua haec veluti agrestis habetur, dum a propriis nec scriptura nec arte aliqua ullis est temporibus expolita,”⁶ ita maiorem spem videbantur ostendere monumenta Anglo-Saxonica, peculiaris magnae Britanniae thesaurus. Sed hic quoque altum de linguarum Septentrionalium origine silentium, ut ut manifesta non vulgaris eloquentiae vestigia passim eluceant in iis quae Cædmon monachus, Warnfridus, Ælfricus et Lupus episcopi, nec non inclytus Anglo-Saxonum rex Alvredus, aliique plures posteris reliquerunt.⁷
- d** Unice interim delectatus cursu et sono rotundi volubilisque sermonis, libuit porro experiri an pari sonorae copiosaeque dictionis structura ferrentur illa veteris linguae Gothicae specimina quae anno 1597 edidit Bon. Vulcanius; ac re tota penitus pensitata, statim sensi tantum interiectum videri | intervallum inter Gothica atque Anglo-Saxonica, quantum inter Anglo-Saxonica et Theotisca deprehendunt in hoc studiorum genere disquirendo disceptandoque exercitati eli-

⁴ The conception that the Middle Ages had caused the onetime pristine northern languages to become corrupted implies an idea that the languages had been uncontaminated, and hence close to the Truth before that time, **203d**. Junius seems to have envisaged a similar process to have occurred to the northern languages as to classical Latin, which he believed to have become so corrupted to turn out, *inter alia*, as French, **205d**; the northern vernaculars would then also have enjoyed a prestigious classical antiquity, from which they had lapsed during the Middle Ages, so that it would be a student’s task to recover this northern antiquity by examining the most ancient witnesses available. Cf. **177a**, **203d**, **204x**, van Romburgh (2001:19–20).

⁵ As Dutch lacks truly early textual witnesses—the *Wachtendonk Psalter* glosses were not recognized as such, **204b**—Junius had turned to other northern vernaculars, Old English and Old High German, cf. van Romburgh (2001:18–19).

⁶ In his Letter to Liudbert, prefaced to his *Evangelienbuch*, **203d**, Otrfrid continued the quotation, “quippe qui nec historias suorum antecessorum, ut multae gentes caeterae, commendant memoriae, nec eorum gesta vel vitam ornant dignitatis amore” [in that they neither commended to memory the stories of their ancestors, as many other peoples do, nor honour their deeds or life out of love of dignity], Erdmann and Wolff (1957:6–7), in an endeavour to slight the Theotiscans rather than report the truth.

Finally, how can one elicit something trustworthy, which is not confused or doubtful but undefiled and evident, from the obscurity and ignorance of the middle ages, after so many and such great attacks, overthrows and transmigrations of most warlike tribes?

- c Deprived of this hope, I accordingly bestowed all of my pains and attention to Theotiscan and Anglo-Saxon documents to examine whether I would perceive any opening in them for finding what I sought. However, just as the following words by Otfrid predicted me that I would bestow pains on the Theotiscan ones in vain, “This language is considered rustic, because it has been refined in neither writing nor any skill by its own people at any time,” so the Anglo-Saxon documents, the extraordinary treasure trove of Great Britain, appeared to arouse greater hope. Yet here was a deep silence on the origin of the northern languages too, much as evident traces of an exceptional eloquence are manifest everywhere in the texts which the monk Cædmon, the Bishops Warnfrid, Ælfric and Lupus, and also Alfred, the famous king of the Anglo-Saxons, and many others had left to posterity.
- d Meanwhile, particularly charmed by the flow and sound of the elegant and fluent speech, it pleased me to examine further whether those examples of the ancient Gothic language which Bonaventura Vulcanius had published in the year 1597 were borne by a similar structure of sonorous and eloquent style, and having considered the whole question rather deeply, I promptly noticed that as great an interval seemed to be intervening between Gothic and Anglo-Saxon as those experienced and refined in investigating and judging that kind of studies have observed between Anglo-Saxon and Theotiscan. Having also compared those examples with the dialect of the Alamanni

⁷ Junius probably meant that he had hoped to find Old English a direct descendent of the origin he was searching, rather than that he had expected Old English itself to be the origin of the northern vernaculars. These textual witnesses were the poems in Ms Jun. 11, which Junius had attributed to Cædmon, **183a**; Warnfrid is probably Bishop Wærferth of Worcester (d. 915), whose Old English translation of Pope Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues* Junius transcribed from BLO, Ms Hatton 76, in now Ms. Jun 46; Ælfric of Eynsham’s Old English letter to Sigeweard “De Veteri et Novo Testamento,” **203e**—presumably rather than Ælfric’s grammar and glosses, in this context; Lupus’, that is, Archbishop Wulfstan’s sermons, **215b**, and the Alfredian version of Gregory the Great’s *Cura pastoralis*, **205c**, and Alfred’s Old English version of Boethius, *De consolazione philosophiae*, **206a**. Cf. *SCW* no. 5158, Stanley (1998:164–65).

matique.⁸ Collatis quoque speciminibus istis cum Alamannorum Anglo-Saxonumque dialecto, ita bene prospereque videbatur mihi processisse negotium, ut beatulorum omnium vicos et prata prae hac mea opera pro nihilo ducerem, veluti clarissimis argumentis signisque iam perductus ad ipsum caput fontemque linguarum Septentrionalium;⁹ Francicam enim Anglo-Saxonicamque ex vetere Gothica promanasse, ipsam vero Gothicam (ut quae sola dialecto differat a Graeca vetere) ab eadem origine cum Graeca profluxisse iudicabam.¹⁰

- e In his eram gaudiis, quum impendio mihi magis gaudere coepit animus, ineffabili quadam proximaque maiore voluptate delibutus ex repentino inexpectatoque ipsius Argentei codicis | conspectu.¹¹ Habeo sane quod Coelo hic imputem, siquidem intelligo immortalis Dei nutu memoratum codicem ad manus meas perlatum, atque eiusdem quoque Numinis consilio provisum, ut sacrosanctum depositum, Excellentia vestra authore, in Sueciam revocaretur, interque potissima Regiae bibliothecae decora reponeretur.¹²
- f Magnae certe ac minime vulgaris prudentiae fuit, sensisse meritum libri paucis intellecti; maioris magnanimitatis, securitati eius consuluisse; cumulatissimae denique consummatissimaeque virtutis, et sensisse et salvum voluisse. Atque adeo memoriam divinae huic virtuti Tuae debitam, nullius unquam vetustatis abolebit oblivio, sed meritissimam operae navatae famam non modo propagabit aletque grata posteritas, verum ipsa quoque tuebitur aeterno verbo favens aeternitas; quae et ipsa curabit, ne haec Tua, magne Comes, laurea recentem ullo temporis | intervallo amittat viriditatem ac potior Tibi nunquamque marcessens alia in glorioso sanctorum angelorum beatarumque animarum coetu tribuatur.¹³
- g Sed sicuti primum gaudio mihi fuerat codex improviso oblatus, ita mox gaudio isti vix consolabilis aegritudo intercessit, cum nobile clarissimae famae monumentum nusquam totum appareret; atque

⁸ Bonaventura Vulcanius, *De literis* (1597), **173a–b**. Such a paradigm Junius had postulated early in his studies, **169d**.

⁹ Persius, *Saturae* 3.103, “beatulus,” used ironically; Cicero, *Epistolae ad Atticum* 1.4.3.10, “omnium vicos et prata contemno.”

¹⁰ In the dedication and Letter to the Reader to *Observationes* (1655), Junius’ language paradigm had been somewhat different and less interrelated, **189c**. Close study of Gothic had moved the language up to a position on a par with Greek, whereas early in his studies Junius had still considered Greek the source of the northern languages, **d, 169d**. He did not name the joint source of Greek and Gothic.

¹¹ Isaac Vossius had brought the *Codex argenteus* containing the Gothic Gospels from Sweden in 1654, cf. **173b, 188a**.

and Anglo-Saxons, I thought the matter had proceeded so well and advantageously that I held the villages and meadows of the blessed for nothing compared with my exertion, being now as it were guided by the clearest evidence and signs to the very head and source of the northern languages, for I believed that Franconian and Anglo-Saxon had emanated from ancient Gothic, but that Gothic itself (as a language which only differs from ancient Greek in dialect) had issued from the same origin as Greek.

- e I had these joys, when my mind began to rejoice even more because it was blessed by an unpronounceable and almost greater delight from the sudden and unexpected sight of the *Codex argenteus* itself. I truly have here what I may credit to Heaven, since I understand that the aforementioned codex fell to my hands by the will of immortal God, and that it was foreseen by the same Divinity's plan that the venerable deposit was transferred back to Sweden on the authority of your excellence, and was returned among the principal ornaments of the royal library.
- f It truly revealed a great and exceptional prudence for you to have noticed the value of a book understood by few people; it revealed greater generosity to have seen to its safety, and it finally revealed a most perfect and complete virtuousness to have both noticed it and desired it to be safe. Even, the oblivion of no length of time will ever terminate the memory owing to your divine virtuousness. On the contrary, not only grateful posterity will propagate and feed the most deserved fame of the deed accomplished, but, favouring the everlasting word, eternity itself will also protect it, and this eternity will also see to it that your garland, Count Magnus, will not lose its fresh greenness after any length of time, and that another greater and never withering laurel is granted to you in the glorious company of holy angels and blessed souls.
- g Yet, just as the codex unexpectedly offered was a joy to me at first, so a hardly consolable grief soon interrupted this joy, because the noble document of most manifest renown appeared to be nowhere complete, and because the code itself was quite missing in the codex

¹² Petronius, *Satyricon* 127.6.4, "habebo tamen quod caelo imputem," 38a. De la Gardie had bought the codex from Isaac in 1662, for 500 Swedish rix-dollars, cf. van Bree (1995:23).

¹³ Cicero, *De provinciis consularibus* 29.15–16, "laurea illa magnis periculis parta amittit longo intervallo."

ipse adeo codex desideraretur in codice vetustate multis in locis exeso, madore vitiato, frustatim quondam discerpto, ac solutarum dissipatarumque philyrarum imperita compaginatione indigesto, mutilo, foedo.¹⁴ Hanc incomparabilis monumenti iacturam me praeter multos non solum dolenter, sed propemodum impatienter tulisse fateor; donec recollectis comportatisque luctuosi naufragii tabulis, in uno atque altero Evangelista quatuor subinde vel quinque, immo et novem quandoque vel decem integra fere capita mutuo sibi cohaerere | deprehendi.¹⁵

h Quae cum sufficere viderentur ad explorandum linguae aliquot ab hinc seculis deperditae et hactenus ignotae genium, ex propiore primum intuitu, ac mox e prospectu remotiore, ex omnium denique circumspectu comperi nullum Gothis lumen, nullum florem dicendi defuisse;¹⁶ ita in totius Evangelicae historiae altius quasi exaggerata dictione naturalis quidam ac minime fucatus nitor emicat, dum res magnae admirabili electissimorum verborum splendore graviter ornataeque illustrantur, ac iustum ubique servatur pondus autoritatis maiestatisque sacrosancto codici congruae.¹⁷ Ad haec si quis nunc mihi advertat animum, nae is profecto vel invitus agnoscet singularem illius linguae in libera oratione vim ac facultatem, quae ad sermonis Graeci proprietates, ubertatem, emphasin haud improspere ausa est adspirare.¹⁸

i Plurima huius nostrae assertionis documenta lectori exhibent doctissimae Thomae Mareschalli in haec | Evangelia Observationes; quem ego virum omni observantia dignissimum ac mihi praeter caeteros venerandum honoris causa hic nomino, rationem Excellentiae Vestrae redditurus cur ei, donec persuasissem, suadere non destiterim ut nimia operis mole tantum non oppresso amicam commodaret operam, ac suum quoque studium huic nostrae Argentei codicis editioni dicaret.¹⁹

¹⁴ Terence, *Andria* 961, "si nulla aegritudo huic gaudio intercesserit." Only slightly more than half of the original codex has been preserved, containing parts of the Gospels, more of Luke and Mark than of Matthew and John; besides, the leaves had been loose, mixed and rebound without order in the course of its history. The wordplay is on *codex*: "book, writing" and "code of law." Cf. van Bree (1995:7–8, 16–17, 21), *LS*, s.v.

¹⁵ On its return to Sweden in 1662, the *Codex argenteus* was nearly really shipwrecked near Terschelling, north of Friesland, cf. van Bree (1995:23).

¹⁶ It still has to be determined whether Junius' approach to examining the Gothic text is evidence of a conscious application of the philosophical ideas of the English empiricists, which Dekker (1999:287–93) has proposed, or whether it paralleled aspects of their ideas, but was really the result of influence by Vossius, Varro, the philological method used in *De pictura* (1637), and a humanist outlook on ideal lan-

consumed by age in many places, tainted by moisture, once torn into pieces and misarranged, maimed and ugly because of unskilled gathering of the scattered and dispersed sheets. I acknowledge that I, above others, bore this damage of the incomparable document not only with pain but almost with reluctance, until, having gathered and collected the writing-tablets of the sorrowful shipwreck, I noticed that in the one and other Evangelist frequently four or five, sometimes even nine or ten almost complete chapters were connected with each other.

h When these chapters appeared sufficient for examining the character of the language which has been lost for several centuries and was still unknown, from an initial rather close look, and soon from a more distant perspective, and finally from a survey of everything, I found out that the Goths had not lacked any illumination nor any flower of speech. Thus a natural and by no means beautified splendour is shining in the almost exaggerated style of the whole scriptural narration, because important matters have been seriously and elegantly elucidated by an admirable splendour of the choicest words, and a proper weight of authority and grandeur suitable to the venerable code has been observed everywhere. If anyone turns his attention to these matters with me now, well, he will surely even unwillingly acknowledge the exceptional power and capabilities of this language in prose, which dared aspire to the qualities, richness and power of expression of the Greek speech in wholly successful manner.

i Many specimens of this assertion are shown in the most learned *Observations* on these Gospels by Thomas Marshall, a gentleman most worthy of all respect and to be venerated by me above others, whom I mention here for the sake of honour, as I am about to relate to your excellence the reason why I did not cease to urge him until I had persuaded him to lend kind assistance to someone almost collapsing under an excessive pile of work, and to devote his energy to our edition of the *Codex argenteus* too.

guage as a one-to-one correspondence of word, or name, and thing, **203d^a**. Either way, Junius was indeed not inclined to Cartesian rationalism and criticism, **220e**.

¹⁷ Thus, Gothic is presented as rhetorically perfect and wholly able to bear the divine subject matter.

¹⁸ The elegance of Gothic which made it successfully aspire to the prestige of Greek seems also to have granted it its position next to Greek in Junius' language paradigm, **d**.

¹⁹ Thomas Marshall prepared detailed "Observationes de versione Gothica," *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665:385–486), **209b**.

j Quoniam vero non sum nescius, Excellentissime Princeps, fore ut incurram in reprehensiones vel imprudentiae, quod veteris linguae Gothicae primos immaturosque conatus praefestinanter in publicam lucem protruserim; vel impudentiae, quod eos, etiamnum crudos, illustrissimo nomini Vestro inscribere non dubitaverim; breviter quoque proponam utriusque ausi rationem, quae si Aequitati Vestrae probabitur, ne tenuissimam quidem huius illiusve criminis notam famae nostrae inuri posse iudicabo.²⁰ Enimvero multimodis mihi cum isthoc animo vituperandus viderer, si mei ipsius fiducia subnixus informem partum tollere decrevissem; at nunc nemo sanus factum culpabit, siquidem nulla mea voluntate hanc suscepi provinciam, sed suasu atque instinctu hominum genere, ingenio, virtutibus, ordine, existimatione, copiis ornatissimorum, ex quibus non nemo plurimum etiam apud Te valebat.²¹ Extemplo igitur cessi obtendentibus auctoritatem iudicii Vestri, vel (ut ego quidem interpretor) Vestrae testimonium benevolentiae, cui cum difficillimum erat, tum ne aequum quidem, praesertim in re bona, diu reluctari. Quod si Tu, Magne Heros, tenuissima favoris Tui aura hanc nostram qualemcunque operam afflare dignaberis; caeterorum hominum neque laudes ambitiose aucupabor, neque criminationes vehementer exhorrescam; probeque mihi semper constabit utriusque facti ratio, cur et publicaverim, et publicatum opus (quod alterum erat inconsultissimae reprehensionis caput) | inclyto nomini Vestro nuncupaverim. Nihil enim rectae rationi magis consentaneum, nihil bono et aequo convenientius, quam ut illustre adeo veteris ecclesiae Gothicae monumentum committatur tutelae ac patrocinio Eius, qui alta mente nihil nisi publicam utilitatem fructumque intuetur; et qui praesens opus non ob aliud urgere ac promovere studuit, quam quod illud Sueogothorum Regi ac genti gloriosum, totique adeo Orbi Christiano apprime utile fore iudicaret.²²

²⁰ The theme of this section is topical in dedicatory letters, **108e–h**, **116b**, **189b**, **d**, Introduction.

²¹ Probably someone, perhaps Isaac, had mediated for Junius to receive permission to dedicate the book to de la Gardie, just as Matthew Wren had mediated for him with Charles I, **100b–e**.

²² Karl XI Gustav (1655–1697), king of Sweden officially from 1660, but actually from the early 1670s, who stayed in Uppsala for studies at the time. The Gothic Gospels were considered national Swedish heritage, because Goths had lived in Sweden in the first century—hence *Sueo-gothi*—although Wulfila had been bishop of

j However, since I am quite aware, most excellent chancellor, that I will meet with reproofs of either inconsiderateness, because I have over-hastily brought my first and immature efforts on the ancient Gothic language to public light, or of shamelessness, because I have not hesitated to dedicate them, unripe though they are, to your most illustrious name, I will also briefly explain the reason of both ventures. Then, if this is approved of by your fairness, I will conclude that not even the slightest mark of the one or other accusation can be burnt into my reputation. To be sure, I would consider myself reprehensible in many respects because of the very attitude, if I had decided to bring up the shapeless offspring relying on my own confidence. But now no rational person will blame the action, seeing that I have undertaken this task not after my own inclination, but after the urge and instigation of gentlemen most honoured by birth, talents, virtues, rank, reputation and wealth, many of whom also have much influence with you. So I have immediately complied with those who confronted me with the authority of your judgement, or (as I at least understand it) the testimony of your kindness, because it was too difficult as well as even unfair to resist it long, especially for a good cause. Yet if you, noble Magnus, deem it worthwhile to inspire our humble work with even the slightest breeze of your favour, I will neither ambitiously chase other people's praises, nor heavily tremble at their accusations, and the reason of both deeds—that is, why I published, and why I dedicated the published work to your famous name (this was the other main point of the quite inconsiderate reproof)—will always be wholly evident to me. To be sure, nothing is more in accordance with fair reason, nothing is more suited to the good and fair than that the illustrious document of the ancient Gothic Church is entrusted to the tutelage and patronage of him who has exaltedly regarded public use and enjoyment only, and has striven to stimulate and promote the present work for nothing else than because he judged it to be glorious for the king and people of the Swedo-Goths as well as exceedingly useful for the whole Christian world.

the West-Goths in the area north of the Black Sea, and the *Codex argenteus* had been made by Ostrogoths, **169d**. At the same time, the Gospels were a northern complement to versions of the Bible in other languages, and hence of value to all Christianity, **209b**. Cf. *SBL* 20.650–55, van Bree (1995:6–7).

k Quod si tamen hac mea nuncupatiuncula cuiquam videbor Excellentiae vestrae gratiam aperte nimis captasse, minime mihi declinandam deprecandamque huius ambitionis invidiam putabo; sed ultro potius ac libere profitebor, mihi nunc nihil rerum omnium esse quod malim, quam tanti voti posse fieri compotem. Nihil enim caussae video cur homini bonarum literarum studiis ab ineunte aetate deservienti, non sit in optatis aliquo gravioris curae, ac severioris doctrinae | monumento demereri posse qualemcunque propensae voluntatis Vestrae inclinationem ac gratiam, quam nemini bono interclusam esse patitur animus omni humanitate perpolitus, quamque et mihi porro propitiam fore confido; quousque Tui cultus in dies singulos apud me augescet.²³

1 Deus optimus maximus, Excellentissime Comes, complures Tibi quam felicissimos largiatur annos, quo authoritatem ac famam ex solida rerum gestarum gloria coalitam corroboratamque aliis super alia operibus porro tuearis, confirmes, amplifices. Sic vovet illustrissimae Vestrae Excellentiae addictus, deditus, obstrictus Franciscus Iunius F.F.

^o 212 _o 66 04 10 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
(DORDRECHT)¹

A *Aen den hoogh-achtbaeren geduchtigen Heer, den Heer Thomas Marshall, bedienaer des H. woords in 't Court van d'Engelsche kooplyuden tot Dordrecht. port.*

a Hage. the 10th of Aprill. 1666.

Reverend Sir,

But a little while before my removing from Dordrecht *Dominus Vlitius* had bene with my kinsman *Vossius* here at the Hage, and having left my Scotch *Virgil* with him for mee, hee borrowed from my kinsman the Manuscript contained in this accompanying note, as knowing that it would much conduce to the new edition of *Phaedri fabulae* which ^ohe intended.² My kinsman therefore having notice given him of the contents of your letter, wished the *Moskovitik bible* & ^o*Scotani Frisia* had bene here, so the better in an enterchange to recover his

a he: [- *whi*] he | *Scotani*: *Scotari*

k If, however, I still appear to anyone to have too openly striven after your excellence's favour with my modest dedication, I will judge that I must not at all shun and avert the envy of this ambition, but spontaneously and freely acknowledge instead that there is nothing in the world that I prefer than that such a great wish could be gratified. To be sure, I see no reason why with a document of rather earnest care and serious learning someone devoted to the study of literature from the beginning of his life may not cherish the wish to be able to deserve of some inclination of your ready goodwill and of a favour which a heart refined by all kindness does not permit to be denied to any right-minded person, and which I trust will further be favourable for me too, as long as my reveration for you increases day by day.

1 May Allgood and Almighty God grant you, most excellent count, many as happy as possible years to further protect, strengthen and increase authority and fame, reinforced and invigorated by the solid glory from administrative accomplishments, by accumulating service upon service. Thus wishes
Francis Junius F.F., dedicated, devoted and obliged to your most illustrious excellence.

212 66 04 10 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
(DORDRECHT)

A *To the highly respected, reverend gentleman Mr. Thomas Marshall, servant of the Holy Word at the court of the English merchants in Dordrecht. Postage.*

[*See the original letter.*]

²³ Junius characterized himself in a similar way as he was to be described on his epitaph, **224a**ⁿ.

¹ *o*: BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 6. Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**, and replied by an unretrieved letter to which **213** is a reply, **213a**.

² Junius had stayed in Dordrecht to facilitate the printing of *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665), **209b**, **210e**, and returned to The Hague to stay with Isaac Vossius again. Jan van Vliet had died in the meantime, on 18 March. He had evidently borrowed Junius' copy of the Middle Scots translation of the *Aeneid* by Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld (1474?–1522), *The .xiii. Bukes of Eneados of the famos Poete Virgill Translatet . . . into Scottish mettir . . .* (London, 1553), now Ms Jun. 54, and provided by Junius with cross-references to Chaucer and Vergil in the margins, **216b**. Isaac Vossius' manuscript was probably the thirteenth-century manuscript of "Aesopi fabulae" now UBL, Voss.L. O.46, which Isaac had formerly bought for Queen Christina from the collection of Alexandre Petau, **170a**. Van Vliet had worked on an edi-

owne Manuscript.³ But that not beeing, wisheth that the book may bee asked for according to this enclosed note: wee beeing here at a greater distance, then to know where & of whom to demand it.⁴

- b** In the meane while doth my kinsman most heartily thanke you for this kind advertisement, and wisheth that (according to your promise made when you went the last time too hastily away from us) you would resume your visit & stay somewhat longer with us.⁵ Vpon which hope I forbear to write more at large about other things, seeing freinds at a personall meeting can runne over more matters in halfe an houre, then write in halfe a day. Remember my due respects to Mr Pagett. and when one or other time you doe walke towards your garden, remember me to my good old Hospita, telling her that I doe often wish to know where in I might here doe anie service unto her or unto either of her sonnes.⁶
your faithfull freind & servant F.F.F. Junius.

^o 213 66 07 23 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
[DORDRECHT]¹

- a** Hage 23 Julii. 1666.

Reverend Sir,
although there was no need you should in this your troublesome estate betwixt sicknesse & health bee so sollicitous to excuse your long silence for anie feare of misconstruction, the which cannot bee entertayned in hearts by a long tryall fully assured of your constant & affectionate benevolence; yet doe I most humbly thanke you that you were pleased upon this occasion, as also upon the occasion of mentioning the *Coptica Evangelia*, to acquainte me with Dr Castle his judgement of my poore endeavours &c.² *Mijn heer* Hessel having

tion of Aesop's fables from a manuscript of Isaac in 1662, but abandoned the project and returned the material to Isaac one year later. Probably, however, van Vliet had resumed his work on a new edition and borrowed the manuscript again, but died soon after. Since van Vliet had died bankrupt, Isaac was particularly eager to have his manuscript returned to prevent it from being taken as part of van Vliet's collection and auctioned to pay off outstanding debts. With the enclosed note (unretrieved), Marshall could contact van Vliet's executors, who, fortunately, did not raise any problems, 213a. Cf. Dekker (1999:88–89, 105–06; unpubl. ms.), *SCW* no. 5166, Stanley (1998:167), *DNB* 15.292–95, de Meyier, s.v. Aesop.

³ This might refer to a letter from Marshall to Isaac, but since their epistolary contact usually appears to have run via Junius—and since the letter included infor-

213 66 07 23 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
[DORDRECHT]

[See the original letter.]

mation for Junius, **213a**—it is more likely that this is Marshall’s letter to Junius, unretrieved. It may have shown an interest in a manuscript of the Coptic Gospels owned by Isaac, **213a**. The rare Church Slavic Ostroh Bible (1580/1), published in Ostroh, Ukraine, to which Marshall referred as “Moscovitica Biblia, quae Ostrobiae prodierunt, anno Christi MDCLXXXI,” in his “Observationes de versione Gothica,” *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665:386). Christianus Schotanus, *Beschryvinge van de heerlyckheydt van Frieslandt . . .* (Franeker, 1664), a chorography of Friesland which included the text of *Druk*, **153a**, and additional Frisian law texts in Low German. Isaac had presumably borrowed the books from van Vliet, and lent them to Marshall in turn. Both books seem to have remained with Marshall, for the copy now BLO, Mar. 170, is a Schotanus stemming from van Vliet’s collection, and the copy now Ms Marshall 44 is a “liber lingua russica.” Cf. personal communication Kees Dekker; Dekker (1998:126–27; 1999:118), *SCW* no. 5276.

⁴ Being nearer to Breda, where van Vliet had lived, in Dordrecht than Junius and Isaac in The Hague, Marshall was asked to try to recover Isaac’s manuscript from van Vliet’s executors, **213a**, Dekker (1999:105).

⁵ Advertisement: “notice,” cf. *OED*.

⁶ Marshall’s garden was presumably not adjacent to his residence. Mrs. Melanen, with whom Junius had stayed at *Stevensloot* in Dordrecht, and her two sons (unidentified), **210e**.

¹ *o*: BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 7. Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**. The letter accompanied a parcel of books, **b**, **d–e**, **g**.

² Marshall’s letter of excuse to Junius is unretrieved. The letter mentioning the

bene here but once with mee, seemed to bee in very great haste, and desired mee to speake with *myn heer* Caw, whom I found very readie to restore Vossius his *manuscript* and furthermore to accumulate manie undeserved & unexpected favours upon my kinsman Vossius & mee.³ Vossius hath gott of late some very ancient parcells of the old Greek translation out of France, and findeth himselfe from that side much urged to give us a good edition of the LXX, which I thinke hee will shortly goe about.⁴ I have bene all this while extreemely busie to get my glossaries readie for the presse, and have added two little glossaries more to the formerly intended and promised.⁵

b In the search of these glossaries I mett among Vossius his antiq-
uities with this enclosed parchment toy, which seemeth to have bene bought in Sir William Boswell his Auction.⁶ I asked my kinsman what hee did with it, and finding that hee did but little regard it, I told him that it was likely you might make better use of it, if it came to your hands. Send it him, quoth hee, if you thinke it good. I found also about the same time two *Vocabularios editionis Romanae* among his cast bookes, of the which hee was content I should take one for you.⁷

c If you can but for a little space lend mee that treatise which is written for the use of your mariners & expoundeth all manners of sea-termes, I shall after some use safely restore it unto you.⁸ Thus praying allmightie God to restore you to your former health, and desiring you to remember my humble service & due respects to Mr Paget, I remain
your most humble friend and servant F.F.F. Junius.

d *Dominus* Colvius hath sent mee back againe (as I doe thinke in anger) the letter of Armachanus his owne hand, besides another role of letters chosen out of the Collection of such letters as were written to my father from all parts about the times of our first reformation.⁹ My kinsman hath sent him an exemplar of the Gothike

Coptic Gospels was presumably the unretrieved letter replied by 212, cf. 212a. Marshall had used the Coptic Gospels for his annotations to the Gothic Gospels in *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665), and his transcriptions are probably now BLO, Mss Marshall 52 and 53; personal communication Alastair Hamilton. Marshall eventually bought the manuscript from Isaac, who had first tried to sell it to others, 218a. Marshall's legacy to the Bodleian Library includes several Coptic Gospels texts, now Mss cod. Copt. 6, 7, 13, and 14. Edmund Castell (1606–1686), Semitic scholar,

who, with some assistance of Theodorus Petraeus, **218a**, among others, was preparing *Lexicon heptaglotton, Hebraicum, Chaldaicum, Syriacum, Samaritanum, Aethiopicum, Arabicum coniunctum, et Persicum separatim*, 2 vols (1669), dedicated to Charles II. He had also worked on the Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic and Ethiopic versions of the London *Polyglot Bible* (1657), **121a^r**. From the current year, he was chaplain in ordinary to the king; in 1666 he was to be appointed professor of Arabic in Cambridge, and in 1674 he was elected fellow of the Royal Society. Castell's opinion must have concerned their *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665) and Junius' *Gothicum glossarium* (1665), **209b**. Cf. *SCW* nos 8623, 5235, 8644, 8645, *DNB* 9.271–72, Toomer (1996: 250–65).

³ Andries van Hesselt Dinter, bailiff of Beijerland, and Iman Cau (1601–1683), clerk of the Supreme Court of Holland, Zeeland and West-Friesland, both relatives of Jan van Vliet by marriage and concerned with the execution of his inheritance and debts in order to clear their kinswoman, van Vliet's widow. Shortly before his death, van Vliet had borrowed an Aesop manuscript from Isaac Vossius, which the latter had requested Marshall to recover, **212a**. Cf. *BWN* 4.270, Dekker (1999:66–67, 105–08; personal communication).

⁴ Isaac must have intended the edition of the Septuagint in continuation of his study of it, *De septuaginta interpretibus* (1661–63), in which he had argued that it was the only faithful version because the Jews had falsified the Hebrew Old Testament, **199d^r**. In his preface to an edition of the text (Cambridge, 1665), John Pearson, **218b**, had urged Isaac to prepare a new critical edition. However, Isaac did not publish such an edition, and no material towards it has been preserved in UBL. Cf. Lebram (1975:26).

⁵ Junius' "Teutonic Glossaries," distinguished as A to E, now in Mss Jun. 116a–d, and two additional smaller glossaries from Isaac's collection, "Glossarium M" and "Glossarium F," now in Mss Jun. 116f and 116d, respectively, **187a**, **193b^r**, **204b**. Junius had quoted from "Glossarium M" to Marshall in **208g**. He intended to publish his collected glossaries, most of which were Old High German–Latin and are now in Mss Jun. 116a–f, with indices in Mss Jun. 115a–b, but he never managed to do so, at least partly due to scarcity of paper and idle printing presses during the Second Anglo–Dutch War, **216a–b**. In *'t Vader Ons* (1664:a4v), Jan van Vliet included "verscheijden Franckse, Teutse, en Alamanse *Glossaria* of Woordeboecken onder de Letteren A, B, C, D, E, F, en de namen van Kero en Lipsius . . . met veele aenmerckingen verrijckt" [various Frankish, "Dutch" and Alamannic glossaries or dictionaries under the letters A . . . F and the names of Kero and Lipsius . . . enriched with many annotations], in his list of Junius' works ready for the press. The sumptuously annotated glossaries have not been published. Cf. Dekker (2000:342n).

⁶ Parchment item from Sir William Boswell's auction is unidentified. Boswell had died in 1649. The catalogue of this auction is not recorded in Gruys and de Kooker (d.d. 17 09 2001).

⁷ *Vocabularius* printed in Rome is unidentified.

⁸ Probably Henry Manwaring, *The Sea-man's Dictionary, or, An Exposition and Demonstration of All the Parts and Things Belonging to a Ship, together with an Explanation of all the Terms and Phrases Used in the Pratique of Navigation* (London, 1644/1666), or one of the manuscripts which circulated for several decades before publication, perhaps rather than John Smith, *A Sea-Grammar, with the Plaine Exposition of Smiths Accidence for Young Sea-men, enlarged* . . . (London, 1627). Cf. Wing M 551, Manwaring and Perrin (1922:75, 77–78), personal communication Ian Lancashire, Toronto.

⁹ Unless an unretrieved letter is meant, the letter from Archbishop Ussher to Junius may have been the original of letter **173**, the text of which had been printed in *Gothicum glossarium* (1665:14–17). Andreas Colvius wrote to Isaac Vossius, "Dum literas *manuscriptas* musaeo meo persolvo, ecce, invenio, qu[a]m saepius quaesiveram,

godspels, together with his treatise *De Nilo*.¹⁰ and when Colvius had moved some difficulties, my kinsman °answereth him in this enclosed [- . . .].¹¹ my kinsman sendeth also this unbound coppie unto you; having no bound coppies °lying by him at this my souddain sending.¹²

e It came also in his mind to send unto you this part of the *journal de scavans*, which is sent him weekely from Paris & wherein your name is also to bee found.¹³ having perused it, you may send it back againe, least the collection his weekelie nouvelles might bee interrupted.¹⁴ my kinsman telleth mee that these Parisian nouvelles are under the pres at Amsterdam, an will shortly come forth.¹⁵

f My kinsman beeing °loath to meddle with the Scaligeriana himselve, not onely because °good & great men are somtimes foully therein traduced, but (such was the genius of the man) whole nations also.¹⁶ Vlaqu printeth them, as printers use to doe anie thing for gaine.¹⁷ The Perroniana, the sayings & ordinarie discourses °of Cardinal Perronius are likely to follow.¹⁸ which are sayd to bee more °moderate, & nothing neer so maledicent. Manie more things of this nature you may heare and see when you come in these parts according to our desire. and to this end my daily wish & prayer to God shall bee for the restitution of your health.

g my kinsman had promised one exemplar *De Nilo* to *Domino* Lydius when hee was last with us, and desireth now you would send him one of the two.¹⁹

d answereth: [- ..] answereth (*Pitch black deletions*) | lying: [- by] lying | f loath: [- litt] loath | good: [- ..] good | of Cardinal Perronius: \of Cardi[+ nal Perronius] / (*Margin torn*) | moderate: [- ..] moderate

Armachani ad *Dominum* Iunium epistolam, quam ei remitto” [When sorting out manuscript letters in my study, look, I found a letter of Armagh to Mr. Junius, which I had been looking for rather often, which I send back to him], 66 07 01, UBL, Bur F 11. It is unclear why this would suggest that Colvius was in anger. These may have been the early letters to Junius the Elder now in UBL, some of which have been published in Burman 1. Cf. de Jonge (1980:196–211).

¹⁰ Junius’ and Marshall’s *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665); Isaac Vossius, *De Nili et aliorum fluminum origine* (The Hague, 1666), which argued that the flooding of the Nile was owing to heavy rain in Ethiopia. No copy of Junius identified in UBL. In his letter to Isaac, Colvius thanked him for the gifts of *De Nilo* and “*Evangelia Gotthica, quae cura admodum venerandi Domini Iunii lucem adspiciunt*” [the Gothic Gospels, which have seen the light in the edition by the most honourable Mr. Junius], and repeated, “*Salutabis peramanter meo nomine nobilissimum Dominum Iunium, eique gratias ago maximas pro dono ad me misso*” [You must warmly greet the most

noble Mr. Junius on my behalf, and I give him the greatest thanks for the present sent to me]. Cf. *DNB* 68.394.

¹¹ A pitch black deletion, a line and a half long. In his letter to Isaac, Colvius pointed out some doubts he had upon reading *De Nilo*, such as whether rivers do not have another source besides rainwater. Isaac replied in a letter, possibly now KB, 129 A 26 <f>, no. 56 (not seen), which Marshall was evidently supposed to forward to Colvius.

¹² Marshall's copy of *De Nilo* is now Lincoln College, Oxford, LIN Senior I.7.18(4); personal communication Kees Dekker.

¹³ L'Abbé Gallois, *Le Journal des sçavans, du Lundy 31. May, MDCLXVI* (Paris, 1666), that is, *Le Journal* for the year 1666, 2.181–86, comprises an advertisement of *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665) and *Gothicum glossarium* (1665). After details on the Gothic and Old English texts, including the assertion that the text is faithful notwithstanding Wulfila's Arian heresy, *Le Journal* (p. 185) writes on Marshall, "[u]n sçavant Anglois qui a fait des remarques sur cette Traducion [Anglo-Saxonne], ayant consideré la diversité du style qui s'y rencontre, croit que plusieurs personnes y ont mis la main. Mais quiconque en soit le Traducteur, il s'est souvent trompé, comme ce mesme Auteur Anglois l'a monstré dans un chapitre exprés" [an English scholar who has made annotations on this (Old English) translation, upon examining the diversity of style he has found in it, believes that several persons have put their hand to it. But whoever may be its translator, he was often mistaken, as the same English writer has demonstrated in a special chapter]. On the *Gothicum glossarium* it continues (p. 186), "[m]ais parce qu'il eust esté inutile de mettre en lumiere cette version Gothique, si l'on n'eust donné l'intelligence; M. Junius a fait en mesme temps imprimer un Alphabet Gothique, Runique, Anglo-Saxonique etc. et un dictionaire Gothique, dans lequel il compare ensemble les langues Septentrionales, et donne l'Etymologie d'une infinité de mots" [but since it had been useless to bring to light this Gothic version if one had not provided an explanation, Mr. Junius simultaneously has had printed a Gothic, Runic and Anglo-Saxon etc. alphabet and a Gothic dictionary, in which he compares the Septentrional languages with each other and gives the etymologies of countless words]. The copy now UBL, 523 G 32, stems from Isaac's collection, but does not contain annotations. For the authorship of *Le Journal* in 1666, cf. Morgan (1928:127–37).

¹⁴ Least: "lest;" collection his weeklie nouvelles: "collection of his weeklie nouvelles."

¹⁵ The next issue of *Le Journal* was due Monday 26 July, cf. *Le Journal* 1666, 2.187. Morgan (1928) does not indicate that the issues were printed in Amsterdam instead of, or in addition to, Paris, but *STCN*, s.v., does list issues printed there from 1677.

¹⁶ The *Scaligeriana* were a collection of statements Joseph Justus Scaliger had made in conversations, published by "F.F.P.P.," Jacques and Pierre Dupuy, as *Scaligeriana sive Excerpta ex ore Iosephi Scaligeri* (Geneva, 1666). Among the scholars Scaliger used to abuse in his work was Junius the Elder, which is no doubt why Isaac did not wish to involve himself with the *Scaligeriana*, 59h.

¹⁷ Adriaan Vlacq published several of Junius' and Isaac Vossius' books, but Junius did not spare him the topical denigration that publishers do anything for profit, 189e. Vlacq made another issue of the *Scaligeriana* published in Geneva, [Jacques and Pierre Dupuy], *Scaligeriana sive Excerpta ex ore Iosephi Scaligeri* (The Hague: A. Vlacq, 1666), and published the second, enlarged edition in 1668.

¹⁸ Isaac Vossius, ed., [Jacques and Pierre Dupuy], *Perroniana sive Excerpta ex ore Cardinalis Perronii* (Geneva [The Hague], 1667), a collection of sayings by Cardinal Jacques Davy du Perron (1556–1618), who was noted for his learning, cf. *NBG* 15.286–89.

¹⁹ g is placed as a second postscript in the left margin. Jacobus Lydius (1610–1679), predicant in Dordrecht, was a son of Balthasar Lydius and Anna van der Myle, cf. *NBW* 7.1086–87.

^o 214 67 06 03-04 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
(DORDRECHT)¹

A *Aen den vromen, hoogh-geduchten Heer, mijn Heer Tho. Marshall, bedienaer des H. woords, in 't Court van d'Engelsche kooplyuden to Dordrecht. Sij gegeven in eyghen handen. 't port acht stuyvers.*

a Haegh. June the 3. Anno 1667.

Reverend Sir,

my kinsman Vossius thanketh you for Dr Windets dissertation, and I for the comment upon Chaucer, which I finde not otherwise then I expected.² seeing I knew not how to looke for a Commentator that should give anie light to Chaucers old language, and so putt us in a way for to understand better the meaning of that inventive poët.³

b I heard nothing of Corn. Bee, and am very apt to beleeeve that hee may from Amsterdam & Leiden (where the chiefest book commerce lyeth) returne for England by the way of Dort.⁴ which if hee doth, and enquireth after some coppies, you may tell him that five gildens is the sett price of everie coppie small paper, and 9 gildens everie coppie great paper.⁵ But if he should intend to take some considerable number of coppies, Mr Pagett (I hope) will bee readie to helpe you so to accommodate the busines, as to make some abatement proportionable to the number of coppies hee taketh.⁶

c *Mijn heer van Beuningen desireth much to come home and to look to his building, but the States would have him stay at Amiens.*⁷ Thus

¹ o: BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 8. Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**.

² James Windet, *Minha belula sive Stromateus epistolikos de vita functorum statu: ex Hebraeorum et Graecorum comparatis sententiis concinnatus. Cum corollario de Tartaro apostoli Petri, in quem praevaricatores angelos delectos memorat* (London, 1663), or the second edition (1664), Isaac Vossius' copies of which are now UBL, 511 F 18 and 597 G 21, both without annotations. It examines Greek and Hebrew phrases describing the state of man after death and the place of the good and the wicked. The commentary on Chaucer is unidentified. Junius had recently taken up the study of Chaucer, as he informed William Dugdale in **216b**. His copies of Thomas Speght, *The Works of Our Ancient and Learned English Poet Geoffrey Chaucer* (London, 1598) and revised edition (1602), are now Ms Jun. 9 and UBL, 364 A 13 (stemming from Isaac's collection) respectively, both containing his annotations. They comprise cross-references, emendations, quotations and references to the Classics, as well as references to the *Roman de la rose* from *Le Rommant de la Rose nouvellement Reueu et corrige outre les presedentes Impressions* (Paris, 1529), now UBL, 1369 G 6, and to Gavin Douglas, *Bukes of Eneados* (London, 1553), **216b**. Ms Jun. 6 is Junius' glossary on Chaucer, but "an enriched Index" Junius also prepared is lost. Marshall's letter to Junius accompanying the books is unretrieved. Cf. *DNB* 62.167-68, Bremmer

214 67 06 03-04 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
(DORDRECHT)

A *To the pious, highly reverend gentleman Mr. Thomas Marshall, servant of the Holy Word at the court of the English merchants in Dordrecht. To be delivered into his own hand. Postage eight stivers.*

[*See the original letter.*]

(1998b:233, 2001:43-44, 52, 54-55, 70), *SCW* no. 5121; for a discussion of Junius' study of Chaucer, cf. Bremmer (2001).

³ Junius' appreciation of Chaucer as an "inventive" poet indicates that he considered him an exemplary "doctus poeta," comparable to the "doctus pictor" championed in *De pictura* (1637), who knew how to combine imagination and intellect, or learning, in the conception of a work of art in proper measure, **108d**. Junius had underlined Sir Philip Sidney's praise of Chaucer in his copy of "In Defence of Poesie" (1613:513), **68c**. Cf. Bremmer (2001:44-45), *Literature* 1.395-97.

⁴ Cornelius Bee, who would presumably offer Junius and Marshall's Gothic Gospels (1665) for sale, cf. below. Amsterdam and Leiden were the centres of Dutch book trade, **6c**. The Dutch were actually blocking the southeast coast of England at the time, part of their final triumphant offensive in the Second Anglo-Dutch War, **e**, but Bee apparently knew how to circumvent the blockades. Cf. Berkvens-Stevelinck *et al.* (1992).

⁵ Junius and Marshall's *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665), **209b**. The quarto was evidently also available as a large paper edition, "a special or de luxe edition . . . having large fore-edge and foot margins," yet printed "from the same setting of type as for the standard edition," Glaister (1979:274). A price of five guilders was also given to Robert Scott, **220a**.

⁶ Scott also received quantity rebate, about which Marshall nevertheless consulted Isaac Vossius, **220a**.

⁷ Coenraad van Beuningen (1622-1693), currently ambassador in France, and a member of an influential Amsterdam patrician family. After his studies at Leiden he had been secretary of Grotius for a year, thus filling the position which the latter had offered to Junius in 1635, and which Isaac had filled as well, **101j**, **143a^a**. From 1643, he held several positions in the Amsterdam magistracy, and was a member of the city council from 1660 until his death. He had been dispatched to Queen Christina in Sweden in 1652-1654, and subsequently to Denmark, to Charles II at the Restoration, and to France in 1660-1662. From 1664 he had been in France again in order to obtain support against England during the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1664-1667), **e**. As soon as Dutch victory in the Anglo-Dutch War appeared secure, the French withdrew their support and in April imposed a higher import tax, especially for Dutch goods, and even advanced to the southern Netherlands, so that van Beuningen was forced to stay in France to negotiate. He had returned by October, but was dispatched to France again in February 1668, to return in September, **218b**. In the years 1670, 1674-79 and 1681-83 he was to be a Dutch representative in England. A member of the undogmatic congregation of Rijnsburger Collegiants, and considered a libertine, he was a close friend of Isaac. Van Beuningen had a monumental house in French baroque style, splendidly decorated, built at the Bleijenburg, The Hague, which was to take years before completion. Cf. Schutte

doe wee not yet know what to thinke of his return. Howsoever shall wee studie to further your designe what wee can, when you come to Samaritanize.⁸ Remember my humble respects to Mr Pagett, and my service to other good freinds.
yours to serve you F.F.F. Junius

d post script.

Among some words had with my kinsman about the contents of this letter, and what might bee the reason that your intended comming to the Haegh was so much delayed, °when I seemed to conceive that such a delay might bee occasioned by the care of your church, and that it was not so easie at this time to gett one to supplie your place during the time of your absence, and that consequently it would bee more convenience unto you, if the Samaritane monuments were sent to Dordrecht for to make use of them there; my kinsman did instantly deliver unto mee the bookes to that end &c. June the 4th.

e When you know °anie safe way of sending anie of the Gothike gospels in England (I hope that shortly by Gods mercie the peceable times may come)⁹ I would cause some to be bound for my lord of Oxford, Henry Howard of Arundell, Sir John Cotton, Mr Marsham, Mr Dugdall, Mr Phillips, Mr Ashmole, °Mr Rushworth, Mr Somner. &c.¹⁰ but I had need to know it a little before, to have them bound & packed up here. my Lord Hatton is here reported to bee dead.¹¹ Vlaque his death hath deprived us here of good advice how to send for England.¹²

d when: [- and] when | **e** anie: [- of] anie | Mr Rushworth: \Mr Rushworth/

(1976, no. 68), *NBW* 7.118-20, Blok (1999:431-38), Israel (1995:395, 780-83), Roldanus (1931:140-41).

⁸ Marshall's plan in relation to van Beuningen is unidentified. He evidently wished to continue his examination of Samaritan books with Isaac, as he had done before, **209a, e**.

⁹ The English and the Dutch had been involved in the Second Anglo-Dutch War from 1664 to establish maritime and thus commercial supremacy both in Europe and in the colonies. While the English were initially more successful, the Dutch had greater resources, as well as the support of France, Denmark and the

major European commercial centres. The Dutch triumphed first by blocking off the southeast coast of England, and then, a fortnight after the present letter, by Michiel de Ruyter's advancing on the Medway to Chatham and towing off the English flagship. As Junius hoped, a peace treaty was to be signed one month after the present letter. Cf. Israel (1995:766-74), Fritze and Robison (1996:168-69), Prud'homme van Reine (1996:193).

¹⁰ Sir John Cotton (1621-1701), Thomas Cotton's eldest son, had a vivid interest in learning and cared well for the Cottonian library, **165a**. He intended to give it to the nation, but died before having settled it all. Possibly Junius desired to present John Rushworth with a copy because he possessed the Rushworth Gospels which Junius had consulted, **169e**. As Dugdale thanked Junius for the gift, **216a**, he must have received a copy, and hence, so may the others; the occasion for Junius'—unretrieved—letters to Aubrey de Vere, John Cotton, and possibly Fabian Philipps in February 1668, **217a**, may likewise have been the receipt of their—unretrieved—letters of thanks for the gift. Books were published unbound, and Dutch binding was considered of higher quality than English, **99h**, **107d**, **68c**. It is not clear why Junius sent copies to his English friends only now. As the book had been discussed in the *Journal*, **213e**, it must already have been distributed after Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie had received his due copy, **210a**, while Adriaan Vlacq usually seems to have assisted Junius and Isaac in transferring items to England, even during the war. Cf. this section *DNB* 12.314.

¹¹ Christopher, baron Hatton, however, was to die only in 1670, **205a**.

¹² Adriaan Vlacq had died in 1666 or 1667, **115a**. Evidently, Junius and Isaac Vossius used to consult Vlacq, with whose cleverness in the booktrade with England they were familiar, **115a**, about safe ways to transfer books to England, presumably especially during the Anglo-Dutch War.

^o **215**₂₁₇ 68 01 30 THOMAS MARSHALL (DORDRECHT) TO JUNIUS [THE HAGUE]¹

- a** I have differred my writing to you, since your last to me, in hope to have received some thing out of England worth your notice, but having after so manie weekes exspectation heard nothing | from Mr Cornelius Bee, I thinke it necessarie to give you the present trouble of these lines, to acknowledge the receipt of your Saxon treasure, whose use your extraordinarie friendship hath indulged me for the examination of the much expected Canons of Archbishop Theodorus: concerning which (as yet unseen) I can say nothing.²
- b** Good Sir, I have one favour more to request of you, which is that you will not suffer these your most usefull Collections to remaine one day in my hands, to the prejudice of your own studies. I should not have dared to have requested them from you, but seeing your goodness hath moved you to send them, I pray let not my slight studies detain them, if they may at present be subservient to your more worthie undertakings; that so I shall at once be uncivill to your selfe and injurious to your learned designes. Be pleased therefore in your next to insinuate whether you have present use for them, that so I may send them out of hand; or whether they may remaine with me till I compasse the desired Canons, or (in case I be frustrated of them) may trie my little skill upon a sermon of Lupus, formerly copied from your papers, or something else the like.³ By a frend at Hamburg I am promised an Islandish Lexicon.⁴
Dordrecht, *January* 20–30, 1668.

¹ *p*: Hamper (1827:384–85). Included as a quotation by Junius, probably omitting the letterhead, in **216e**. Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**.

² differred: “deferred.” Junius’ latest letter to Marshall is unretrieved. It probably accompanied Junius’ Old English–Latin manuscript dictionary, now Mss Jun. 2 and 3, **190b**, which Marshall had borrowed the better to review a forthcoming edition of the Canons of Theodore of Tarus, archbishop of Canterbury, which Cornelius Bee had promised to send from England, **216e**. No such edition seems

215 68 01 30 THOMAS MARSHALL (DORDRECHT) TO JUNIUS [THE HAGUE]

[*See the original letter.*]

to have been published at the time, however, and Marshall indeed kept waiting for the promised material for a while, **217b**.

³ *compasse*: “to catch, seize, lay hold of,” cf. *OED*. In **217b** Junius indicated he currently did not need the glossary. Marshall had presumably copied an Old English sermon of Wulfstan, or Lupus, archbishop of York (d. 1023), from Junius’ transcript and collations of five sermons in Ms Jun. 102, collated from Cott. Ms Nero A.i, CCC Ms 201, and Ms Hatton 114. Cf. *SCW* 5213.

⁴ Possibly “Mr. Butler” in Hamburg, details unidentified, who, according to Junius’ note in Ms Jun. 37, f. 29, had been commissioned by Junius in June 1667 to purchase six books, including the most recent [nuperrime] Icelandic lexicon, Ole Worm, *Specimen* (1650), **164c**, and “Grammatica Islandica auctore Runolfo Jona,” that is, Runólfur Jónsson (c.1620–1654), *Recentissima antiquissimae linguae Septentrionalis incunabula: id est grammaticae Islandicae rudimenta* (Copenhagen, 1651), the only Icelandic grammar until the nineteenth century, from which Junius compiled a glossary in Ms Jun. 36. Possibly, Junius, or perhaps Marshall, received from Hamburg the manuscript now Ms Jun. 120—not annotated by Junius—by Guðmundur Andrésson, or Andreae (d. 1654), “Gothicae seu Runae linguae septentrionalis qualiscunque dictionarius,” to be posthumously published by Peder Hans Resen (1625–1688) as *Lexicon Islandicum sive Gothicae runae vel linguae Septentrionalis dictionarium . . .* (Copenhagen, 1683). Cf. *SCW* nos 5148, 5149, 5231, Dekker (unpubl. ms), Pétursson (1995:111).

⁰ 216 68 02 03 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [-]¹

a Most Worthie Sir,

I can not apprehende which way you should acknowledge your selfe a debtor unto me for the Gothik and Anglo-Saxonik Gospells, whereas they doe not come neer the worth of the two volumes of the Monasticon, the Warwickshire Antiquities, the History of St Paule's Cathedral, which all I have at this present here now before mine eyes of your gift:² So that I made a full accompt to have sent unto you ere this some further acknowledgement of my deep obligations, had not the common calamitie of a grievous unneighbourlie collision of neighbours shaken a great part of Europe almost all to pieces, and further sett a foot greater stirres, or at least occasioned such desperate enterprises as now lay heavie upon the Christian world, and seeme to bee past cure.³ The first falling out, you know, was the bane of all commerce, paper could not be had but at excessive rates, the heat of writers grew very coole, and presses were every where laid asleep. Thus sitting still, as dwelmed by the universal confusion of manie nations, two or three yeeres are slipped away over my head stealingly: which in these high yeeres I find to be more then six in my younger dayes.⁴

b Though I was not altogether idle since I returned to the Hague from Dordrecht; but first of all gott my great worke of Teutonik Glossaries in a perfect order for the presse; but seeing them as it were lie dead by me, I had neither heart nor lust to hoorde up more workes of that nature in my studie;⁵ but for a chaunge, I took your archpoet Chaucer in hand: and though I thinke that in manie places he is not to bee understood without the help of old MS. copies, which England can afforde manie; yet doe I perswade my selfe to have met with innumerable places, hitherto misunderstood, or not understood at all, which I can illustrate.⁶ To which work I hold the bishop of Dunkel his Virgilian translation to be very much conducing, and in my perusing of this prelate his book (to say so much by the way) I stumbled upon manie passages wherein this wittie Gawin doth grosly mistake Virgil, and is much ledd out of the way by the infection of a monkish ignorance then prevailing in Church and common wealthe: yet is there verie good use to be made of him.⁷

c All this mentioned change of worke gave me a sweet entertainment, and was unto me a kind of solace to my grieve in the most

216 68 02 03 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO WILLIAM DUGDALE [-]

[See the original letter.]

¹ *p*: Hamper (1827, no. 146). Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a. e** includes letter **215**.

² Junius had apparently managed to present Dugdale, and other English friends, with a copy of his and Thomas Marshall's *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665), **214e**. Dugdale's letter of thanks to Junius is unretrieved. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 2 vols (1655–1673), in cooperation with Roger Dodsworth, **206a**; *Warwickshire Antiquities* (1656), **191b**; *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, from its Foundation untill these Times: Extracted out of Originall Charters, Records, Leiger Books, and Other Manuscripts . . .* (London, 1658), which traces the history of the cathedral from its Anglo-Saxon foundation with the aid of charters and other archival documents, based in an account of important places of worship from Paradise onwards, yet concentrates on an examination of the tombs and their epitaphs in order to reconstruct family pedigrees. Wenceslaus Hollar provided it with many illustrations, which have gained in significance after the Great Fire of London destroyed St Paul's in 1666. Junius' copy not found in UBL. Cf. Parry (1995:236–40).

³ The Second Anglo-Dutch War, which had lasted from 1664 until July 1667, **214e**.

⁴ *dwelmed*: probably "to have fallen sick, faint;" not in *OED*, and probably a conflation of Du *bedwelmen*, Scots or northern dialectal "dwalm," which occurs as *dwalmnyng* in Gavin Douglas, *Aeneis* 3.5.55, **b**, and OE *fordwiltman*, "confound," which occurs in Boethius 5.14.4, **206a**. The period is two or three years after the publication of *Evangeliorum versiones* in 1665, when he had also been prevented from sending the book to Dugdale and others, **214e**.

⁵ Junius had stayed in Dordrecht to facilitate the printing of *Evangeliorum versiones*, **212a**. Junius' "Teutonik Glossaries," distinguished as A to E, now in Mss Jun. 116a–d, and two additional smaller glossaries from Isaac's collection, "Glossarium M" and "Glossarium F," now in Mss Jun. 116f and 116d, respectively, **213a**.

⁶ In Holland, Junius had access to Chaucer only in Thomas Speght's edition and re-edition (1598, 1602). For an impression of his studies on Chaucer, cf. below, **214a**. Cf. Bremmer (2001:45–47).

⁷ *wittie*: **205d**. The cross-references to Chaucer and Vergil which Junius added in his copy of Gavin Douglas, *The .xiii. Bukes of Eneados* (1553), now Ms Jun. 54, testify to the use he made of the text for his study of Chaucer, **212a**. Cf. Bremmer (2001:47–53, 60–63).

sad times; till Italians, Frenchmen, Germanes, and diverse men of note in this contrie called upon me to performe the long intermitted worke of painting and painters.⁸ Thus am I now in hand with that worke: and as my former booke *de pictura veterum* is enlarged and altered much, so is the new worke, *Catalogus artificum*, made up almost halfe, wherein I doe treat of the life and workes of some six or seven hundred ancient artificers alphabetically digested.

d With this my change of studies I acquainted Mr Marshall when he was last with me here at the Hague, and desired him to remember the Runike inscription left with him at Dordrecht, and he spoke as if he would hasten his intended journey for England so soone as he could gett one to serve the Court of Marchants during the time of his absence.⁹

e In the meane while chaunced Corn. de Bee to come over and to tell Mr Marshall of Theodore the Archbishop of Canterburie his Canons readie to come forth.¹⁰ He desired Mr Marshall likewise to review the edition and to examine the translation, promising to send him a copie at his returne in England: so that Mr Marshall, upon this motion and promise of Mr de Bee, desired me to send him some helpe to that worke; and I, knowing what he meant, sent him presently my great Anglo-Saxonike Lexicon, which he hath had some sixe or seven weekes, without hearing anie thing of him or of the receipt of the papers, till some foure or five daies since, when he wrote unto me after this manner, and with these following very words—“[*letter 215*]”¹¹

f To speake of this gentleman his studies and great progresses in the Oriental languishes, Coptike, Greek, and Latin, I need not, for we have now to doe with the Northern, and as I have communicated him what I could of them, so hath he gott and still doth gett (as you see at the latter end of his letter to me) manie Runike monuments I never could meet with.¹² Howsoever he beeing a man of singular curiositie, great industrie, and of a publik spirit, I know none who is more likely to satisfy your desire, to which I will seriously exhort him and let him have what other subsidies he shall require: for upon occasion of my change of studies, he may command what I have and keep it long enough. Finding my selfe now wearie writing, and fearing to have tired you also with my hastie confused scribbling, I pray you to excuse my tediousness, and to assure your selfe that I shall ever remaine

Your most obliged friend and servant, F. Junius.

Haegh, 1668. the 3. of February.

⁸ Junius had been working on a second edition of *De pictura* (1637) before, in 1643 and 1651, together with *Catalogus artificum* (1694), **155b**, **175c**, and continued preparing them for the press for some time, **217b**, **221b**. They were to be published posthumously by Joannes Georgius Graevius, **155b**, **224a**.

⁹ Thomas Marshall, minister to the Company of Merchant Adventurers in Dordrecht. The inscription may have been the runes on the Bridekirk font, Cumberland, in which Dugdale was interested, as Bennett (1938:222n2) suggests. It had been printed in William Camden, *Britannia* (London, 1607), and Sir Henry Spelman had consulted Ole Worm about it, but the meaning had not been solved. The Bridekirk inscription is remarkable, and therefore probably problematic, because it is the only known instance where Scandinavian runes have been used to write late Old English, “ricarþ he me iwrocte 7 to þis me rÐ Ger [**] me brocte” [Ricard he made me and . . . brought me to this splendour], quoted after Page (1973:195–96)—the text has not yet been fully solved. According to Bennett (1938:408), the inscription was once also in Junius’ copy of Ole Worm, *Fasti Danici* (1643), now Ms Jun. 14. Cf. Bennett (1938:407–08), Page (1973:3, 195–96, 199).

¹⁰ Cornelius Bee; no edition of the Canons of Archbishop Theodore seems to have appeared, though, **215a**.

¹¹ Junius’ Old English–Latin manuscript dictionary, now Mss Jun. 2 and 3, **190b**, which Marshall attested to having received in **215a**.

¹² Marshall was a keen Orientalist, **206aⁿ**.

²¹⁵ 217 68 02 07 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
(DORDRECHT)¹

A *Aen den vromen hoogh-geduchten Heer mijn Heer Tho. Marshall, bedienaer des H. woords in 't Court van d'Engelsche koopluuden °tot Dordrecht. port.*

a *Haegh. February 7. 1668.*

Reverend Sir,

The last week I knew not which way to answeere your letter, beeing to write to my Lord of Oxford, Sir John Cotton, the Norroy Dugdale, and to Mr Philippes. who sent me a little bill of exchange to bee payed at Amsterdam by Mr Philippe Surmonde, and hopeth shortly to send greater sommes.² yet doe I best of all like the good newes he addeth. viz. that my Lord of Oxford hath for about this twelve moneths last past relinquished and liveth apart from his mistres, but maintaineth her & his illegitimate sonne in an other house taken for them; and giveth the reason, Because he would no longer live in a knowne sinne.³ God give him constancie in his good resolution, and then I doe not feare to bee a great looser by him.

b Of Mr Corn. Bee I heard nothing.⁴ It is most likely you will heare of him, when he sendeth the Canons. And if you will have my papers & first transcript of Lupus, or anie thing else I have, I shall most readily send it you: for now I can want anie thing, as having for a while altered my cours of studies, whilst I am about to fitt my work *De Pictura veterum* for a second edition, and adde to it the long promised *Catalogus artificum*.⁵

c I hope you will soone receive the Ishlandish dictionarie; not doubting but you shall then trie what the meaning is of the Runik inscription Mr Dugdale and your other antiquaries in England desire to knowe the interpretation.⁶ Remember my respectes to Mr Pagett. your most obliged frend & servant F.F.F. Junius.

217 68 02 07 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
(DORDRECHT)

A *To the pious, highly reverend gentleman Mr. Thomas Marshall, servant of the Holy Word at the court of the English merchants in Dordrecht. Postage.*

[*See the original letter.*]

A tot: [- 4] tot

¹ *o*: BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 9.

² Marshall's letter to Junius is **215**. Junius' letters to Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford, and John Cotton are unretrieved. They may have been replies to the addressees' unretrieved letters of thanks to Junius for his gift of *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665), **214e**. Junius' letter to Norroy William Dugdale is **216**. Junius' letter to Fabian Philipps is unretrieved. It may similarly have been a reply to Philipps' unretrieved letter of thanks for the gift, although it also contained other information, cf. this section, **214e**. The bill of exchange presumably still concerned payment of Junius' stipend for his duties to either Oxford or the Arundel family, **206a**, **199a**. Philip Surmond, probably a merchant, is unidentified.

³ Aubrey de Vere is said to have gone through a mock marriage with an actress, probably Elizabeth Davenport, and to have begotten an illegitimate son who was baptised in 1664 and buried as "Aubrey de Vere, earl of Oxford" in 1708, cf. *DNB* 58.222-25.

⁴ Cornelius Bee had promised to send a forthcoming edition of the Canons of Archbishop Theodore, **215a**.

⁵ Marshall had transcribed a sermon of Wulfstan from Junius' copy, on which he wanted to try his Old English on receipt of Junius' Old English glossary, and Junius was now willing to lend him his own copy in Ms Jun. 102 too, **215a**. Junius was working on the second edition of *De pictura* (1637) and on *Catalogus artificum* (1694), **216c**.

⁶ Marshall had been promised an Icelandic lexicon, **215a**. The runic inscription was probably the one on the Bridekirk font, **216d**, f.

° 218 68 10 16 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
(DORDRECHT)¹

A *Aen den vromen hoogh-geduchten Heer myn Heer Tho. Marshall, bedienaer des H. woords in 't Court van d'Engelsche °kooplyuden tot Dordrecht. port.*

a *Haegh. October 16. Anno 1668.*

Reverend Sir,

your letter dated the 9 October came to my hands the 12, beeing Friday, when my kinsman Vossius was yet at Amsterdam. but beeing returned the next day I asked him about the Coptike Gospells, and was answered, that the sayd °Gospells are here still, and are not yet fetched away by Petrejus, whoe bought them for 120 °guld. but not payed as yet.² Hee still maketh instances by the meanes of a freind here, to have a little longer patience with the payement: but this has bene his play so long, that my kinsman is wearie of it.³ °and if the sayd Petrejus doth not fetch the sayd Gospells within °a fourth-night or 3 weekes at the furthest, my kinsman meaneth to send the book to Thevenot at Paris, who offereth the same price.⁴

b As for his letter to André Rivet, hee meaneth now with the first occasion to send to *mijn heer* Van der Meer at Rotterdam, having as yet had not much leisure to thinke upon manie other no lesse necessarie businesses.⁵ At anie of his sparetimes also hee encreaseth now and then the store of such observations upon Hesychius as might bee added to the edition of Doctor Pierson of Cambridgen.⁶ Other *manuscripts* of the Councels you spoke of, and such like things as might bee for the use of England, hee sayd hee would seek out °and committe to your hands, when you (as you promised at your last beeing with us) should returne to us and make a longer stay.⁷ Thus much I gott of him with much a doe in few words, beeing manie wayes called away and distracted with innumerable avocations, by reason of *myn Heer* Van Beninghen his new arrivall, the building of his hous &c.⁸ Yet when you come, I assure my selfe that hee will finde sufficient leisure, especially in the evenings, to waite upon you & to give you & the learned freinds in England all possible satisfaction.

c Our hous is free from *mijn Heer* Van Beuninghens companie, who

A kooplyuden: koopl\u/yden | **a** Gospells are: [*book is* > Gospells are] | guld.: gluld. | and: [*but* > and] | **a**: [- *within*] a | **b** and: ad

218 68 10 16 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
(DORDRECHT)

A *To the pious, highly reverend gentleman Mr. Thomas Marshall, servant of the Holy Word at the court of the English merchants in Dordrecht. Postage.*

[See the original letter.]

¹ *o*: BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 10. Reply to an unretrieved letter, dated 68 10 09, **a**.

² Marshall's letter to Junius, dated 68 20 09, and showing an interest in Isaac Vossius' Coptic Gospels, **213a**, is unretrieved. Theodorus Petraeus, or Petri (c.1588–1673), German Orientalist, proficient in Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, and Ethiopian, which he had partly learnt during his travels in the Middle East. He published several Arabic and Armenian works, compiled a "Lexicon Copticum," which remained in manuscript at his death, and assisted Edmund Castell with the preparation of *Lexicon heptaglotton* (1669) for some time in 1659–1661, **213a**. Notwithstanding both Petraeus' and Melchisedech Thevenot's interest in the Gospels (cf. below), Marshall managed to buy the book instead, as he indicated in a letter dated 68 11 29 o.s.: "An ancient copie of ye 4 Evangelists in Coptick (which I have formerly had the use off) was last year sold to one . . . for about 131 sterling, but ye mony not tendred according to custome, ye booke was resumed into ye Proprietor's hand, to whom ye great French Inquisitor after Orientalls, Monr. Thevenot, offered ye same price for ye book. However, ye Monument being declared free, I have by purchase made it my own," BL, Add. 22905, f. 85; I owe this reference to Gerald Toomer. Cf. Toomer (1996:260, 280), Jöcher 3.1439.

³ Petraeus' friend is unidentified.

⁴ Melchisedech Thevenot (?1621–1692), traveller and collector of a rich library with manuscripts in many languages in Paris. He had a great interest in Oriental languages and travel accounts of journeys to the East and the Americas, several of which he had published as *Relations de divers voyages curieux . . .* (Paris, 1663). Cf. *NBG* 45.125–26.

⁵ Isaac's letter to André Rivet, currently headmaster of the Illustre School in Breda, is unretrieved. Mr. van der Meer in Rotterdam is unidentified.

⁶ John Pearson (1613–1686), Margaret professor of theology at Cambridge from 1661, master of Trinity College, royal chaplain, and to be bishop of Chester from 1673. Esteemed at home and abroad for his learning, he was a member of the Royal Society, and best known for his influential *Exposition of the Creed* (1659). For his annotations on Hesychius, **94a**, he had read the lexicon twice, once finishing in 1655 and once in 1667. Still, they were to be published in two volumes only in 1844, so that Isaac had received note of the annotations rather than seen their publication. No such annotations found in UBL. Cf. *DNB* 44.168–73.

⁷ Possibly a request on behalf of John Fell for a manuscript of Mattheus Blastares, *Syntagma*, **219a**.

⁸ Coenraad van Beuningen had just returned from France; three days before the present letter, he had reported on his embassy to the States General, **214c**. Isaac Vossius and Junius were to move to a newly built house in The Hague, although Junius, at least, had not fully settled there by mid-December 1669, **219a**, **220a**. Cf. Franken (1966:64).

keepeth at that little hous in his garden.⁹ you shall bee most welkom when you come to us, yea finde roome also though Mr Pagett came along with you. Thus desiring you to remember my humble respects to Mr Pagett, I remaine obliged to serve you, F.F.F. Junius.

^o 219 69 05 17 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
[DORDRECHT]¹

a *Haegh.* 1669, the 17th of Maij. *stilo novo.*

Having deliverd Mr Scott his letter to my kinsman, he would sooner have fulfilled Mr Scotts desire, had not the lately remooved librarie to our new hous putt us to some difficultie of finding the bookes among so manie heapes as yet indigested and stapled one upon an other.² We wished much to have sene you here with us before your voyage; but apprehending well enough how manie soddaine occasions may hinder you at the point of your °soddaine passage, we dare no longer desire the aggravation of your further care and trouble.³ It is now the sixth week that I wrote to Mr Philippes and desired him to lett me knowe whether Sir John Cotton had sent to his hous a little pack with bookes, to the end Vossius might begin to devise which way to gett them over safely.⁴

b. God graunt that you your selfe °comming over sound and safe, may finde that good freind of mine sound and safe, °so shall I be confident to heare of him ere long.⁵ In the meane while may you best see the present distraction of my mind in these wordes of Plinies epistles, “*Est suspensum et anxium, de eo quem ardentissime diligas, interdum nihil scire. Vereor omnia, imaginor omnia, quaeque natura metuentium est, ea maxime mihi quae maxime abominor fingo.*”⁶ All this, together with the earnestnesse to be used in building & settling, doe not suffer us to write much, and that my kinsman or I doe not answeere Mr Scott otherwise then by sending the book.⁷ Almightye God bee your conduct by sea and land, and remember us to all our good friends in England. My kinsman desireth that if Mr Pagett chaunceth to come this way during the time of your absence, that we may see him here. ὠκιστα.⁸

your humble freind & servant F.F.F. Junius.

a soddaine: [- *journey*] soddaine | **b** comming over: \comming over/ | so: [- *and*] so

219 69 05 17 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
[DORDRECHT]

[See the original letter.]

⁹ Van Beuningen had a magnificent house built, **214c**.

¹ *o*: BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 11. Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**.

² stapled: “piled,” not in *OED*, but a Dutchism from Du. *gestapeld*, “piled.” Marshall’s letter to Junius, to which this letter obviously replies, is unretrieved. Robert Scott (d. 1710?), a London bookseller and publisher, active from 1661 to 1699, at the Prince[’s Arms] in Little Britain, who published, among other things, books by Edmund Castell, John Marsham, John Pearson, and Isaac Vossius. On behalf of John Fell (1625–1686), vice-chancellor of Oxford University, Scott had borrowed from Isaac Vossius presumably the manuscript now UBL, Voss.Gr. F 24, “Matthaei Blastaris Hieromonachi syntagma conciliorum,” transcribed by Johannes a Sta. Maura in Rome, cf. de Meyier, s.v. Matthaëus Blastares (fl. 14th c.), *Syntagma alphabeticum*, “a handbook of church and civil laws” of the Greek orthodox church. Fell thanked Isaac, “ad nos pervenit Ms Blastaris codex, quem . . . nobis Canonum Graecorum editionem adornaturis communicandum duxeras” [we have received Blastares’ manuscript book, which you had transferred to us, as we are preparing an edition of the Greek canons], 69 08 12, UBL, Bur F 11, f. 59v. Isaac and Junius had moved house, **218b**. Cf. **b**, Wing 4.800, *EncBrit* s.v., UBL, Bur F 11, f. 354v.

³ Marshall went to England, **b**.

⁴ Junius’ letter to Fabian Philipps is unretrieved. Sir John Cotton returned a parcel of books, unidentified, to Isaac via Philipps, **220c**, **221a**. Junius’ reference to Isaac as “Vossius” is unusual.

⁵ The “good freind” was either Cotton or Philipps—so Marshall must have gone to England.

⁶ Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae* 6.4.3.2–4.1, “Est enim suspensum . . . scire,” and 6.4.4.3–5.1, “Vereor . . . fingo” [For it is “in suspense and anxiety” to know nothing for some time about the one you love most ardently. I fear everything; I imagine everything; as is the nature of anxious people, I imagine for myself those matters most which I abhor most], **28d**.

⁷ Scott thanked Isaac for the manuscript of Blastares in a letter dated 69 08 14, adding that he would see him in Holland “dans trois,” presumably months. Cf. UBL, Bur F 11, f. 354v, **220a**.

⁸ ὄκιστα: “in haste.”

220 69 12 31 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
(DORDRECHT)¹

A *Vromen hoogh-geduchten Heer mijn Heer Tho. Marshall, Theologiae doctor en bedienaer des H. woords in 't Court van d'Engelsche kooplyuden tot Dordrecht. port.*²

a 's *Graven haegh.* 1669. the 31 *Decembris.*

The last Saturday se'nnight, upon occasion of a suddaine change of wether passed Mr Scott hastily this way, fearing to bee surprised by a frost. and having bene a good while with my kinsman in his studie, he came afterwarde also to see me, and asked for the price I held the Gothike gospells at.³

I told him, Everie book at five guldens.⁴

Then beganne he to speake of taking some 50 or 100 copies along over with him, and asked whether I could gett them packed up and sent for Rotterdam, to be there the next day. But beeing answered that I knew not how handsomly to goe about it, my things & papers lying somewhat uncomposed untill I should settle in our new hous, and that there was a parcell of books at Dordrecht readier for that purpose, of the which he could have as manie as he should desire.⁵

I have sene them, sayd he, at Dr Marshall his hous.

If then at your returne into England, answered I further, you doe but intimate unto the Doctor what quantitie you wold have, I shall desire him to cause them to be sent.

But, sayd he, if I should desire to have 50 or 100 copies to bee sent me, some thing I hope should be abated of the price, according to the proportion of copies.⁶

You have reason to expect it, answered I, and all that busines I doe referre to Dr Marshall, beeing content with whatsoever he shall thinke fitt to bee done in that matter of book trading.

Thus Mr Scott, beeing well satisfyed, sayd that at his comming into England he would write unto you about it. Which if he doth, Mr Paget I hope will joyne with you to consider of the agreement and Mr Giering maye provide cordage and pack paper; for which and his paines I will see him satisfyed to the full.⁷

b Having now done with what redoundeth onely to your trouble, I must also adde something of newes for your more pleasing entertainement. My kinsman Vossius about a moneth since having met at Amsterdam with Mr Scott, received of him a letter dated at the

220 69 12 31 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
(DORDRECHT)

A *To the pious, highly reverend gentleman Mr. Thomas Marshall, Dr. of theology, and servant of the Holy Word at the court of the English merchants in Dordrecht. Postage.*

[See the original letter.]

¹ *o*: BLO, Ms Marshall 134, ff. 12–13.

² Marshall had become doctor of theology in July, **206a**.

³ Robert Scott had probably already announced his visit in August, when he had also offered Isaac Vossius, if necessary, to manage his affairs in Paris, where he went before travelling on to Holland, **219b^a**. Scott no doubt wanted to offer Junius and Marshall's *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665), **209b**, for sale in London.

⁴ This was the price of the regular copies, **214b**.

⁵ Isaac and Junius moved to a new house, **218b**.

⁶ Cornelius Bee had also received a quantity rebate when taking a larger number of copies, **214b**.

⁷ Mr. Giering is unidentified.

Tower royall and written by a gentleman who subscribeth himselfe Ed. Sherburneus.⁸ The letter was well and handsomly contrived, so that you might see a pure & candid genius in it. His drift was to knowe if my kinsman among his various observations upon severall good auctors had also observed anie thing about Manilius his *genus, patria*, &c. and so went on to propound some doubts °arisen out of the discrepant opinions of Scaliger °and other great men.⁹ He sayd that the longing he had to bring his contrimen to understand the benefit to bee reaped out of these studies, had induced him to translate Manilius his first booke in English meter, and meant to premit some *prolegomena* concerning the auctor himselfe, his Latin text, to gether with some varieties of lections here to fore observed by Jos. Scaliger and others.¹⁰ My kinsman judging out °of the sayd letter, that he had to doe with an | ingenuous and well affected gentleman, hath allreadie by way of an °answer to his letter written a little dissertation, wherein hee sheweth Joseph Scaliger to have bene in an errour, and addeth also divers various lections and observations he had formerly intended to print himselfe, but now is glad to have mett with one that will ease him of the labour.¹¹

c He hath likewise some thing readie for Mr Stanley his Aeschylus.¹² and the *manuscript Geoponikes* lie also readie to be sent to Sir John Cotton, who now hath returned the long desired bookes to Mr Philippes, at whose hous they are at this present.¹³ and I conceive my kinsman will studie to gett them over safely by the meanes of *mijn heer Borreel*.¹⁴

d Ravius hath writt a letter to the schepen Blaew about his intended confutation, desiring to have his help and *patrocinium* in the printing: but the schepen not so much as having bestowed upon it the whole

b arisen: aris[ing > en] | and: \and/ | of: [-f.] of | answer: [-...ship letter] answer

⁸ Edward Sherburne (1618–1702), from 1641 clerk of the Ordnance, the board in charge of the artillery of the army. As he was a royalist and a Roman Catholic, his property, including his valuable library, had been seized during the Civil War. At the Restoration he returned to office, and was to be knighted in 1682. In his letter to Isaac, dated 69 10 01, “ex Turre Regia Londini per amicum Robertum Scott bibliopolam Londinensem” [from the Royal Tower in London, through my friend Robert Scott, London bookseller], Sherburne intimated that his friend Thomas Stanley had urged him to address Isaac. Cf. g, UBL, Bur F 11, ff. 60–61, *DNB* 52.72–73.

⁹ The uncertainty concerned the question as to whether the author Manilius was “Manilius Antiochus” and/or “Manilius mathematicus.” Marcus Manilius’ *Astronomicon*, edited by Joseph Scaliger as *M. Manillii Astronomicon libri quinque* (Lyons, 1579), and in another edition (1599), in reply to Junius the Elder’s *Manilius* (1590), **59h^a**.

¹⁰ In his letter, Sherburne explained his project, “ut eius [Manilii] librum primum . . . versibus Anglicanis, in gratiam linguae gentis generosaeque iuventutis nostrae transtulerim, annotationibus illustraverim, commentariolo auxerim” [that I have translated his first book into English verse, in obligation to the vernacular language and our noble youths, illustrated it with annotations and enlarged it with a small commentary]. The result was Edward Sherburne, *The Sphere of Marcus Manilius Made an English Poem: with Annotations and an Astronomical Appendix* (London, 1675). The copy now UBL, 104 B 1, was presented to Isaac by the author with an inscription.

¹¹ In “Manilius his Life, Country, Quality, Studies, Writings, etc.,” Sherburne included that “[t]he excellently learned Doctor Isaac Vossius conceives yet, that the Manilius Antiochus, and the Manilius Mathematicus, before mentioned are not two distinct Persons, but one and the same under different Titles and Apellations, and the very Author of the Poem we now publish. Whose Particular Sentiments upon this Subject, and Arguments confirming the same, he was pleased not long since to impart to Me, by this most obliging Letter, in Answer to some Queries by Me proposed in one of mine to him, upon Occasion of my intended Publication of this Piece, which for the Readers Satisfaction, I shall here make Publick, though not in his own Words, yet as near as may be in his own Sence” (p. b1), after which follows a paraphrase of Isaac’s argumentation on pp. b1–c1. Sherburne had received Isaac’s answer before 22 February, c^a. No Manilius Antiochus nor Mathematicus are described in *DNP* 7, s.vv. Manilius, Manlius.

¹² Thomas Stanley had published *Aeschyli quae extant. Cum versione et commentario* (London, 1663), the copy of which now UBL, 697 A 4, stems from Isaac Vossius’ collection, without annotations, **181b**. Isaac had promised him variant readings, as appears from Stanley’s letter to Isaac, dated 70 02 22, which thanks the latter for the mention to Aeschylus in the letter to Sherburne, **b**, “quodque promissorum memor de depromptis ad Aeschylum e vetustis exemplaribus variis lectionibus et scholiis nondum editis ais te nisi impedissent infelicia et funesta tempora mihi iam dudum transmissurum” [and mindful of promises concerning the variant readings on Aeschylus excerpted from ancient copies, and *scholia* not yet published, you said you would already long before have sent it to me, if the unhappy and destructive times had not prevented it], adding that he would use them for a second, enlarged edition of Aeschylus, which has, however, never been published. The material in question probably was, or was copied from, Isaac’s manuscript now UBL, Voss.Gr. F 23, “Aeschyli tragoediae tres,” containing the plays *Prometheus*, *Septem in Thebas* and *Persae* with marginal annotations and interlinear glosses. Cf. de Meyier, s.v.

¹³ Sir John Cotton had thanked Isaac for lending the books, which he returned via Fabian Philipps, **219a**, in a letter dated 69 09 24, adding that he soon hoped to have time to concentrate on *Geoponika*, **221a**. The manuscript of *Geoponika*, **42h**, is unidentified in either the Cottonian collection in BL, or in UBL. Cf. UBL, Bur F 11, f. 60; *IMBL*, s.v.

¹⁴ Johan Boreel, lord of Westhoven (1617/18/21–1673), Dutch ambassador in London from 1667 to 1672. He was from Middelburg, where he held several positions in the magistracy, and had been trustee of the Latin School in the 1660s. His father, with the same name, had been pensionary of Middelburg from 1613 to 1619, when Junius had lived there, **7**, **8**, **9**. Actually, Isaac handed a manuscript of *Geoponika*, and of *lacuna*, to Scott to deliver to Cotton, **221a**. Cf. Schutte (1976, no. 67), *NNBW* 7.177.

reading of the letter, gave it my kinsman to take it along with him, so that you may see it and laugh at the silly mans conceipt when you shall come to us.¹⁵

e Some French also of late in their bragging *gasconnados* having preferred their lately much cultivated languish before the poëticall and oratorian eloquence of the Romaines and old Greekes, are learnedly answered by a certaine *chanoine* at Liege:¹⁶ and after their mutuall debates to & fro, my kinsman also hath undertaken to discusse that question in a little treatise he is about to premitte before his Catullus Tibullus Propertius now going to the presse as soone the frost remitteth.¹⁷ The French, I beleeve, will hardly bee induced to bee of his opinion. I could write more about all this, were it not enough to have presumed at this time to wearie you so much & to trespasse thus farre upon your precious houres.

f It beeing in the meane while most likelie that this letter shall come to your hands upon that day of the which Ovid sayeth “nunc dicenda bona sunt bona verba die,” I maye not lett it goe without the usuall apprecation of this yeares health & happines.¹⁸ Remember my due respects & good wishes also to Mr Pagett: and assure your selfe, that we shall ever bee most glad to see you here, time and season permitting it.

your humble freind & servant F.F.F. Junius.

g My kinsman asked me at the first whether I knew this same Ed. Sherburneus. and I guessed he might be a sonne of that same Lord of Sherburne or Sherburie, commonly called the black Lord Herbert Lord of Sherburne or Sherburie, a castel in Shropshire upon the borders of Wales.¹⁹ This Lord Herbert was in the yeer '21 leger embassadour at Paris, were I saw him at that time very often with Hugo de Groot, and some time also with Daniel Tilenus.²⁰ but since I heard that he hath no relation to that noble familie; but that he is private gentleman, that standeth well in the Kings favour, so that his Mayestie hath committed unto his keeping the ordinance & artillerie in the Towre.

¹⁵ Christian Ravius, currently regius professor of Hebrew and Oriental languages in Uppsala, must have approached the publisher and alderman Joan Blaeu for his intended publication of a new biblical chronology, . . . *unica vera et infallibilis Chronologia Biblica* . . . (1670), which, according to the extensive title, was based on the Hebrew Old Testament and calculated the world to be 6,000 years old, and thus refuted

Isaac's claim that no chronology could be derived from the OT text because the Jews had falsified it. Indeed, Ravius seems to have openly criticized Isaac's claim. Ravius eventually published his chronology in Kiel, and dedicated it to Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie and Johann Adolph Kielmann, duke of Holstein. Cf. **199d**, **201e**, **213a**, Moller (1744:686), personal communication Gerald Toomer.

¹⁶ The polemic on the value of the French language as compared with Latin was part of the wider *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, a controversy between the "ancients," who claimed the authority of the Classics incontestable, and the "moderns," who disputed the sacrosanctity of the Classics and urged to replace it with modern values and critical judgement inspired by Cartesian doubt in all fields of learning and letters. In the present year, the *moderne* Louis le Laboureur (d. 1679) published *Avantages de la langue françoise sur la langue latine* (Paris, 1669), claiming that French was more suitable for the expression of human thought than Latin, a response to the *ancien* Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636–1711), *Satires*, of which *Satire IX* (1668) had criticized modern French epic poetry for its defiance of classical conventions. The canon's responses are unidentified; perhaps they were included in G. Bretonneau, archdeacon of Brie, *Méthode curieuse pour acheminer à la langue latine, par l'observation de la langue françoise . . .* (Liege, 1669), not seen. Cf. Nelson (1989), Rickard (1992:51–52, no. 53), de Theux de Montjardin (1973, col. 259).

¹⁷ Isaac Vossius did not publish *Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius*, but he was to publish *Catullus et in eum observationes* (London, 1681). He possessed several manuscripts of the texts, among which were Voss.Lat. O.38, O.81, and Q.117, which had formerly belonged to Queen Christina. The treatise with his contribution to the *Querelle* is unidentified. Although often judged virtually a sceptic, Isaac clearly sided with the *anciens* by writing against the *modernes'* assumptions about the eminence of French. As expected from someone steeped in the Classics, Junius appears to have endorsed the *ancien* view too, and thus to have left the application of modern tenets to language studies and etymology to successive generations of scholars. Cf. de Meyier, s.vv., *DNB* 68.394.

¹⁸ Ovid, *Fasti* 1.72: "Now good words must be said on a good day"—that is, "happy New Year."

¹⁹ Edward Herbert (1583–1648), first Lord Herbert of Cherbury, poet, metaphysician, and father of deism, had been English ambassador in Paris from 1619 until 1624. A brother of the poet George Herbert (1593–1633), a friend and follower of the poet John Donne (1571/2–1631), and a friend of John Selden, Cherbury had a deep interest in metaphysics and philosophy, and was the first Englishman to publish a metaphysical tract, *De veritate . . .* (Paris, 1624). He is credited as the father of deism on account of *De religione gentilium*, posthumously published by Isaac Vossius (Amsterdam, 1663), which he had modelled on Vossius' *De theologia gentili* (1641), **153d**. His nickname was owing to "his dark hair and complexion," *DNB* 26.178. Cf. *DNB* 26.173–81.

²⁰ Leger: i.e. "ledger," a permanent, resident representative, cf. *OED*. Junius had been in the company of Grotius and Daniel Tilenus, and Cherbury, apparently, during his stay in Paris in 1621, **28c**, **30a–f**, **31a**, **32g**.

221 70 01 30 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO JOHN COTTON [-]¹

A for Sir John Cotton

a Noble Sir,

having now advertised my freind Mr Philippes which way the packet of bookes, you sent to his hous, might be brought to our handes, I could not but by the same meanes returne also my old respects and due thankfulnes unto you for the innumerable favours received during the time I was in England unto this present houre.² My kinsman Vossius hath about a moneth since committed the MS *geoponikes* and *Lacuna* into the hands of Mr Scott, a London bookmarchant, who promised to deliver these two bookes safely unto you.³ *Sylburgius* his grammar is not in my kinsmans librarie.⁴ yet might we have hoped to meet with the book shortly in some of the Leiden auctions, if the sayd citie within these eight or nine last moneths were not pittiefully decaied and become a most sicklie desolate place; so that it is likelie, no auctions shall be held there this good while.⁵ As for the *geoponikes*, I wishe my kinsman had knowne how to gett them at a lower price, then 13 pistoles; but as they knowe °and value such bookes at Paris, so are they used to talke of nothing but pistoles.⁶

b I intend shortly by the assistance of our gracious God to send my *Pictura veterum* to the presse againe, much altered and enlarged, beeing about to premitte before it a new work, entituled *Catalogus artificum*, wherein a man may finde Alphabetically sett downe the lifes of all the most famous painters, statuaries, sculptors, carvers etc. that ever I found mentioned in Greek or Latin classike auctors.⁷

c But although I have great reason to hasten the prenting what I can, as beeing yesterday entred into my fourscoreth yeer, yet shall I for all that never cease (God maintaining the strength of my outward, and upholding the vigour of my inward parts) to serve the publike and you, by whose treasure of antiquities my Saxon studies have bene much promoted.⁸ Thus desiring to knowe how farr I may be capable to doe you anie service, I remaine your humble friend and servant F.F.F. Junius.
Hague. 1670. the 30eth of Januarie. *stilo novo*.

a and: [- *how to*] and

221 70 01 30 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO JOHN COTTON [-]

[See the original letter.]

¹ *o*: BLO, Ms Smith 25, pp. 37–38. *c*: BLO, Ms Smith 25, pp. 43–44, in an unidentified hand; not collated with *o*.

² Cotton had returned books to Isaac Vossius via Fabian Philipps, **219a**. Junius had benefited from manuscripts in the Cotton library for his Germanic studies, but also for his work on Vitruvius, **187a**, **105h**, **164b**.

³ Isaac had sent a manuscript of *Geoponika*, **42h**, and of *lacuna*, unidentified, to Cotton via Robert Scott, **220c**. In September 1669, Cotton had written to Isaac that he had not yet begun to study *Geoponika*—evidently from a text different than Isaac's, yet also that “vellem lacunam mihi mittas” [I would desire you to send *lacuna*], 69 09 24, UBL, Bur F 11, f. 60, **220c**. Scott had been with Isaac and Junius in December 1669, **220a**. Cf. *DNP* 4.938–41.

⁴ Presumably Fridericus Sylburgius (1536–1596), *Rudimenta Graecae linguae* (Frankfurt, 1582), or the second edition, updated in accordance with Ramist principles (Frankfurt, 1600), **5bⁿ**. Isaac probably did have Sylburgius, *Etymologicon magnum* . . . ([Basle], 1594), now UBL, 763 B 10, with annotations by Vossius and others.

⁵ An epidemic, possibly malaria, was raging in Leiden in 1669–1670, killing at a rate of several hundreds of people per week, including six professors at the university, by the end of 1669. Cf. **222a**, Otterspeer (2000:431–34), Noordegraaf and Valk (1988:27), Overvoorde (1911). For Leiden auctions, cf. **6c**.

⁶ pistole: “monnaie de compte française exprimant une valeur fixe de dix livres . . . ‘Ordinairement, quand on dit “pistole,” sans ajouter “d’or,” on n’entend que la valeur de dix francs’ (Acad. 1694),” *GL*, s.v.

⁷ Junius’ *De pictura* (1694) and *Catalogus artificum* (1694), which were published posthumously, **216c**.

⁸ Junius was presumably born on 29 Jan 1591. Cf. *Literature* 1.xxvi.

°222 70 02 11 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
(DORDRECHT)¹

A *Aen den vromen hooghgeduchten heer mijn heer Tho. Marshall, Doctor Theologiae, ende bedienaer des H. woords in 't Court van d'Engelsche kooplyden tot Dordrecht.
port is betaelt.*

a Hague. the 11eth of February 1670.

Reverend Sir,

it fell out as you gessed, that the Leiden Universitie newes should cost me a smile or two: but this light smiling turned soone to indignation & griefe.² I could not well brooke the foule and scandalous imputation of a plagiarie, and yet was it a greater griefe unto me that such malicious tale should be raised or at least carried up and downe the countrie by a man that should not do so much as entertaine much lesse beare slaunderous reports.³ The indignation was suddainly gone, but the sorrow sticketh as yet by me. neither can it be otherwise: for I doe count that same backbiting humor a more sad presage in the Leiden ministers, whoe together with their flockes have bene sufficiently chastened of late to bee made more humble and lesse idle.⁴ God be merciefull to that citie & preserve it from further mischief. Thus leaving all this care to allmightie God, I can passe over all such like forged devices or detractions with an earnest prosecution of my studies, which now are bent upon Otfridus, whom I hope to illustrate in places innumerable.⁵ Remember my humble respects to Mr Pagett.

your humble freind & servant F.F.F. Junius

b Here you have my kinsman Vossius his advice concerning the abatements.⁶ He writt it in French which Mr Scott understandeth.

¹ *o*: BLO, Ms Marshall 134, f. 14. Reply to an unretrieved letter, **a**.

² Marshall's letter to Junius containing the news is unretrieved. During the Leiden epidemic, **a**, six professors had died. The news, unidentified, may have had to do with this.

222 70 02 11 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO THOMAS MARSHALL
(DORDRECHT)

A *To the pious, highly reverend gentleman Mr. Thomas Marshall, Dr. of theology, and servant of the Holy Word at the court of the English merchants in Dordrecht.*

Postage has been paid.

[*See the original letter.*]

³ to brook: "enjoy," cf. *OED*. Leiden person who spread the slander unidentified.

⁴ A devastating epidemic had been raging in Leiden in 1669, and was not under control yet, **221a**.

⁵ Junius has not proceeded far in annotating Otfried of Weissenburg's Old High German *Evangelienbuch*, **203d**, **210d**.

⁶ While Junius had suggested Marshall and Robert Pagett to decide on a quantity rebate for *Evangeliorum versiones* (1665) for Robert Scott, **220a**, Marshall must nevertheless have consulted Junius and Isaac Vossius about it.

223 71 11 09 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO GEERAERT BRANDT [-]¹

a Eerwaerde Heer,²

Gister avond stracks nae ons afscheyd 't schrift aengaende den Luneburghschen vorst niet vindende, sende ik nu een boek daer VE sik misschien sal denken meer aen gelegen te syn.³ Want nae 't vergeefsche soeken begond' ik by mij selven eenige van onse verhaestigde en meerrendeel °ten halven afgebrokene redenen te herdenken, als onder andere, dat vele Engeland verdacht hielden als of het nae 't Roomsche hoff niet weynig begost te hellen: welke vrees mij seer ongegrondt scheen, niet alleen in opsicht van d'oude fundamentele wetten der Engelschen monarchie, die den Koning en *Prelatys* d'opperste macht geven, en dat deselve noyt so onbesint sullen sijn haer selven slaefsch te maken van etc.⁴ maer ook om dat ik wt dit onlangs wtgegeven schrift bericht worde etc. Wt paginâ 133 van 't eerste deel deses geschrifts sal VE ook vernemen hoe sijn onsen Vossius daer bequamer oordeelen tot grooter bedrijff, dan te blijven etc.⁵

Caeterum haec relinquenda providentiae Divinae.

a ten: [- half] ten

¹ o: UBL, PAP 15. On the letter, in Brandt's hand, "Den 9 Novemb. 1671 heeft de here Franc. Junius dit briefken, inden Hage sijnde, aan mij gesonden met een boek genaemt *Iugulum causae*, gedrukt tot London. 1671" [On 9 Nov. 1671 Mr Franc. Junius, being in The Hague, has sent this small letter to me with a book entitled *The Principal Point of the Argument*, printed in London, 1671].

² Geeraert Brandt (1626–1685), poet and Remonstrant predicant in Amsterdam, and an important historian. His *Historie der reformatie . . .* 4 vols (Amsterdam, 1671, 1674, 1704), presented the recent history of the Dutch Church, its second volume concentrating on the strife between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants resulting in the Synod of Dordrecht. It includes the most detailed description known of the affairs which led to Junius' renouncement of the ministry, at 3.347–57, **25b**, **d**. It was translated into English by John Chamberlayne as *The History of the Reformation and Other Ecclesiastical Transactions in and about the Low-Countries . . .* 4 vols (London, 1720–23), and is still current as a reference work, notwithstanding its Remonstrant bias. Cf. *NNBW* 6.184–87, Rademaker (1998:16n).

³ Geeraert Brandt had evidently been with Junius on 8 November 1671. No details were found on the prince of Luneburg. [Louis du Moulin], *Iugulum causae, seu nova . . . ratio, per quam totus doctrinarum Romanensium complexus de quibus lis est inter Protestantas et Pontificios; et una papa, eiusque imperium funditus evertuntur* (London, 1671) [The Principal Point of the Argument, or a new reasoning, by which the whole embrace of Roman doctrines, concerning which there is discord between Protestants and Papists, as well as the pope and his power, are entirely overthrown], dedicated to Charles II. It has the form of 54 lengthy letters to different people, of which

223 71 11 09 JUNIUS (THE HAGUE) TO GEERAERT BRANDT [-]

a Honourable sir,

Since I could not find the treatise on the prince of Lunenburg immediately after our parting yesterday, I am now sending you a book which you will perhaps consider more to your liking. After the fruitless search, it so happened that I began to recall by myself some of our cursory and mostly half interrupted discussions, among which, that many people suspect England of beginning to incline considerably towards the court of Rome. This fear seemed most groundless to me, not only with respect to the ancient fundamental laws of the English monarchy, which grant supreme power to the king and prelates, and that they would never be so inconsiderate to make themselves slaves of, etc., but also because I have been informed by this recently published treatise, etc. From page 133 of the first part of this treatise, you can also learn how they judge our Vossius more capable of a higher dignity there than to stay, etc.

Yet these matters must be left to divine providence.

letter 40 is addressed to Isaac Vossius (pp. 129–44). The copy now UBL, 597 E 22, stems from Isaac's collection, but is not annotated.

⁴ While the Commons had passed a bill which would prohibit Roman Catholics to hold offices, and the king had issued a proclamation against Jesuits and Roman Catholic priests in March, England was more sympathetic towards Roman Catholics at the Restoration than during the Commonwealth. Even, in reality, but strictly secretly at the time, the future King James, duke of York, had converted to Roman Catholicism in the present year, and Charles II had not only proved tolerant towards the Roman Church, but in 1670 had also signed the secret Treaty of Dover with the French, promising to convert publicly—only the moment had not been determined. Since the foundation of the Church of England in the sixteenth century, antiquarians had tried to demonstrate on the basis of especially Anglo-Saxon sources that the new Church of England was a continuation of the ancient English Church rather than a sudden deviation of the established Roman Catholic Church, and hence that Anglo-Saxon law texts provided a justification for an ecclesiastical hierarchy with the king as head and prelates below him. Cf. Fritze and Robison (1996:73–75, 163–65), Holmes (1993:6–7, 95–96), Lutz (2000).

⁵ At least partly on the basis of his *De septuaginta interpretibus* (1661–63), Isaac had been urged to settle in England by John Pearson in 1670. Staying there for the rest of his life, Isaac moved in court circles, and was to receive a prebend at the royal chapel in Windsor in 1673. In *Iugulum causae*, p. 133, Isaac was praised for having as good an ability, and hence duty, as his father Vossius to refute Cardinal Caesar Baronius' *Annales ecclesiastici*, 12 vols (1588–1607), a Roman Catholic history of the church. As a professor at Leiden, Vossius had been commissioned to do so in continuation of Isaac Casaubon's unfinished "Exercitationes," which had had the same aim. Cf. *DNB* 68.394–95, Rademaker (1981: 152–53, 319–22).

224 74 10 20 CORNELIS BOOTH (UTRECHT) TO JUNIUS [-]¹

a Wel-Edle hoog-geleerde Heer,

In de voorledene maend heeft de Heere Resident Heinsius met de Heere Professor Graevius my d'eere gedaen van ons in onse bibliotheque te comen besoecken, ende by die occasie onder andre gecommuniceert, hoe U wel-Edle niet ongenegen soude syn, in cas van overlyden, twelck God tot salicheit noch gelieve langer te staecken; alsdan onser Stadts publike bibliotheque te begunstigen met desselfs onwaerdeerlycke *collecta* ende *MSSSta* met soo overgrote moeyte ende costen tot sonderlinge hulp van alle liefhebbers van oude talen by U wel-Edle versameld:² Ten eynde de selve ter bequamer tyd off gelegentheyd in den druck mochten werden vervaerdicht, ofte anders so lange opgesloten ende bewaerd als UEdele soude gelieven te ordonneren. Belovende in sulcken geval alle devuoir te sullen aenwenden, dat die soo sorgvuldichlyck gade-geslagen ende opgesloten

¹ *o*: UBL, BPL 246, f. 2.

² Cornelis Booth (1605–1678), librarian of Utrecht University library, of which he had published the first catalogue in 1670. He was a physician and held several functions in the magistracy of the town and province of Utrecht. Joannes Georgius Graevius, or Grew or Greffe (1632–1703), classicist, currently professor of politics, history and eloquence at Utrecht. Having studied at Leipzig, he met Johannes Fredericus Gronovius during a trip to Deventer and stayed there to study with him. He was professor at Duisburg, where he must have met Johann Clauberg, from 1656, succeeded Gronovius at Deventer in 1658, and moved to Utrecht in 1661. His vivid interest in classical antiquities led him not only to publish the second edition of Janus Gruterus, *Inscriptiones* (1707), **173b**, and bring out several of Joannes Meursius' works, but also to edit and publish the second edition of Junius' *De pictura* and the *Catalogus artificum* (1694), prefixed with a "Vita" of Junius (1694:†4–††2), **155b**. After Junius had been ill in 1674, Nicolaas Heinsius and Graevius exhorted him to publish his work, and in order to assist him, Graevius arranged a dwelling for him in Utrecht. In exchange, Junius would bequeath his collections to Utrecht Library. However, Junius decided instead to move to England in order to continue his studies in the Cottonian library, and in 1676 he settled in Oxford opposite Lincoln College, of which Thomas Marshall had become rector. He retired to a more quiet, "obscure House in *Beef-hall Lane* in *St. Ebbes Parish*," to prepare his manuscripts for printing, and "made a Deed of Gift of these Manuscripts and Collections . . . to the public Library at *Oxon.*," Wood (1721:603), where they have become the Junius manuscripts. Another part of his collection merged with Isaac Vossius', so that it is now to be found in UBL. This may already have happened when Isaac and Junius shared a house, and it may be relevant in this respect that Joost van den Vondel presented them both with a single copy of his Dutch translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, *Publius Ovidius Nazoos Herscheppinge* (1671), with the handwritten inscription, "Nobilibus et clarissimis Dominis D. Francisco Iunio et Isaaco Vossio dedicat consecratque Iustus Vondelius Agrippinas Amsterodami, 1671,

224 74 10 20 CORNELIS BOOTH (UTRECHT) TO JUNIUS [-]

- a Most noble, most learned sir,
 Last month, resident Mr. Heinsius and professor Mr. Graevius did me the honour of coming to see us in our library, and on that occasion communicated to me, among other things, how in case of your passing away—which God to salvation please postpone rather long—your honour would not be disinclined to favour the public library of our town with your inestimable *collections* and *manuscripts* collected by your honour at such massive effort and expenses to the singular support of all lovers of ancient languages, so that they could be published in due course of time, or be locked up and kept as long as you would be pleased to determine. In that case, I promise to discharge

4 Martii” [To the noble and most renowned gentlemen Mr. Francis Junius and Isaac Vossius this is dedicated and consecrated by Joost van den Vondel from Cologne, 4 March 1671], quoted after Michels (1934:11–12); for this seems to suggest that Isaac’s and Junius’ libraries were perceived as one, even if Isaac lived in England and Junius in Holland at the time. In August 1677, Junius moved in with Isaac in Windsor, leading the Oxford astronomer Edward Bernard (1638–1696) to write to Isaac, “Habes iam patrum tuum, reverentiam Oxonii mei, quid dixi te illum habere, ne millesima pars apud te est, donavit nobis tot annorum curas, tot vigilias, tot scripta Saxonica, Francica, Islandica, typos Gothicos, Runicos, tot libros et animo haec omnia liberali, quin semper maneat apud nos D. Iunius, fama florente, et vegeta nequaquam fieri potest” [You have now your uncle, the reverence of my Oxford—what did I say that you have him, since not the one-thousandth part is with you; he has given to us so many years of studies, so many vigils, so many Anglo-Saxon, Franconian, and Icelandic writings, Gothic and Runic types, so many books, and all this with such a generous heart; it is impossible that Mr. Junius does not stay with us for ever with a flourishing and sprightly reputation], UBL, Bur F 11, f. 71. Junius died of a fever at Isaac’s house on 19/29 November 1677, and is buried in St. George’s Chapel at Windsor. Oxford University has honoured him with a memorial, topped with his coat of arms, **46e**, and reading, “*Manibus sacrum* Francisco Iunio Francisci Iunii Biturigis filio, nobilitate generis integritate morum, et omnigena doctrina conspicuo viro, nato Heidelbergae anno salutis MDLXXXIX, qui per omnem aetatem sine querela aut iniuria cuiusquam Musis tantum et sibi vacavit, Universitas Oxoniensis cui scripta et monumenta laboris sui moriens pene nonagenarius commisit, in grati animi significacionem lubens meritoque titulum posuit anno MDCLXXXVIII” [In the year 1678, this inscription was gladly and willingly placed as token of a grateful heart for Francis Junius, consecrated to his ghosts, son of Franciscus Junius of Bourges, a gentleman distinguished by the nobility of his lineage, integrity of manners and all kinds of learning, born at Heidelberg in the year of grace 1589, who saved his time only for the Muses and himself without anyone’s complaint or injury throughout his life; by Oxford University, to which he, dying almost a nonagenarian, bequeathed the writings and documents of his work]. The year of birth seems to be wrong, **221c**. Cf. *NNBW* 4.217–18, 4.669–70, de Crane (1835:101), Grosheide, Monna and Pesch (1986:84), Bremmer (1998b:213–14, 232–35).

sullen worden als inde Bibliotheque tot Leyden de *legata* | *herois Scaligeri* tot noch toe behouden syn.³

b Ondertuschen bidden wy den Almogenden U wel-Eddele te willen houden in syn genadige hoede en bescherminge, blijvende altyd van harten Wel-Eddele Heer en Vrund

U wel-Eddele dienstwillige en verplichte dienaer C. Booth 1674

Ultraiectum, desen *Xmo Octobris* 1674

000 [38–40 00 00] MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS [LONDON]¹

a Charissime avuncule,

Quod hasce nunc ad te exarem litteras, nihil aliud facit, °praeter desiderium vel hoc modo tecum colloquendi, quam amica °sollicitatio °amicorum, qui °voti non sui se sperant °compotes °futuros °tuam citra operam. Plures id quidem postulavere, °at excusavimus, ne °molesti essemus illi, cui tempus abreptum doleret. °Huic tamen, cuius caussa haec scribimus, minime denegare ausi °non sumus, tum propter generis nobilitatem animique praestantiam, °tum °propter parentem, °hominem non minus °nobilem quam generosum, °quominus cum molestia tua operam polliceremur ad °videnda ea, quae maximis sumtibus °ex diversis orbis terrarum regionibus illustrissimus Arundeliae Comes collegit.² Nec dubitamus voti compotem futurum. Nomen si quaeras, Bodeckius vocatur, °Ioannis Bodeckii filius, qui nunc una cum ephoro suo peregrinas, ut iam Anglicanas, salutabit oras, maximoque tenetur desiderio °animadvertendi ea, quae in sin-

000a praeter: [- *quam*] praeter | sollicitatio: [- *in*] sollicitatio | amicorum: amcorum | voti: [- *quod citra tuam desperanti*] voti | compotes: [- *fu*] compotes | futuros: futur[e > o]s | tuam: [- *in*] tuam | at: [- *sed*] at | molesti: [- *fl*] molesti | Huic: [*Hunc* > Huic] | non: \non/ | tum . . . generosum: [*quominus* > tum . . . generosum] | propter: [- *propter*] propter | hominem: [- *aliqua.inus*] hominem | nobilem: [*gen* > nobilem] | quominus: \quominus/ | videnda: vilenda | ex . . . regionibus: \ex . . . regionibus/ | Ioannis: [- *I*] Ioannis | animadvertendi: animadver[*ti* > tendi]

³ The “Scaliger bequest,” the books and manuscripts of Joseph Scaliger, were kept separately from the regular collections at Leiden University library. Cf. Hulshoff Poll (1975:426), *Codices Scaligerani* (1910).

¹ *d.* UBA, D 96e. Written when Bodecher’s son made a tour of England, and

all obligation, so that they will be guarded and locked up as carefully as the *hero Scaliger's legacy* has still been kept in the library of Leiden.

b Meanwhile, we pray the Almighty to keep your honour in his merciful care and protection, always cordially remaining, honourable sir and friend,

Your honour's serviceable and obliging servant, C. Booth.

Utrecht, on 10 October 1674.

000 [38–40 00 00] MATTHAEUS VOSSIUS [AMSTERDAM] TO JUNIUS
[LONDON]

a Dearest Uncle,

That I am writing this letter to you now is caused by nothing else, besides a desire of communicating with you even in this way, than by a friendly concern for friends, who fear that their wish will not be fulfilled without your assistance. Many have actually asked so, but we excused ourselves in order not to be troublesome to him who would grieve for time lost. Yet we dared not at all refuse him for whose sake we are writing this—both because of the nobility of his birth and the excellence of his heart, and because of his father, a gentleman no less noble than generous—to offer assistance with seeing to your trouble what the most illustrious earl of Arundel has collected from various countries of the world at very high expenses. We do not doubt that his wish will be fulfilled. If you ask for his name, he is called Bodecheer, Joannes Bodecheer's son, who will now visit foreign countries, like England now, together with his tutor, and who is seized by a great desire to see what is considered remark-

when only one sister of Matthaëus was with him, so probably between 1638, when Cornelia died, and 1640, when Johanna died, **a**.

² Junius more often showed the Arundel collection to young men on tour, **56b**.

³ Presumably Nicolaus Bodecherus, who had written two letters to Matthaëus from Leiden, in 1630 and 1635. No details were found on when he made his tour and who was his tutor. His father was Johan Bodecher Banning, or Bodecheer, or Benning (1606–1642), professor of ethics at Leiden from 1629 until 1638, when he intended to go to Brazil for the West Indies Company, but seems to have turned mad. Vossius had presented him with a poem on his defence of his master's in 1624. Cf. *NNBW* 4.178–79, Rademaker (1981:379–80).

gulis regionibus rariora perhibentur.³ Satis gnarus °inutiliter peregrinationes suscipi, quando secundum animi vanas libidines °peragimus. Quae °dotes ipsius °pro stimulo tibi erunt, ut paratius exsequaris ea, °quibus °praestantissimam possis obligare familiam, quam immemorem beneficii non spero futuram. Deus faxit, mi avuncule, °ut diu superstes sis, valetudineque utaris commoda. Salutant te plurimum parentes °fratres et soror.⁴

a inutiliter: inutililiter | peragimus: [*persequimur* > peragimus] | dotes: [*animi* > dotes] | pro: [- *dotes*] pro | quibus: qua | praestantissimam: praestantiss[+ i]mam (*Margin torn*) | ut: [- *ut diu, post hac*] ut | fratres: frat[er > res]

⁴ Since Matthaëus gives greetings of only one sister, the letter was probably written after Cornelia's death in 1638, yet before Johanna's death in 1640, **118f, 133b**.

able in each country. He is well aware that tours are undertaken to no avail, if we make them after the idle fancies of our heart. His qualities will serve as a stimulus for you to accomplish all the more readily that with which you could oblige a very excellent family, who, I expect, will not forget the favour. God will grant you, dear Uncle, to live long and enjoy good health. My parents, brothers and sister give you warmest greetings.

APPENDIX

APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS

1 18 04 00 JUNIUS' ACCOUNT OF NICOLAAS ABEEL'S AFFAIR¹

Nicolaes Abeel, bewoghen sijnde door oude kennisse, wel eer met mij Francisco Junio in Engheland ghemaekt, is tot Hilleghersbergh 't mijnen huuse ghekomen den 7 April, Anno 1618, 's nae mid-daghs ontrent den drijen; den overighen tijd deses daghs heeft hij in redelicke stilligheyd door-ghebraght, behalven dat hij som-wijlen gods-lasterlicke eeden in sijnen mond hadde: 's anderen daeghs 's morghens met den dagheraed op-gestaen sijnde heeft °hij wel een paer uyren langh in onsen boom-gaerd ghewandelt besigh sijnde met het singhen van ettelicke psalmen luyder kelen wt, ende voor-naemelik met het lesen van Actor. XXVI, in welk capittel hij dapper veel op hadde met het 25 vers, Ick en raese niet maghtighste Feste, etc. 't welk hij op sijn eyghene ghelegghenheyd scheen te willen passen. Den tijd der predikatie ghekomen sijnde, is hij ook nae de kerke ghegaen, ende een kleyne wijle tijds met grenicken door-ghebroght hebbende, so is hij eyndelingh wt de kerke gheloopen nae de herbergh gheloopen tot onsen Schout, al-waer hij misselicke parten aen-ghericht heeft, ghelijck 't blijkt wt de Certificatie voor Schout, schepens, en secretaris ghepasseert.

'S mid-daghs over taefel sittende is hij on-beschoftelik wt-ghebersten in lacchen, ende onder-tusschen 't mael °heeft veele godde-loose en walghelicke redenen wt-ghespoghen; nae den eten is hij nae Rotterdam ghegaen om al-daer op de hoogh-straete in 't ont-set van Leiden sijn koffer te haelen, mede ghenomen hebbende eenen sekeren Jan Crijnen om sijn mantel te draeghen; hoe hij 't doen al ghemaekt heeft blijkt wt de certificatie. t'huys ghekomen sijnde stond hem 't hoofd vrij al wat vreemd, door eenighe moeyte die hij door den drank en on-sinnigheyd met sommighe boeren en andere ghehadt hadde; ende als hij tot ver-scheyden reysen toe sijn mes op sijn bloote borst settende, so heeft hij mij onse dienst-maeghd seer verbaest sijnde hier van komen verwittighen, ende als hij de voor-noemde dienst-maeghd in mijn teghen-woordigheyd on-eer-lik wilde aen-tasten, sonder iet te passen op al mijn bidden, smeeken, vermaenen, ende dreyghen, so hebbe ick hem eyndelingh ter aerden

APPENDIX: SUPPLEMENTARY TEXTS

1 18 04 00 JUNIUS' ACCOUNT OF NICOLAAS ABEEL'S AFFAIR

Nicolaes Abeel, incited by old acquaintance formerly made with me, Francis Junius, in England, came to my house in Hillegersberg on 7 April in the year 1618, around three in the afternoon. The rest of this day he spent in reasonable silence, except for sometimes uttering blasphemous oaths. The next day, having risen in the morning at daybreak, he walked in our orchard for several hours, engaging himself in singing several psalms at the top of his voice, and especially in reading Acts 26, in which chapter he was very fond of the 25th verse, "I am not mad, most noble Festus" etc., which he appeared to wish to apply to his own condition. The time of the service having come, he also went to church, and having spent a short time chuckling, he finally walked out of the church and walked to the inn to our bailiff, where he wreaked revolting havoc, as appears from the document passed before the bailiff, sheriffs, and secretary.

Sitting down to dinner in the afternoon, he impudently burst into laughter and spat out many unholy and disgusting words during dinner. After dinner he went to Rotterdam to get his suitcase in *Het Ontzet van Leiden* in the *Hoogstraat*, taking a certain Jan Crijnen along to carry his coat; what he did then appears from the document. Having come home, he was already rather queer in the head, due to trouble he had had from drinking and from folly with certain farmers and other people. And when he had placed his knife on his bare chest several times, he came to inform me that our maid-servant was greatly surprised by it, and when he wished to immorally touch the aforementioned maid-servant in my presence,

App1 hij: [- e] hij | heeft: [- hij] heeft

¹ o: ARA, Hof 5222, 43; written by Junius and signed by him and Dirck Graswinckel. Cf. **24a**.

Sed quid de exercitationibus tuis? Ego ex animo et aperte dicam, tu amice et patienter accipe. Ingenium in illis, sententias, acumina, varietatem probavi, admiratusque sum; quibus si stilus paulo illustrior, constantior, castigatior esset, namque obscurus interdum, abruptus, et liber est, mihi crede, nihil iis perfectius excogitari posset. Scio huic generi scriptionis multa concedi, sed nauseabundus hac tempestate lector quam minimum orandus est. In *prima* exercitatione “concatenata” non dicerem, sed “adnexa,” et “longe” potius, quam “a longe.” In 7a particulae “enim,” “at,” “an,” “ut” frequentius usurpantur. In 17a Greinbergius necandus est, et pro Ludovico Gonzaga repone Ferdinandum. Sed ipse nugas et inania capto. Tuis de rebus nullae, nisi quas omiseris, reprehendi poterunt. Vale.
Roma, pridie ides Augusti MDCXXVI.

3 28 11 07 JOANNES VOSSIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]¹

... Des anderen daegs 's morgens, hebbe ick mij begeven naer het huijs van *Milort of Arondel*, ende oom in seer goede dispositie gevonden, wesende teenemael in het granito gekleet, met silvere passementen gekoort, aen sijn sijde hebbende, een seer kostelijk geweertje, dat voor desen toegekomen heeft den ouden Graef van Essex. Dat ick dit schrijve beminde Vader, is dewijle het mijne op mij *versocht* heeft. Oom soude van dien dag, met den jongen Graef *vertrocken* hebben te landewaert, doch door mij komste is hij gebleven, ende Milort dit vernemende, begeerde dat oom wat werke van mijn maken soude, soo dat ick doen alle monumenten, statuen, kostelijke schilderijen, het gansche huijs, jae selve ook het caminet van *Miledi* hebbe gesien, ende den selven middach aldaer in het hof gegeten . . . [Oom] Is uijtermaten seer bemint bij *Milort*, soo dat hij dickmael wenscht noch eenen anderen Junium te hebben, om dien in Griekelant te mogen gebruiken. Oom is noch *verbonden* voor drie jaeren, in welchen tijt hij oock niet in neerlant sal kunnen komen. Desen dach soo gepasseert sijnde, ben des anderen daegs naer oom weder toe gegaen, om een brief aen Doct. Porter te brengen, Professor juris te Cambrits, ende aen Joh. Francio . . . In het hof gekomen sijnde, en *Milort* vernemende dat ick daer waer, heeft lust gehad om mij te sien, is selver

¹ *o*: Rawl. 84b, ff. 117–18.

style had been somewhat clearer, more constant, and more restrained—for it is sometimes obscure, abrupt and free—believe me, nothing more perfect could be imagined than them. I know that many aspects are allowed in this kind of writing, but the reader, inclined to vomit because of this tempest, must be begged as little as possible. In the first exercise I would not say *concatenata* [connected], but *adnexa* [connected], and *longe* [long] rather than *a longe* [at length]. In the 7th exercise, the particles *enim* [for], *at* [but], *an* [whether], *ut* [that] are used rather often. In the 17th, Greinbergius must be slain, and for Ludovicus Gonzaga replace Ferdinandus. But I am chasing trifles and quibbles. None could be reproved concerning your affairs, except those you have omitted. Farewell.

Rome, on the day before the Ides of August 1626 [12 Aug.].

3 28 11 07 JOANNES VOSSIUS (LONDON) TO VOSSIUS [LEIDEN]

... The next day [29 Oct.] in the morning I went to the house of Milord of Arundel, and found Uncle in excellent condition, dressed in granito with silver trimmings, at his side a precious poniard that formerly belonged to the elder Earl of Essex. The reason why I am writing this, dear Father, is because he has requested me to do so. That day, Uncle would have left for the country together with the young Earl, but because of my arrival he stayed, and when Milord heard of this, he desired Uncle to take some pains over me, so that I then saw all marbles, statues, costly paintings, the whole house, well, even Milady's cabinet, and had lunch at the court there that same afternoon . . . [Uncle] is exceedingly deeply cherished by Milord, so that he often wishes to have a second Junius to be able to employ in Greece. Uncle is still engaged for three years, during which period he cannot go to the Low Countries either. Having passed this day thus, I went to Uncle again the next day to collect a letter for Dr. Porter, professor of *law* at Cambridge, and to John Francius . . . When

bij mij gekomen, en mij de eere aengedaen, dat ick sijn hoocheijt hebbe mogen begroeten. Hij *verhoopte* dat ick haest soo veel engels soude kunnen leeren, dat ick hem in °die tael soude kunnen salueren. Is een uijtermaeten seer beleeft en liefhebbende °Graef, lanck van stature, geset, haest van visionomij als onsen Epforus. Is weder teenmael inde gracie van sijne majesteijt, *versockt* niet of heeft het noch *verkregen*. Oom weijnich hier naer vertreckende, heeft mij in sijn plaetse gelaeten *Milorts* capellaen, die mij brengen soude bij Doct. Stewart, welke ick niet 't hujs gevonden hebbe, alsoo hij uijt de stad was. Hebbe evenwel om dat den tijt van sijn wederkomste onseker waer *Milort* Bisschop mon Perens brieven geoffereert, die mij met groote blischap ontfangen heeft . . .

. . . van Oom Junius, mij, ende Moucheron. Dat ick *belgice* geschreven hebbe, is wijl ick noch niet bij mijn boeken kan . . .

4 39 07 26 JUNIUS' ENTRY IN JOHANNES F. GRONOVII'S *ALBUM AMICORUM*¹

Νῆφε καὶ μέμνησ' ἀπιστεῖν

ἄρθρα ταῦτα τῶν φρενῶν.²

Probitatis atque omnigenae eruditionis dotibus excultissimo *Domino* Ioanni Frederico Gronovio testandae benevolentiae ergo scripsit F.F.F. Iunius.

Londinii, in aedibus Arundellianis, postridie idus Iulii, MDCXXXIX.

5 39 00 00 JUNIUS' POEM PREFIXED TO *SCHILDER-KONST*¹

Ivnivs aen sijn Boeck

Gaet mijn Boeck, gaet met der yl,

Wacht niet nae de laetste vijl,

Gaet en draeght op 't on-voorsienst

Mijnen nederighen dienst

Aen dien segen-rijcken Held

Die 't groot-hertigh Spaensch gheweld

Van 't ghevrijde Vader-land

App3 die: \die/|Graef: [- Graef] Graef

I had arrived at court, and Milord heard that I was there, he wished to see me; he came to me himself and honoured me by allowing me to greet his highness. He hoped I would soon learn enough English to be able to greet him in that language. He is an exceedingly courteous and kindly earl, long of stature, corpulent, and in physiognomy almost like our *tutor*. He is wholly in his majesty's favour again; he hardly need request or it is granted him. Uncle departed shortly after, and in his stead he left me Milord's chaplain, who would bring me to Dr. Stewart, whom I did not find home, for he was out of town. But as the moment of his return was undetermined, I have presented my father's letter to Milord Bishop [Laud], who received me with great pleasure . . .

. . . [regards] by Uncle, myself and de Moucheron. I wrote *in Dutch* because I cannot get to my books yet . . .

4 39 07 26 JUNIUS' ENTRY IN JOHANNES F. GRONOVIVS' *ALBUM AMICORUM*

Be sober and remember to mistrust.

That is the essence of the wits.

This was written to testify favour towards Mr Johannes Fredericus Gronovius, who is very refined because of the gifts of his uprightness and encompassing learning, by F.F.F. Junius.

In London at Arundel House on the day following the Ides of July, 1639 [16/26 Jul.].

5 39 00 00 JUNIUS' POEM PREFIXED TO *SCHILDER-KONST*

Junius to his Book.

Go, book, go quickly, do not wait until after the last filing; go and unexpectedly present my humble service to the victorious hero, who

¹ *o*: KB 130 E 32, f. 81v. Cf. 128aⁿ.

² Epicharmus 250, as quoted in Cicero, *Epistulae ad Atticum* 1.19.8, "ut crebro mihi vafer ille Siculus Epicharmus insurret cantilenam illam suam 'Νῆφε καὶ μέμνας' ἀπιστεῖν. ἄρθρα τὰὐτὰ τῶν φρενῶν'." Junius also used these lines in 34c.

¹ *p*: *Schilder-konst* (1641), ***iv. Cf. 129e.

Af-weert met een kloecke hand.
 Neemt den tijd bequaemlick waer,
 Hoed u, komt doch niet te naer,
 Als hy op den grooten last
 Der ghemeyner saecken past.
 Die sick soo te doen ver-port,
 Doet het gantsche land te kort.
 Daer-om, let wel op u stuck,
 Houdt het voor een groot gheluck
 Dat ghy hem een kleynen tijdt
 Van 's Lands sorghe vindt bevrijdt.
 Stept dan voord, schept eenen moed;
 Denckt; dit's immers voor my goed,
 Dit's den tijd soo langh bejaeght,
 Dat de kans moet sijn ghewaeght.
 Nochtans wensch ick niet te min
 Dat het u schiet' in den sin,
 Hoe dit nietighe ghepoogh
 Lijden sal het moedigh oogh,
 't Welck door sijnes op-slaghs glants
 Veler steden mueren-crants
 Heeft ver-broken, en de kracht
 Veler Leghers heeft veracht.
 Naer het uyt-staen deser proef
 Meught ghy sonder langh vertoef,
 's Werelts oordeel onder-gaen,
 Of u selven bet beraen.
 Vindt ghy uwen anghst verlicht
 Door de gunst van sijn ghesicht;
 Vreest niet dat u eenigh Man
 Naemaels veel verschricken kan.
 Wordt ghy weder-om ghewaer,
 Dat sijn Princelick ghebaer
 Niet en acht uw' arrebeyd,
 Zeght dan met eerbiedigheyd;
Groote Prins soo ghy vertoeft
Yemand die u eert als 't hoeft,
Ghy vertoeft een (voor ghewis)
Die noch niet ghebooren is.

averts the dauntless Spanish force from the liberated fatherland with a brave hand. Seize the opportunity conveniently; beware, do not get too close when he is attending to the great burden of public affairs. He who urges himself to do thus, wrongs the whole country. So, mind your cause; consider it a major benefit that you find him relieved from the concerns of the country for a short time. Step forward then, take a breath, and think, "This, surely, is good for me; this is the moment that a chance must be taken, hunted after for so long." Still, I nevertheless hope that it goes as you please how this trivial effort will bear the courageous eye, which has broken many city walls by the radiance of its glance and scorned the power of many armies. After standing this test, without long delay you can subject yourself to the opinion of the world, or deliberate further. If you find your fear relieved by the favour of his eyes, do not fear that you still may deeply shock any person. Conversely, if you notice that his princely gesture does not esteem you work, say then with all due respect, "Great Prince, if you wait for someone who honours you when necessary, you truly wait for one who has not yet been born."

6 41 05 17 MATTHEW WREN'S REPORT OF THE ROYAL WEDDING IN JUNIUS' HAND¹

On wednesday in Easter week April 28, 1641, *stylo veteri et Angliae*, the Lord Bishop of Ely, Deane of the Kings chapell, had order from his *Majestie* to prepare for the Marriage of William Count of Nassaw, heire of the Prince of Aurange, with the Princess Marie, eldest daughter of the King, to be solemnized on the Sunday following in the chapell at Whitehall, according to the Rites of the Church of England;² onely he was directed to omitt the thrice publishing of the Banes of Matrimonie betwixt them, because the Princess was not yet of full age; as it is usuall in England upon such an occasion. His *Majestie* also commanded the said Deane to attend the yong Prince °at Arundell house about such things as were to be said and done by him at the said Marriage. And to that purpose the Bishop going the next day to his Highnesse, carried with him two bookes of our Liturgie, the one in English, and the other in French, and left them with him.³

Before the Communion table without the enclosure thereof, was prepared a low Stage about 10 foot broad, which was covered with carpetts and incompassed with a raile, upon which rich clothes were hanged: and on either side of the said Stage was a Traverse. From the Stage also (almost) to the Chapell dore were carpetts laid.

By the Lord Chamberlaines care the chapell was kept so emptie, that all the high seates on the right hand were reserved for young gallants, and gentlemen, strangers all, and the most of them of the attendance and retinue of the Bridegroom.⁴

When it was neer twelve of the clock, the Bridegroom came first, accompanied with °the *Lords* the *States* °and the Prince of Orange Ambassadors, who all came up and stood upon the Stage.⁵

Soon after him came the Princess Marie. Her brethren, Prince Charles and Prince James ledd her.⁶ Her governesse the Countess of Roxborough attended her,⁷ and with her a great traine of young Maidens. but all these yong Ladies staid beneath the Stage.

Next, a great number of married Ladies and Honourable women passed over the said Stage, and stood together beyond the Kings Traverse.

Then came the Kings *Majesty* and with him the Earle of Arundell and Surrey Lord Steward bearing the sword before him.⁸ There came also the *Lord* Treasurer, *Lord* Privy Seale, Lord High Chamber-

6 41 05 17 MATTHEW WREN'S REPORT OF THE ROYAL WEDDING IN
JUNIUS' HAND

[*See the original text.*]

App6 at: [- of] at | the: [- his Governour, and] the | and . . . Orange: \and
the Prince of Orange/

¹ *c.* UBA, M 93 verso.

² That is, on 8 May King Charles I commissioned Bishop Wren, dean of the Chapel Royal, to perform the ceremony of the wedding of Prince William of Orange and Mary, the Princess Royal, in the royal chapel at Whitehall on Sunday 12 May 1641.

³ Wren had accordingly been with Prince William at Arundel House, where the latter and his retinue were staying, on 9 May, **147a**.

⁴ Philip Herbert (1584–1650), fourth earl of Pembroke, was Lord Chamberlain from 1626 until July 1641, cf. *DNB* 20.208–12.

⁵ The Dutch ambassadors Albert Joachimi; Johan Polyander à Kerckhoven, lord of Heenvliet; Joan Wolfert van Brederode; and François van Aerssen, lord of Sommelsdyck, **146a**.

⁶ Charles, Prince of Wales, the future King Charles II, and James, the future King James II.

⁷ Either Jean, daughter of Lord Drummond, or Isabel Douglas, both consecutively wife of Robert Ker (1570?–1650), first earl of Roxburgh, cf. *DNB* 31.55.

⁸ Thomas Howard, the earl of Arundel.

lain, the Duke of Lennox, Marquess Hamilton, and Marquess Huntley, the Earle of Cumberland, Earle of Salisbury, Earle of Holland, Earle of Denbigh, the Lord Goring, and Mr Secretarie Vane, and they came all up to the Stage.⁹ The other Noblemen and Bishops went into the high seates on the left hand of the Chapell. From the first appearing of the Bridegroom at the Chapell dore till now, the Organ plaied a voluntarie: but here the whole Queer begann and sang a full Antheme. and because the Queen was not yet come unto her closett, after that Antheme was ended, the Organ plaied again. But it was not long before the Queen shewed her selfe openly, above at the window of her closett. And then the Deane of the Chapell, and the Clark of the Kings Closett (being in rich Copes, and with Bookes in their hands) did stepp forward, and standing before the Communion table, just without the Enclosure, the Deane begann the Divine Service appointed for Matrimonie.

He used no title or Stile to either of them, but plainly said it as is in the Book [This man, This woman]¹⁰ and [I William take thee Marie etc.] as the King had before directed him. When the demaund was made [Who giveth this Woman to be married to this Man?] the King tooke the Brides right hand, and delivered her unto the Bishop, who receiving her upon his knee, presently rose up and gave her to the Bridegroom.

The Bridegroom had a little ring of gold readie (as the Bishop had before desired him) which he did put upon the fourth finger of the Brides left hand, as is directed by the Rubrick of °the Liturgy.

When the Bishop had given them the benediction [God the Father, God the Sonne, and God the Holy Ghost blesse, preserve, etc.] he returned back to the end of the Communion Table, and the Queer begann to sing the 128 Psalme [Blessed are all they, etc.]

And here the Married couple kneeled downe before the Table, just without the Raile, upon two cushions (the Bride upon the right hand) and the King withdrew himselfe of from the Stage towards his Traverse, and with him went both the Princes, Charles and James; and the *Lords* Ambassadors were directed to the Traverse on the other side. When the Antheme was ended, the Bishop standing at the Table and turning towards the Married couple there still kneeling, he begann with a lowd voice [Lord have mercie upon us, etc.] and the Queer made the Answers, and so they proceeded unto the end of the Matrimoniall service.

Then the Organ plaied a voluntarie again, whilst the King went

App6 the: [- *our*] the

⁹ Bishop Juxon, Lord Treasurer; Henry Montagu (1563?–1642), first earl of Manchester, Lord Privy Seale, cf. *DNB* 38.249–51; Philip Herbert, Lord Chamberlain; James Stuart (1612–1655), fourth duke of Lennox, cf. *DNB* 55.85–86; James (1606–1649), third Marquess Hamilton, cf. *DNB* 24.179–83; George Gordon (d. 1649), second Marquess Huntly, cf. *DNB* 22.190–94; Henry Clifford (1592–1643), fifth earl of Cumberland, cf. *DNB* (11.64–65); William Cecil (1591–1668), second earl of Salisbury *DNB* 9.403; Henry Rich (c. 1590–1649), first earl of Holland, cf. *DNB* 48.111–14; Henry Danvers (1573–1644), first earl of Danby, cf. *DNB* 14.37–39; George, Lord Goring (1608–1657), cf. *DNB* 22.245–48; Sir Henry Vane (1589–1655), Secretary of State, cf. *DNB* 58.113–16. Cf. Fryde *et al.* (1986, s.vv), Smith (1997:386).

¹⁰ Brackets in original.

up into his Closett, and with him the Married couple: the Bride was now ledd by two of the Lords Ambassadors °the other two immediately following; the Bridegroom also went between the two Princes, and they went through the Kings closett into the Queenes closett, and there sate down, and then the Communion service began. Howbeit, because the time was now farr spent, the Commandements and the Nicene Creed were not rehearsed, and presently after the Gospell was read, the Bishop of Rochester went into the pulpitt.¹¹ Hee tooke his text out of the 45 Psalme [*Dilexisti iustitiam*, etc.] which very briefly, but very judiciously he applied unto the present businesse.

After the Sermon was ended, the Antheme and the rest of the Communion service were omitted: onely the usuall Praiers for the King and Queen were said, and the blessing was given, and so away they all went to dinner, it beeing now past two of the clock.

7 44 00 00 JOOST VAN DEN VONDEL'S LAUDATORY POEM ON JUNIUS¹

Aen den edelen heer Francois Junius, F.Z.²
 Zoo Iunius te rugge ziet
 Naer zijn geslacht; hy roemt zich niet
 Op der vooroudren adel, fier
 Verworven door 't bebloet rappier:
 Maer op hun lettereer, behaelt
 Met eene pen, die schooner straelt,
 En beter schrijft dan scherp geweer.
 Hy treckt uit niemants scha zijn eer.
 Zijn yver wint der braven gunst;
 Het zy hy hun de Schilderkunst
 Pooght in te scherpen, klaer en net;
 Het zy hy zich te paerde zet,
 En leert den Ridder, nimmer moe,
 Gebruicken spore, en toom, en roe;
 Terwijl de klepper briescht, en zweet,
 In 't gulle stof, van trapplen heet . . .

7 44 00 00 JOOST VAN DEN VONDEL'S LAUDATORY POEM ON JUNIUS

To the noble Mr Francis Junius F.F.

When he looks back at his lineage, Junius does not pride himself on his ancestral nobility, acquired bravely by the gory rapier, but on their honour in letters, acquired by a pen, which radiates more beautifully and writes better than a sharp-edged dagger. He does not draw his honour from anyone's injury. His diligence wins the bold one's favour, whether he endeavours to impress Painting on them clearly and orderly, or seats himself on horseback and teaches the knight, never tired, to use spur, reins and whip, while the steed is snorting and sweating in the shifting sand, hot from stamping.

App6 the . . . Princes: \the other two immediatly following; the Bridegroom also went between the two Princes/

¹¹ John Warner (1581–1666), bishop of Rochester from 1637, who had become the king's chaplain in 1633 and had also attended him at his coronation in Edinburgh, cf. *DNB* 59.394–95.

¹ *p.*: Jan de Brune, *Wetsteen der vernuften, oft bequaam middel, om, van alle voorvallende zaken, aardighlik te leeren spreken. 't Eerste Deel* (Amsterdam, 1644); I used Harmsen (1994). *e.*: Unger ([1889]:134–36). Cf. **157a**.

² The poem begins with a laudation on Junius, but continues with praises for Jan de Brune. This is the part on Junius.

8 51 08 10 JUNIUS' ENTRY IN CHRISTOPH ARNOLD'S *ALBUM AMICORUM*¹

Se þe pulþrige. pulþrige on ȝoð ælmihtigne. 7 na on hine ȝylfne;
 Ȝoð eabmoð ȝeþoþden iſ. ƿoſſcunige mann oſeſmoð beon.²
 Theologiae, philosophiae, politioris literaturae, variarumque linguarum
 studiis egregio Domino Christophoro Arnoldo hanc qualemcunque
 obsequii ad omnia parati tesseram
libenter meritoque posuit F.F.F. Iunius.
 Londinii, pridie kalendas Augusti anno gratiae MDCLI.

9 [POST 1654] JOHN SELDEN TO ?JUNIUS¹

Worthy Sir

I would gladly be instructed, and I know not how I may so well as from you. There is a person of singular worth, that lives I think in Amsterdam whom I know only by what he hath published in Eastern learning. Some few daies since I received a letter from him with two books titled *Historia Judaica* in 4. Amstrod. 1654. a translation by him out of the Jew that wrote it.² The two I mean being two printed copies of the same. Before the book there is an Epistle dedicatory to me, farre above my merit. Tis called *Editio altera*. And it is true, that in 1652. it was there published, but with an Epistle Dedicatory to the state of Hamborough. And I am confident that, though it be in some sense *Editio altera*, yet the whole book is the self same Paper & ink of the first. Only my name and the Dedication to me hath shouldered out the Hantburgers. Good Sir, if you conveniently may, instruct me what this means. I exceedingly esteem the worth of the author, but knowing nothing of his quality I would gladly also be thereof instructed by you. For knowing what I do of the Editions, I cannot well returne him a letter, till I am better instructed of those Circumstances . . .

¹ o: BL, Egerton 1324, f. 103; Arnold's *Album Amicorum*, an oblong 8vo booklet *Fautores atque amicos amice alloquitur album . . . M. Christoph Arnold. Arnold's Album* is being edited by Prof. van Gemert and Frans Blom, Nijmegen. Cf. 183.

² *Rule of St Benedict* 4.4, "eft se sylfa Paulus cwip: Se þe wuldrige, wuldrige on God ælmihtigne and no on hine sylfne." Junius' transcript of the *Rule of St Benedict* in Old English and Latin from the manuscript now BL, Cott. Ms Tit. A.iv, is now BLO, Ms Jun. 52, ff. 1-70. He has "na" for "no." Defensor, *Liber scintillarum* 4.17,

8 51 08 10 JUNIUS' ENTRY IN CHRISTOPH ARNOLD'S *ALBUM AMICORUM*

*He who glories, glories in Almighty God, and never in himself;
God has become humble; one should be ashamed to be proud.*

For Mr Christoph Arnold, who is excellent in the studies of theology, philosophy, literature and several languages, this modest token of an obedience prepared for everything is willingly and deservedly placed by F.F.F. Junius.

London, on the day before the Kalends of August in the year of grace 1651 [31 Jul./10 Aug.].

9 [POST 1654] JOHN SELDEN TO ?JUNIUS

[*See the original letter.*]

“Agustinus dixit deus humilis factus est erubescat homo superbus *sæde god eadmod geworden ys forscamige mann ofermოდ beon.*” Junius' excerpts of the *Liber scintillarum*, a collection of theological commonplaces in Latin and Old English, now BL, Royal Ms 7.C.iv, are now BLO, Ms Jun. 40, ff. 1–29, and UBL, Voss.Lat. O.100. He has “forscunige,” which is not found in *COE*, for “forscamige.” Junius' use of these quotations indicates that he had made the transcriptions of these Old English texts before the time of this entry in Arnold's *Album*. John Selden will have given him access to the Cotton text, **187a**. Presumably, Junius had examined the royal manuscript when Patrick Young was still in charge of the royal library, that is, before Charles I's execution in February 1649, or between January and November 1650, **165a**. Cf. *COE, STC* (1937: 973–74, 976, nos 5152, 5164), Stanley (1998:164, 166).

¹ *p*: Beyerus (1733:105–06). Beyerus introduced this undated excerpt as addressed “ad amicū Amstelodamensem” [to a friend in Amsterdam], which has led Gerald Toomer to suggest, in personal communication, that the addressee might be Junius. Since this cannot yet be ascertained, I have not included the letter in the corpus of Junius' correspondence, but in the Appendix instead. I owe the transcription of *p* to Gerald Toomer.

² Georg Gentius, *Historia Judaica in Latinum versa. Editio altera* (Amsterdam, 1654). The original text was by Salomon ibn Verga (1460–1554). Personal communication Gerald Toomer.

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The Painting of the Ancients in three Bookes: Declaring by Historicall Observations and Examples, the Beginning, Progresse, and Consummation of that most Noble Art. And how those ancient Artificers attained to their still so much admired Excellencie. Written first in *Latine* by FRANCISCUS JUNIUS, F.F. And now by Him Englished, with some Additions and Alterations. London: R. Hodgkinsonne, 1638. Cf. *Literature* 1.

De Schilder-konst der oude begrepen in drie boecken. Middelburg: Z. Roman, 1641.

Schilder-boeck, behelsende de schilder-konst der oude, begrepen in dry boecken. Middelburgh: Z. Roman, 1659.

Begin, heerlijcke voortganch, en grootdadigh vermogen der wijdberoemde schilderkonst der antycken. Middelburgh: W. Goeree/Amsterdam: s. de Janssonien van Waesberge, 1675.

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Observationes in Willirami Abbatis francicam paraphrasin cantici canticorum. Amsterdam: Chr. Cunradi, 1655. Cf. Voorwinden (1992). [1655a].

Cædmonis monachi paraphrasis poetica genesios ac præcipuarum sacrae paginae historiarum, abhinc annos 1070 Anglo-Saxonice conscripta et nunc primum edita. Amsterdam: Chr. Cunradi, 1655. Cf. Lucas (2000). [1655b].

Re-issued by Edward Rowe Mores. 1752/54.

— with Thomas Marshall, *Quatuor Domini nostri Iesu Christi Evangeliorum versiones per antiquae duae, Gothica scilicet et Anglo-Saxonica, quarum illam ex celeberrimo codice argenteo nunc primum depromsit Franciscus Iunius. Accedit et glossarium Gothicum, cui præmittitur alphabetum Gothicum, Runicum etc., opera eiusdem Francisci Iunii*. Dordrecht: typis et sumptibus Iunianis, H. and J. Essaeus, 1665.

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Catalogus . . . architectorum, mechanicorum, sed præcipue pictorum, statuariorum, caelatorum, tornatorum, aliorumque artificum, et operum quae fecerunt, secundum seriem litterarum digestus. Ed. J.G. Graevius. Rotterdam: R. Leers, 1694. Cf. *Literature* 2.

Etymologicum anglicanum. Ed. E. Lye. Oxford: Sheldonian Theatre, 1743.

Institutions and Collections

ARA	Dutch General State Archives
BL	British Library, London
BLO	Bodleian Library, Oxford
BN	National Library of France
HL	Harley manuscripts in BL
KB	Dutch Royal Library
PBF	Friesland Provincial Library
Rawl.	Rawlinson letter collections in BLO
RGB	Rotterdam Municipal Library
UBA	Amsterdam University Library
UBL	Leiden University Library
UBM	Munich University Library

Abbreviations

<i>ADB</i>	<i>Allgemeine deutsche Biographie</i> . Die historische Commission bei der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften. 56 vols. Leipzig, 1875–1912.
<i>ALC</i>	Venn, J., and J.A. Venn. <i>Alumni Cantabrigienses . . . Part 1: From the Earliest Times to 1751</i> . 2 vols. Cambridge, 1922.
<i>ALO</i>	<i>Alumni Oxonienses 1500–1714</i> . 2 vols. Oxford, 1891–92.
<i>ARA</i>	Heesakkers, C.L. “The Hague, ARA, Hoge Raad van Holland, Zeeland en (West-)Friesland, Register van Ge-extendede Sententiën 1660, nr 3.03.02, 157; unfoliated and unpaginated; the final text in the cover, numbered ‘6’.” Unpublished transcription, 1992 [concerns Junius’ case against William Howard].
<i>ASG</i>	<i>Album studiosorum Academiae Groninganae</i> . Groningen, 1915.
<i>ASL</i>	<i>Album studiosorum Lugduno Batavae 1575–1875</i> . The Hague, 1875.
<i>ASU</i>	<i>Album studiosorum Rheno-Traiectinae</i> . Utrecht, 1876.
<i>AV</i>	<i>Authorized Version</i> . The King James Version of the Holy Bible.
<i>BGGrotius</i>	Ter Meulen, J., and P.J.J. Diermanse. <i>Bibliographie des écrits imprimés de Hugo Grotius</i> . The Hague, 1950.
<i>BLGNP</i>	<i>Biografisch lexicon voor de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme</i> . 4 vols. to date. Kampen, 1978–.
<i>Bronnen 1</i>	Molhuysen, P.C. <i>Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit</i> . Vol. 1: <i>1574–7 Feb. 1610</i> . Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën 20. The Hague, 1913.
<i>Bronnen 2</i>	Molhuysen, P.C. <i>Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit</i> . Vol. 2: <i>8 Feb. 1610–7 Febr. 1647</i> . Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën 29. The Hague, 1916.
<i>BU</i>	<i>Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne, ou histoire, par ordre alphabétique, de la vie publique et privée de tous les hommes qui se sont fait remarquer par leurs écrits, leurs actions, leurs talents, leurs vertus ou leurs crimes: ouvrage entièrement neuf</i> . 52 vols. Paris, 1811–28.
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<i>BWN</i>	Aa, A.J. van der, K.J.R. van Harderwijk, G.D.J. Schotel, et al. <i>Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden, bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van zoodanige personen, die zich op eenigerlei wijze in ons vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt</i> . 21 vols. 1852–78. Haarlem, [1878].
<i>BWPGN</i>	Bie, J.P. de, J. Loosjes, and L.A. van Langeraad. <i>Biographisch woordenboek van protestantsche godgeleerden in Nederland</i> . 6 vols. The Hague, [1919]–49.

- CSPDS *Calendar of State Papers, Preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Domestic series.* London, 1856–1972.
- CEN *Catalogus epistularum neerlandicarum.* Comp. and maint. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, Netherlands. <<http://picarta.pica.nl/DB=3.23/LNG=EN/>>.
- Cj *Journals of the House of Commons.* 205 vols. London, 1485–1950.
- COE *Corpus of Old English.* Dictionary of Old English Corpus on the World Wide Web. Toronto. <<http://www.doe.utoronto.ca/webcorpus.html>>.
- CWE Bietenholz, P.G., et al. *Collected Works of Erasmus.* 40 vols to date. Toronto [etc.], 1974–.
- DBH Dahl, Sv., and P. Engelstoft, eds. *Dansk biografisk haandleksikon.* 3 vols. Copenhagen [etc.], 1920–26.
- DBF Balteau, J., M. Barroux, M. Prevost, et al., eds. *Dictionnaire de biographie française.* 18 vols. to date. Paris, 1933–.
- DBI [Frey, A., et al., eds.] *Deutsche biographischer Index.* 2nd edn. 8 vols. Munich, 1998.
- DBL Bricka, C.F., P. Engelstoft, S. Dahl, and Sv. Cedergreen Bech, eds. *Dansk biografisk leksikon.* 16 vols. Copenhagen, 1979–1984.
- DNB Stephen, L., and S. Lee, eds. *Dictionary of National Biography.* 63 vols. London, 1885–1900.
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- DNP Cancik, H., and H. Schneider, eds. *Der neue Pauly Enzyklopedie der Antike.* 15 vols. to date. Stuttgart [etc.], 1996–.
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- DZ Witkam, H.J. *De dagelijkse zaken van de Leidse Universiteit van 1581 tot 1596.* 10 vols. Leiden, 1970–74.
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- FSIGS *Family Search Internet Genealogy Service.* The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Salt Lake City, UT. <<http://www.familysearch.org>>.
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- LS Lewis, Ch.T., and Ch. Short. *A Latin Dictionary . . .* Oxford, 1887.
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- TCE* *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. 17 vols. New York, 1907–22.
- Wing* Wing, D., et al. *Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641–1700*. 2nd edn. 4 vols. New York, 1982–98.
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- **Reference is to letter number and paragraph character.** “61b” refers to the second paragraph (‘b’) of letter number 61. Reference to the Introduction is by page number enclosed in brackets. “[15]” refers to page 15 of the Introduction.
- A mere number refers to an entire letter; ‘H’ refers to the letterhead, ‘A’ to its address, “App1” to “App9” to letters in the Appendix; a suffixed ‘n’ refers to a person or item mentioned in the footnotes.
- All occurrences of a person or item in the letters have been included, usually per paragraph, with the exception of 204cc–dd. For persons or items mentioned in the main text, no separate reference is provided for their mention in footnotes to the main text. Footnote references are included for persons or items not mentioned in the main text.
- Generally, background detail is provided on a person’s or item’s first occurrence in the text.
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